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RIDPATH'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF THE ETHNIC ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE ESTATE,
EARLY MIGRATIONS, SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND PRESENT
PROMISE OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF MEN

TOGETHER WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER OF THE BEGINNING

COMPRISING

THE EVOLUTION OF MANKIND
AND
THE STORY OF ALL RACES

COMPLETE IN FOUR VOLUMES

BY JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

AUTHOR OF A "CYCLOPÆDIA OF UNIVERSAL HISTORY," ETC.

VOLUME II

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS,
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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.



IN everything relating to progress and civilization the Aryan, or Indo-European, races have far surpassed the other divisions of mankind. It were not easy

to exaggerate the precedence and superiority of these races in history. Perhaps our point of view among the outspreading branches of Aryanism in the New World may prejudice us to a certain extent respecting the rank and accomplishment of that family of the Ruddy races to which we belong. Without doubt we underestimate the achievements and intellectual force of the Oriental peoples; but, after all allowance for such error has been made, we must still admit the striking ascendancy of the Aryan races over all other branches of the human family.

This ascendancy relates to nearly every phase and fact of civilization. It is to men of the Aryan race that we owe the conquest over nature. The place of man in the world is now fixed by his triumph over natural forces, by his knowledge of phenomena, and by his ability to apply that knowledge in the subordination and direction of material nature. In that order, of which we constitute a part, there are two principal facts—man and nature. The one must prevail over the other. There can hardly be a divided sovereignty. There can be no equipoise between the intellectual forces which proceed from man and the material energies with which he is surrounded until the one or the other have triumphed.

M.—Vol. 2—1

Antiquity gave the mastery to nature. For ages man, in the presence of nature, cowered and shrank away. Neither the Brown nor the Black races of mankind have ever sought to place the human mind in an ascendancy over nature. Neither the Semites nor the Hamites—though each possessed remarkable elements of strength—ever attempted the conquest of the natural world. It remained for men of unmixed Aryan derivation to go against nature as invaders and conquerors; to brave the perils of a campaign in which every element of opposition and terror was present; and to win the victory over an enemy that could not be wounded or driven to cover.

In the intellectual as well as in the physical world the easy leadership of mankind must be conceded to Indo-European peoples. In all literature and art the development of these peoples has been as conspicuous for its presence as the absence of the same has been notable among other divisions of the human race. The nervous force and intellectual ambitions of the Aryans have led them on to almost inconceivable heights of accomplishment and renown. From the remote epoch of the dawn—from that far age when history itself as yet was not—the progenitors of the Indo-European races showed themselves capable of sustained and wonderful intellectual flights. Mythology and poetry are the very oldest products of the conscious soul of man, and these have been peculiarly the work of the Old Aryans and their descendants. If the pencillings of the first light were

seen in the valley of the Indus and on the plains of Iran, the secondary and more glorious effulgence rose above the horizon in Southeastern Europe, diffusing itself first through the archipelago and the peninsulas of Hellas, and then spreading to the West until, in the present age, the glow of morning reaches as far as the Pacific shores and the tundras of the Yukon.

It is with the destinies of the West Aryan races that I have attempted to deal in the current volume. The reader need not be told that these races have contributed the larger part of ancient and modern history. In comparison with their work all the rest is dwarfed into insignificance. The consideration of the West Aryans must, for this reason, occupy our attention throughout a large section of the whole treatise; and even then the subject must be dismissed with only casual references to the great and well-known Western peoples who now hold the leadership of mankind.

Of the ancient Aryans of Europe, we shall find opportunity to present a fuller treatment. The present volume will be wholly occupied with the account of the Greeks and the Romans. The former of these two splendid historical races was, without doubt, the principal civilizing agent in the redemption of Old Europe from aboriginal barbarism. There is something sublime in the intellectual courage with which the mere handful of Hellenes, planted in their little peninsula at the southeast angle of the Greater Europe, attacked the kingdom and dominion of chaos and ancient night. It was the struggle of starlight with Cimmerian gloom and dolor. It was the battle of infant Order with the empire of Orchus. It was the attack of immortal intellect upon the Titanic monsters of brute force wallowing in the

caverns and roaring in hoarse discord through the dark and horrid woods of barbaric Europe. Certainly it was the part of the Greek race, in the general progress and redemption of mankind, to bring in light and freedom, and to save our race from the savagery of the past.

In the consideration of the Romans and their descendent races we shall find another aspect of incoming order. This relates to the organization of society and the administration of law. Whether or not vast and regular organism is a part of the ultimate state of mankind, or whether it is only an intermediate stage in the sublime progress of human development, we are not here to decide. Certain it is that organic structure and unification—the consolidation of society and the regular action of extended government—are necessary parts of the human evolution, and these parts were allotted, in the early age of West Aryan development, to the Roman race.

In the following pages I shall attempt to delineate the part which this great stock of mankind performed in the evolution of civilization, not indeed as a mere historical agent displaying its force in institutional forms, in senates and cities, in wars and thoroughfares, but as an organic, living entity, growing and spreading in the human manner until the branches thereof were stretched out over a large part of the bigness of the earth and the better part of the human family. That I shall be able to depict the evolution of the Greek and Latin races as amply and well as the place of those races was conspicuous and majestic in the ancient civilization, I do not expect; but that I may be able to present much of interest and something that is original in generalization and deduction is my desire and hope.

One of the features in which races

differ most is the wide-apart character of their descendent peoples. Some races have great descendants, and others only dwarfs and weaklings for their progeny. The offspring of ethnic paternity is more variable in strength, character, and manner than is the offspring of a given society or individual.

It were almost impossible to discover any strong or well-defined people of the present day having for their ancestry one of the great races that formerly flourished in Western Asia. The Chaldees and the Babylonians have no well-marked modern representatives. The Assyrians have only the scattered and half-barbarous tribes of Kurds. The Phœnicians have transmitted no race to recent times. The great Egyptians have as a descendent people the miserable and degraded Copts. Even the Greeks are but feebly represented by the living races of Hellas. Notwithstanding the intellectual, literary, and artistic preëminence of the old Hellenes, they were, as it now appears, unable to propagate their genius and race. They live only by the diffusion of their splendor among the peoples of the present age.

It is in this particular that the Romans afford so strong a contrast to most of the other races of mankind. They have given to modern times several of the most conspicuous and highly developed peoples of our centuries. We might at first be led to suppose that it was the splendid organizing capacity of the Roman race that enabled it to transmit itself to after ages; but we must remember that the organic forms of Rome were crushed under the rough impact of barbarism. The great empire was ground into fragments and oblivion; but the race did not perish amid the wrecks of its organic greatness. On the contrary, it survived—survived in many forms and in

different countries. The Roman stock, replanting itself here and there throughout the better parts of Europe, soon began to flourish in new forms of ethnic life springing from the mold of the old.

Thus arose the so-called *LATIN RACES*. It is with the consideration of these that I begin the current volume. They are the ethnic results of the secondary plantings of Rome. They constitute a group of nationalities having a common descent, though modified by a variety of foreign elements entering into combination with the original stock. The six races forming the Latin group have sprung up around the dead stump of a mighty ancestry. They now claim precedence, with the promise of longevity and future renown.

Some of these Latin races—as the Spaniards and Portuguese—are comparatively pure in blood and race descent. They represent in a true form the modern result of the ancient Roman paternity. Others—as the Italians and the French—are more composite in their race-life, having drawn up into union considerable elements of Teutonic blood and manners along with the original currents of the Latin fatherhood.

In the first part of this volume I have endeavored to delineate the race-life of the great peoples just referred to. In doing so the space allotted does not permit so full a discussion of ethnic characteristics and evolution as we have been able to present in the case of the ancestral races. There is, however, less need to dwell upon the race character of the Italians, the French, and the Spaniards, since these are known and read in the open book of the century. Their history as peoples is obvious and of common fame. I have, therefore, drawn only in outline the ethnic features of the modern Latin races, giving a general

sketch of their place and characteristics, but leaving much to be supplied from the common information of the reader. I have endeavored in the brief chapters allotted to the consideration of each of these races to *interpret* them by generalization and deduction, rather than to dwell upon such facts as have already been delineated by many writers.

After the discussion of the Latin races I next consider the CELTS. The history of the race so called occupies the second book of the current volume. The Celtic races were before the Romans in the possession and partial civilization of the greater part of Western Europe. But the preëminence and long continuity of the Romans have suggested their consideration first after the history of the Greeks, and that of the descendent Latin races next, on the lines of immediate derivation.

The Celts, in the Aryan family of mankind, were cognate with the Romans and the Greeks. Their evolution, however, was less striking and less enduring than that of the Roman race, and much less brilliant than that of the Greeks. The difference in favor of the Celts is that they still survive in several existing forms, while the great classical peoples of antiquity have become extinct. The Gael, the Irish, and the Welsh are the living representatives of a stock of mankind formerly diffused throughout the West. The Greeks and the Romans have survived only in ethnic forms greatly deflected and modified from their respective originals. If it be urged that

the Celtic races of the modern epoch are in process of extinction, it may also be said that their fate in this respect is only a part of the common destiny. They have already had a long and remarkable career. They are old in ethnic life and history. The Latin races took their rise in the Middle Ages; but the Celts were already mature and powerful before the Crescent had been raised in Arabia, before the Franks had crossed the Rhine, or the Saxons had invaded Britain.

The last, and in some sense the most important, book of the present volume is that devoted to the evolution of the TEUTONIC DIVISION of the human race. To this I have given as much space as practicable within the limits of the treatise. We shall see in this part the outgoing and development of the great and strong Germanic peoples. We shall mark their progress from the barbaric ages to the ascendancy of the Germans in the present epoch of civilization. We shall observe with interest the transformation of the race character from the barbaric to the civilized type, and shall not fail to dwell upon the intellectual preëminence attained by the Germans in recent times. First in Germania proper, afterwards in the Hollowlands of Northwestern Europe, and then in Scandinavia and as far out as Iceland, we shall mark the goings forth of this vigorous and resolute stock of mankind, until it competes for the first rank among the superior races of our century.

J. C. R.

GREENCASTLE, 1894.

GREAT RACES

OF

MANKIND

VOLUME II

THE WEST ARYANS

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RACE CHART No. 3

SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION
OF THE WEST ARYANS.



RACE CHART No. 3.

EXPLANATION.

IN order to understand this Chart, and the great movements which it indicates, the reader must take the same point of departure as in Race Chart No. 2, near the bottom of the Caspian. As will be seen in Chart No. 2, the Aryan races departed east and west. The westward migration was by far the stronger and more important.

Upon the stems here represented, nearly all the great historical races of Southwestern Asia, Europe, and the New World are based. These are the historical peoples and nations of the world. Here, near the beginning of the migration, are the Ossetes, the Armenians, and the Georgians. Out of the latter stem arise the Minor Asians, whose deeds cover a considerable part of ancient history.

From this departure, the lines cross over into Europe. Bending southward, we have the astonishing development of the Greeks; and further on, the Romans, out of which strong stock have sprung five or six of the great modern races—the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Portuguese, the Provençals, etc. With some of these races the Celts are blended, as will be seen by the junction of race lines north of the Pyrenees.

Returning to the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian, we see the great northern stem of the Letto-Slavs. Out of these sprang the Caucasian races, so-called; and from these the Bulgarians, etc. Further north, we have the astonishing development of the Russian families, extending westward to the Livonians, the Poles, the Wends, the Czechs, etc.

From the same origin, about the River Don, the Celtic stem makes its way westward, and is developed in the central part of Western Europe. The backward turn of this stock bears the ancient Galatians. The main stem bears the ancient Gauls, the Bretons, and the Celtiberians, on the Continent; and across the Channel, the old Bretons, represented in modern times by the Gael, the Erse (Irish), the Welsh, the Cornish, etc.

In the north of Europe, we find the strong German stem, bearing the High Germans, the Bavarians, the Low Germans, the Norse stock, the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, and, finally, the Icelanders.

Taken altogether, this West Aryan map represents the most powerful and important aspect of race-life on the globe. (For the ethnical connection of the West Aryans with the general scheme of mankind, see Race Chart No. 1, above and to the left.)



Part Fourth.

THE RUDDY RACES.—CONTINUED.

II.—THE WEST ARYANS.

BOOK VII.—THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER XLIV.—GRÆCO-ASIANS.

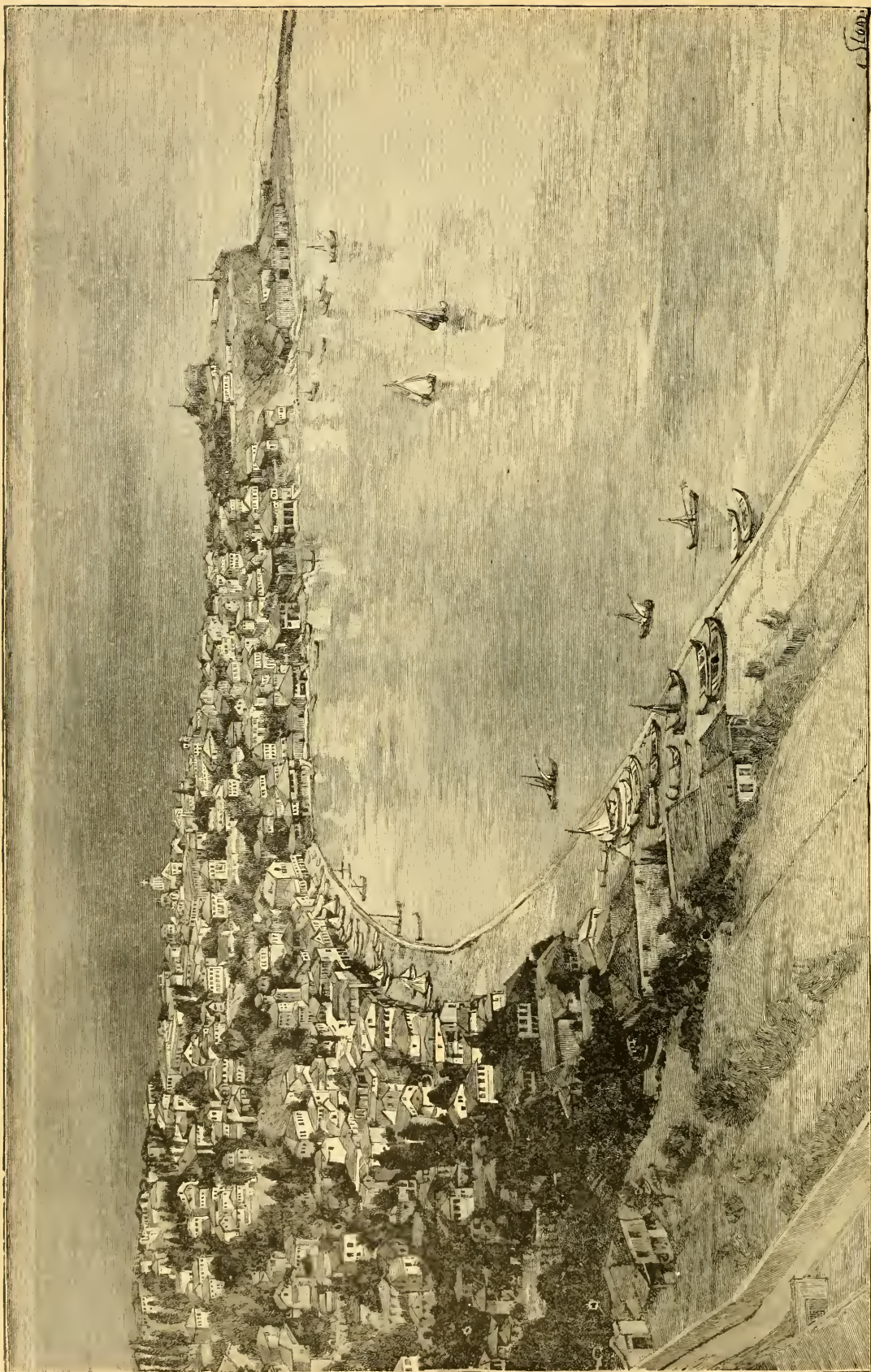


ASIA MINOR was old when Europe was young. The country between the Caspian and the eastern body of the Mediterranean provoked to an early settlement. At least two of the principal divisions of mankind, both branches of the Ruddy races, found their way into this peninsular Asia and made it their home. It is believed that the Semitic migration extended around the Mediterranean on the northeast on its way into Pelasgic Greece and Etruscan Italy. Possibly also along the southern coast

of the peninsula the Hamites found a lodgment; but the greater populations of Asia Minor were contributed by the strong Aryan stream flowing westward through the pass between the Caspian and the Persian gulf. The movement which carried the kinsfolk of the Iranians and the Indic-Aryans into the Lesser Asia and the West was doubtless coincident in time with the more vigorous progress of the Indo-Europeans around the Caspian on the north into Slavonic, Teutonic, and Celtic Europe.

A glance at a classical map will show the distribution and position of the an-

Ancient populations of Asia Minor essentially Aryan.



VIEW OF TREBIZOND, — Drawn by A. Slom, from a photograph.

cient states between the Armenian mountains and the Ægean sea. The

Distribution of the classical states; Semitic influences.

first of these on the east were Pontus and Cappadocia. To the west lay Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, Phrygia, Mysia, and Lydia. Along the southern coast were the kingdoms of Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia. It was through the northern

the whole country of Cappadocia was occupied by Aryan tribes. At that time the country was of far greater extent than at the classical epoch, reaching even to the borders of the Euxine. The name of Cappadocians was given to the tribes of this region by the Persians, but the Greeks called them White Syrians. It is evident that the Greek

Ethnic and political relations of the Cappadocians.



VIEW OF YASILI-KAIA, CAPPADOCIA.—SCULPTURED ROCKS OF BOGHAR-KENI.—Drawn by Charles Texier, from nature

group that the Aryan tribes made their way to the West and in these districts formed their earliest settlements. South of the middle line of Asia Minor, running east and west, there were many touches of Semitic influence, and the peoples between this line and the Mediterranean were in a large measure composite. It is therefore with the northern states and their primitive populations that we have here to deal.

As early as the times of Herodotus

writers considered this people to be a kindred of the Semitic races east of the Mediterranean, but this view was correct only to the extent of a certain admixture of Semites with the other Cappadocian races. Politically and socially the kingdom established at this early epoch in the country under consideration never attained a high degree of power or influence. It was a mountainous region and unfavorable for the development of despotic power such as

flourished in the level countries to the south. The kingdom, however, was still independent as late as the time of Strabo, and was divided into ten provinces, or districts.

Not much is known of the early institutions of the Cappadocians, or of their character as a people. They are said to

Mythology and
superstitious
rites of the race.

have had many religious
and superstitious rites, in
the major part of which

we are able to discover the mythology of the Aryan races, but in other portions the influence of the Semites. The primitive people were builders of great temples, which enjoyed a wide reputation in the classical ages, though the structures themselves were then in ruins. The greatest of all, and most celebrated, was the temple of Comana, dedicated to the goddess Ma. This divinity has been identified with the Bellona, or war goddess, of the Romans. She was worshiped in other parts of Asia Minor as well as in Cappadocia. We find in the early structure of the kingdom a close union of the priestly order with the secular princes. The high priest was second in rank to the king himself. He had the seat of his authority in the city of Comana, which was the capital of the province of Cataonia. Next in rank to this hierarch was the high priest of Zeus, in the city of Venasa. The temple of Artemis, in Castabala, had a fame through all the kingdoms of Western Asia and the states of Eastern Europe.

The dominant race of Cappadocians, as we find them in the age of Herodotus,

Conquering Aryans reduce the
aborigines to
servitude.

were still in the attitude of
conquerors to the aboriginal
people of the country,

whom they had reduced to slavery. The slaves were numerous everywhere, and were used as merchandise. They were

the principal wealth of the Cappadocians and were exported as far west as Rome. Little is known, however, of the character of the slaves, but they were doubtless of a different race from the dominant people who had reduced them to serfdom.

Many evidences are noted of an affinity between the Cappadocians and the primitive Iranians. They had the same general character with the early Medes and Persians. In common with those peoples they cultivated the horse, and the steeds of Cappadocia were almost as much renowned for their excellence as those of Iran. The country was well adapted to the production of flocks and herds, and these furnished the earliest industries after the nomadic life gave place to settled pursuits. Of all the countries of Asia Minor, Cappadocia is highest above the level of the sea. The climate is cold and somewhat forbidding, and there is lack of fertility in the soil. These circumstances greatly impeded the subsequent development of the Aryan tribes who settled in these regions, and they never reached a high rank among the nations. In common with the other provinces of Asia Minor the Cappadocian kingdom became a sort of shuttlecock in the battledoor between Asia and Europe in the times of Alexander and the following ages.

The primitive races of Pontus were closely allied in ethnic descent with those of Cappadocia. The two countries were, in a measure, identical in geographical character, the principal difference being the seacoast mountain ranges of Pontus, extending from Armenia to Paphlagonia. The old Greek writers included the inhabitants of Pontus under the designation of White Syrians; but the age of

Affinity of Cappadocians and
Iranians; infertility of soil.

White Syrians
of Pontus; Xenophon's account
of the people.

Herodotus was an age of conjecture, and his classifications are useless in scientific ethnology.

Concerning the races inhabiting the mountainous districts northeast of Asia Minor, the frontier regions of Cholchis

Cappadocians. Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, gives an account of the manners and customs of the peoples of Pontus in connection with that part of the march of the Greeks which extended from Trapezus to Cotyora. The paragraphs



VALLEY OF THE MÆANDER, WITH HIERAPOLIS IN THE DISTANCE.—After a sketch of C. G. Danforth.

and Armenia, very little is known. It is in evidence that barbarous tribes held these fastnesses before the Aryans, pressing to the westward, fell upon the country. From what stock the aborigines were descended we are totally ignorant. Their subsequent condition was that of slavery, as we have seen, among the

devoted to this subject by the great historian constitute the best part of all that is known of the ancient peoples and institutions of Pontus.

It is clearly evident, from subsequent developments, that the race inhabiting the country from the eighth to the third century B. C. was of the same original

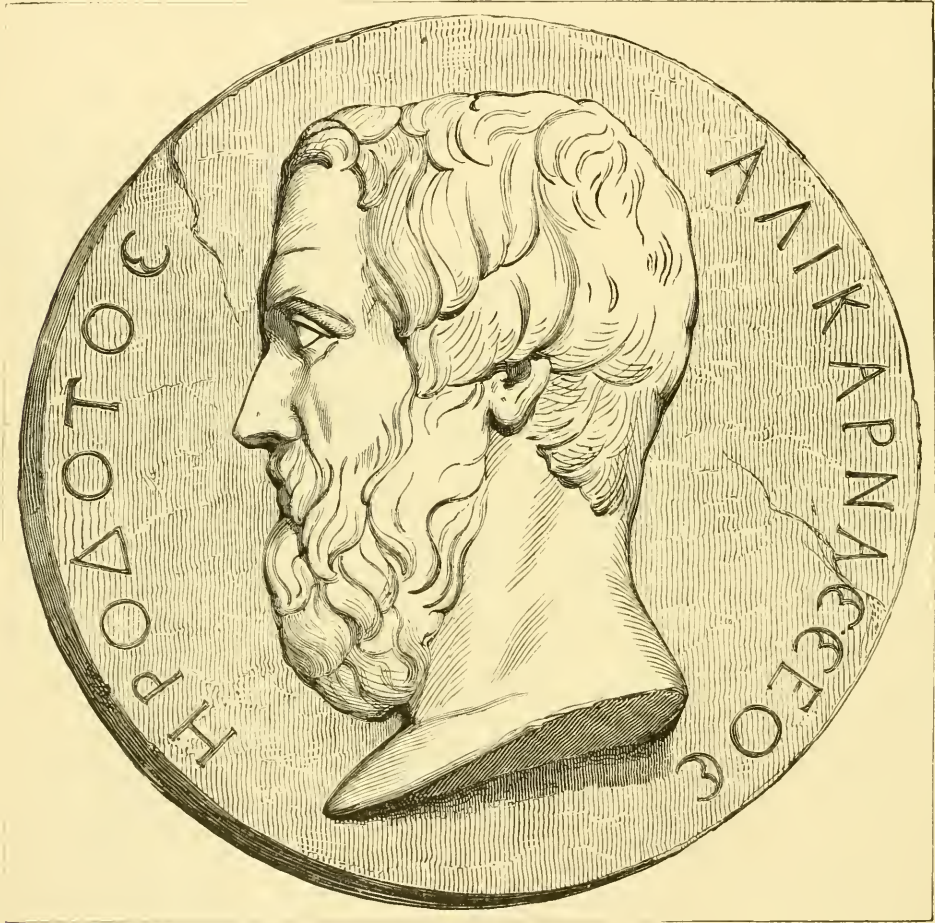
descent with the Greeks. The latter, in the age of their ascendancy, established colonies along the southern shore of the Euxine, and several of these were on the Pontine coast. The later Greeks and their old kinsmen were thus thrown into reunion after the lapse of centuries. It

Race sympathy
of the Pontians
with the Greeks.

except when the overwhelming power of Persia stood at the door.

The early populations of Asia Minor were in a high degree diffusive. They spread over the surface and intermingled, and were in some sense as waters poured out. The demarkation

Diffusiveness of
the Græco-Asian
populations.



MEDALLION OF HERODOTUS.—From an antique bust.

is clear from the historical accounts of the relations and intercourse of the two peoples that they were of a common family, much more nearly allied by race affinities than were the Greeks and the Persians. In the contests between the latter nations the Greeks were nearly always able to persuade the states of Asia Minor to make common cause with them.

between the Cappadocians and the Pontians is purely artificial—merely convenient. The same may be said of both peoples as it respects the Phrygians. The latter were perhaps the typical race of all the Lesser Asia. They were by far most nearly allied with the European Hellenes. Between them and the Ionian Greeks there was rather diversity

than positive difference of ethnic character and institutional forms. Their ancient country was as indefinite in its limits as were the outlines of their own dispersion.

The same is true, as we have already remarked, of almost every ancient state.

The boundaries were indefinite. Roughly speaking, Phrygia included the

central plateau of Anatolia as far east as the river Halys. Within the historical period the country was restricted to an inland region, separated from the

Euxine by the intervening states of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, but of old time the country was maritime. As early as the beginning of the ninth century B. C. there had been established on the Euxine coast a Phrygian *thalassocracy*, or sea government, as the name implies. The Troad and the surrounding region were Phrygian, and also the seaport at Sinope. In fact, the Trojans themselves were essentially Phrygians. The contest under the walls of Troy was recognized even in the Homeric period as a battle of Phrygia and Hellas.

This idea of the intimate relations of the Phrygians with the Western peoples entered into the tradition and mythology of the times.

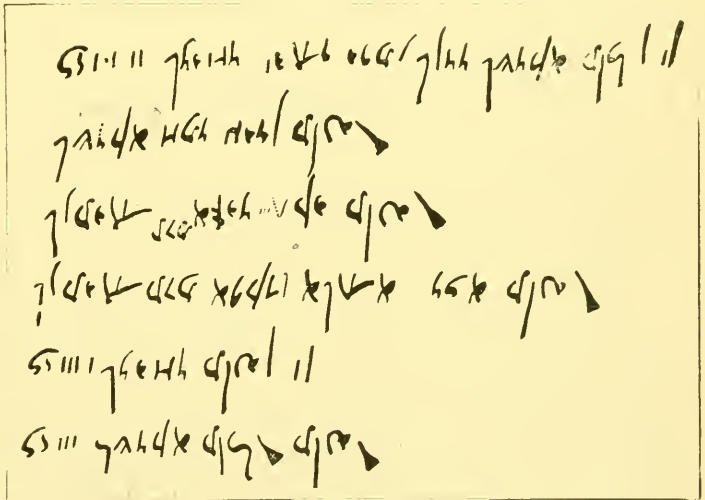
Mythology ranks the Phrygians with the Greeks.

Venus, in her revelations to Anchises and his royal descendants, represented herself as the daughter of the King of Phrygia. One myth assigned to the Phrygians the rank of the primitive people of the world. Herodotus, Pausanias, and Claudian all agree that Phrygian was the original speech of

mankind. This is equivalent to saying that so far as the Greek tongues were concerned they had—according to current belief—their origin in Phrygia.

It appears that the oldest Aryan state in the country under consideration was established in the upper valley of the river Sangarius. Numerous monuments of the greatest antiquity are discovered in this region, bearing unmistakable evidence of a close kinship with the Greek art and traditions of a later period. Here it is that the ancient

Monuments show kinship of Phrygian and Greek art.



ANCIENT PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTION.
From the original in the Louvre.

sculptures bear to modern times the famous myths of Midas the King, and Cybele the Mother, meaning the earth. The title *Vanaktei*, meaning "king," on the tomb of Midas, is manifestly the same word as the dative *anakti* (*ἀνακτι*) of the Greek.

True, there are gathered from the Phrygian monuments many hints of Semitic, or Syrian, influences. Among these may be mentioned the *Boustrophedon* writing; that is, the ox-turn style of inscription. In general, the Aryan and Semitic races divided on the direc-

The Boustrophedon, or ox-turn, style of inscriptions.

tion of their writing; that is, whether it should be from left to right, as with the Western nations, or from right to left, as with the Hebrews and other Semites. In the early countries where the two races were confluent and the influences of each were felt in the national development, it sometimes happened that *both* styles of writing were employed; that is, the inscription was from left to right and back again from right to left. The analogy of a furrow in the field which turns at the end and then again at the place of beginning, and so on until the whole field is plowed, was seized by the quick discerning Greeks, who for this reason called the double style of writing *boustrophedon*, or ox-turn, from *bous* (βούς), an ox, and *trephlein* (τρέφειν), to turn. The old Phrygian inscriptions are of this sort, and indicate plainly enough the combined influence of the Semitic and the Aryan peoples in their production.¹

¹ If the question be raised *why* some primitive races chose to write from left to right and others from right to left, we are thrown back upon conjecture; but it is clearly the author's opinion that the difference depends upon the phenomena of right- and left-handedness. It is not yet determined by physiologists for what reason men are right-handed or the reverse. It has been claimed by some modern scientists that ambidexterity, or both-handedness, is the natural condition of the race, and that the use of one hand or the other by preference is an acquired habit belonging to the period of development in childhood. It is well known, however, that right-handedness is transmitted by heredity; that a disposition to be right-handed or left-handed "runs in the family." However this may be, it is certainly plausible that as a mere matter of convenience the right-handed races have ever written and will ever continue to write from left to right—this for the simple reason that in so doing the work is *exposed to correction* by the eye as it is performed; that is, it is not hidden by the hand. On the other hand, left-handed people—those writing with the left hand—must either write from right to left, or else experience much difficulty in watching the work as it is performed. It might be rash to hazard the suggestion that the ancient Semites were a left-handed race; but there is really nothing more

Such memorials of the ancient people of Phrygia are by no means limited to that country. They are found also in Lydia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and in other parts of Asia Minor. They are of a common style, and are in some instances obscure in their meaning and origin. Many inscriptions have baffled all attempts to decipher them. Some monuments appear to have belonged to a people earlier than the great Phrygian race of Aryan descent. Scholars have conjectured that in the earliest ages Cappadocia had an ascendancy over Phrygia. In the valley of the Sangarius the ruins of a great city have been discovered and explored. It is manifestly the center of the old Phrygian kingdom, but some of the ruins properly belong to an earlier civilization. In the vicinity of these ruins are found some rocky precipices, the faces of which are covered with figures, geometrically cut on the surface. Some are crosses; others, winding curves crowned with a pediment. In other parts the patterns are of a floral character, and in two places outlines of sphinxes have been delineated, of a type as ancient as those of Egypt.

A few indications have been noted of the character of the old Phrygian society. The people are represented to have been freedom-loving and independent in disposition, chafing under restraint. Modern scholars have interpreted the word

Deductions from
antique inscriptions
of Asia
Minor.

Old Phrygian
society; slavery
and slave-mak-
ing.

Phryges, or *Briges*, the Greek name of the race, as having meant freemen. Unfortunately, this character of primitive extravagant in the supposition than in the manifest fact that the modern Europeans are right-handed as a rule. The style of writing called *boustrophedon*, as practiced by the ancients, seems to have been a compromise between two contradictory physiological dispositions, one instinct demanding the use of the right and the other of the left hand.

mankind coexists with the slave-making disposition. It does not appear that the Iranian or Indic-Aryans enslaved the aborigines in their respective countries. In India the old populations were reduced to the condition of a degraded caste, but they were not made slaves. In Asia Minor the Aryan tribes not only subjected the races whom they conquered, but reduced them to bondage. As late as the classical ages in Greece the slave market at Athens and other cities was filled with human chattels brought from Phrygia. It was common to give to the wretched creatures thus exposed for sale the names of "Midas" and "Manes," as if in mockery of the old Phrygian kings. It was as though an Egyptian slave should be called "Pharaoh"!

As we follow westward the streams of Aryan migration from the ancient seat of the race we come, in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, into those natural surroundings which seem first to have induced in the migrating tribes that mythologizing disposition for which they were ever afterwards famous. In these countries the reaction of nature upon man appears to have been exceedingly strong, and he in turn seems

Reactions of nature on the migrant Aryans in Phrygia.

to have been peculiarly sensitive to his environment.

The scenery of Phrygia is well calculated to set to work the primitive faculties of man in devising expla-

nations of natural phenomena. It has been alleged by all travelers in the countries south of the Euxine that melancholy is the leading suggestion of the



STATUE OF CYBELE.

From the original in British Museum.

landscape. The early mythology of the Phrygians expressed the feeling which nature inspired. It was a melancholy mysticism, not multifariously inflected as was the system of the Greeks, but expressive rather of an overwhelming

sense of the power of nature and the subordination of man.

The two principal Phrygian deities were Cybele, the Mother, meaning the

creation. It is believed that death was symbolized in her religious rites by the act of human sacrifice. The ceremonies about the Phrygian altars were as

Religious cult of Cybele and Sabazius.

coarse as they were realistic. In the very presence of the deity of the altar place it was a custom to mutilate the priests as an offering; and public prostitution was a part of the adoration of Cybele. It is easy to discover in these horrid practices many touches which must have been de-



SCULPTURES OF GRECO-ASIANS.—BAS-RELIEFS FROM SITE OF YASILI-KAYA

earth, and Sabazius, the Greek Dionysus. The leading notions expressed in the creation of these deities and in their worship were the vicissitudes of life and death. Cybele was the goddess of pro-

duced from the degraded Semitic ceremonials east of the Mediterranean; but it is also clear that they contained the germs of that refined and elegant mythology which, in the hands of the

Greeks, became the wonder of the ancient world.

It was from a Phrygian origin that the rites of Dionysus spread first into Thrace and afterwards into Hellas. The worship of Cybele became the central idea in that of Demeter, at Eleusis. There was a positive recognition of the Phrygian deities in Greece. The poet Pindar is said to have set up a shrine to Cybele at the door of his house. The Delphic oracle was thought to look with favor on the Phrygian gods. In the classical age there was a reaction against the foreign theology, and in the hands of philosophers and comic poets the old system was reasoned and ridiculed out of existence. The preservation, however, of the Mysteries by the Greeks still bore witness to the origin of the prevalent religious system.

One of the points of chief interest relating to the ancient Phrygians was their peculiar artistic skill. It was in their country that the Aryan genius, as it journeyed to the West, first seems to have manifested itself in true artistic concepts and handicraft. All to the east of this meridian may be said to have been Oriental. The art of Assyria and Babylonia seems to be in sympathy with the East. The winged lions of Nineveh, the Egyptian sphinxes, and the Indian gods have all the same reposeful and silent faces, the same mixture of the human and mythological parts, the same combination of the idealistic and realistic elements of human thought and handicraft. It is in Phrygia that art becomes human. It is in the same spirit with that of the later Greeks. If the subject is mythological, the work is natural. From hence the seeds of true artistic form were scattered first to the shores of the Ægean, after-

wards in the archipelago, and finally in Hellas.

Here we emerge under the walls of Troy. Doubtless the social and civil development of the Phrygian race culminated in the city of Priam. Whatever may be said of Homer, Troy is a fact—an entity. The site of the heroic metropolis has been identified by Schliemann. The low mound of Hissarlik marks the spot. Explorations and excavations have brought to light the Greek Ilium of the prehistoric era. In fact, not only the Troja of the *Iliad* has been laid bare, but, according to the deductions of the great antiquary, older cities at a greater depth have been exhumed on the same spot. Schliemann holds that the Troy of the Homeric wars extends to a depth of only six and a half feet below the surface, but older relics lie below this level, and deeper than these still older to the depth of fifty-two and a half feet. On the whole, the Homeric delineations of life and manners have been verified, and not contradicted, by the spade and cart of the archaeologist, and we are now able to examine and criticise the actual relics of the ancient Phrygian race.

The character of the people and the method of life in the heroic ages have been fully delineated in the immortal pages of the *Iliad*. We speak here of only so much as may be called the Trojan side of the picture. The condition of society in the city of Priam was fully outlined by the great bard. Even the details of manners and customs, the phraseology of the home, the street, and the battlefield are given with such painstaking and iteration as to leave nothing for any subsequent pen. Everything, from the state of Priam's kingdom, the method of his government,

Transfusion of the Phrygian faith among the Greeks.

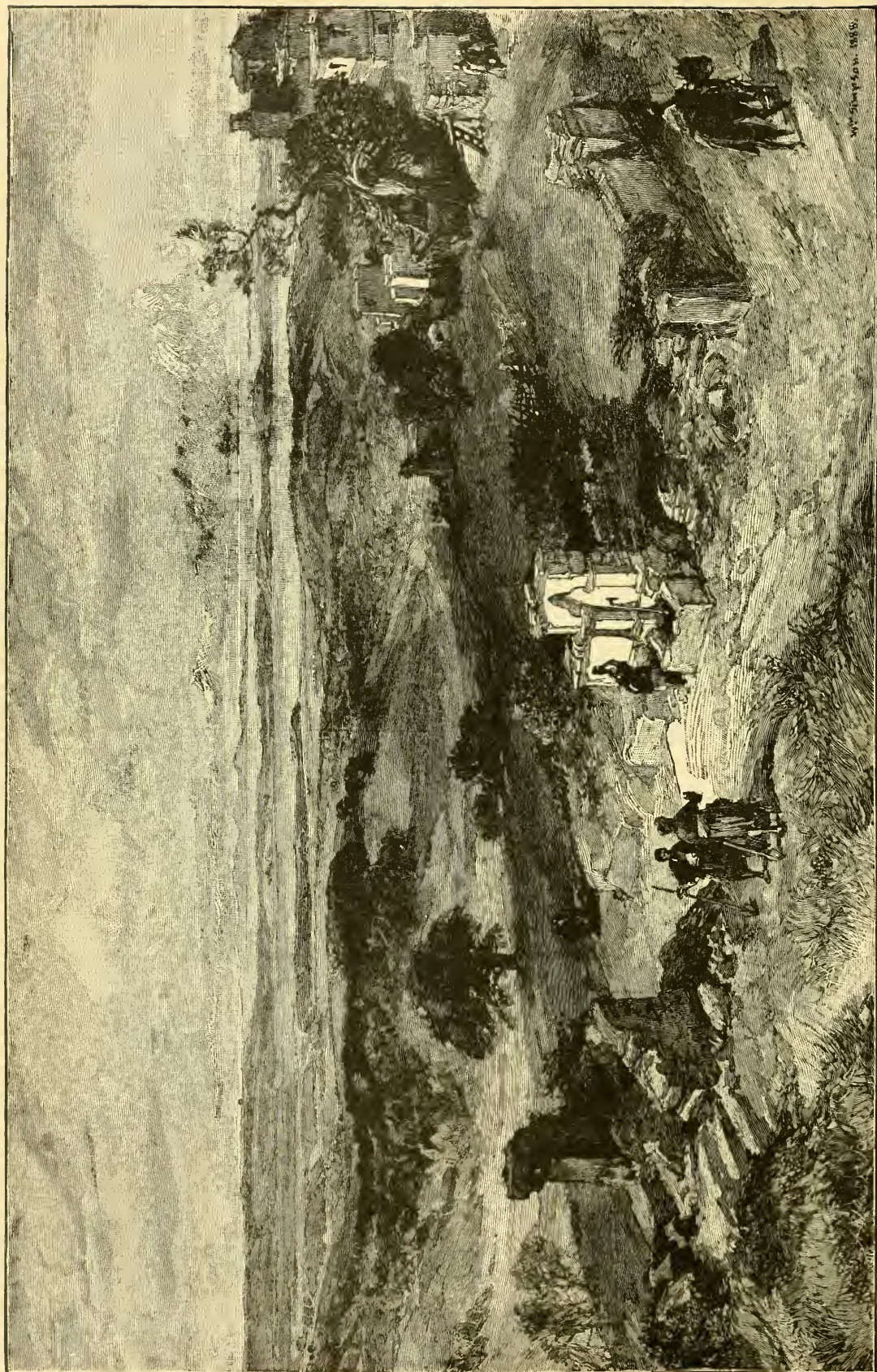
Thrace and afterwards into Hellas. The worship of Cybele became the central

Revelation of the Troy of the "Iliad."

In Phrygia the art of the East became human.

that the Aryan genius, as it journeyed to the West, first seems to have manifested

Condition of Trojan society depicted in the "Iliad."



THE PLAINS OF TROY, FROM ERENKEUL.—Drawn by William Simpson, from nature.

W. Simpson del. 1848.

and his relations with foreign states, down to love stories and sentimental talk among the Trojan youth, is repeated in the flowing hexameters which have given substance to every subsequent epic written by man, and have furnished by translation and comment an ample knowledge of the heroic epoch to every tribe on the earth having the gift of literature.

For these reasons it is not needed that space should here be given to any extended account of the condition of the people who met the Greeks on the plains of Troy. It is sufficient to say that they were the blossom and fruit of the old Phrygian race, having the same ultimate descent with the Greeks themselves, and that no other people obscured in the shadows of the dawn, wholly dependent for their fame upon the war poems of their enemies, have so shined forth from the darkness with the glories of great character and high purpose upon them as have the warriors, the sages, the princes, and princesses of the buried city of Priam.

The recitation of the Trojan legend will never cease to fascinate so long as heroism is reckoned the highest aspect of human life. The city was founded

by old Teucer, son of the river god Scamander and the nymph Idæa. For some reason the myth of river birth was peculiarly attractive to the Phrygian

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.—From a Greek vase of the third century B. C.



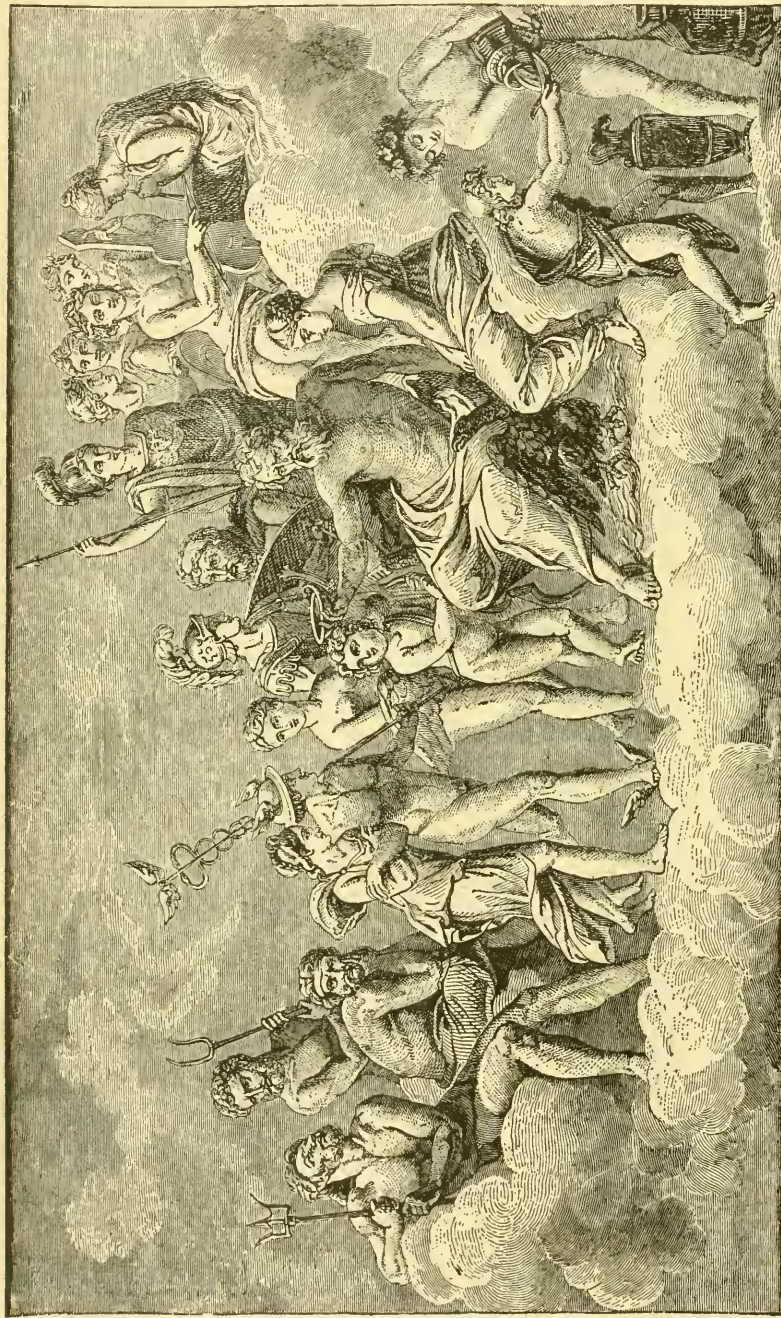
race. It was repeated as late as the time of the war with the Greeks. Paris was born like his great ancestor; his father was the river god Cebrius, and his mother a nymph. The legend re-

fers the old Scamander to a residence in Crete. Teucer was told to plant his city wherever the "earthborn creatures"

oracle was fulfilled, and he built the town of Sminthium, that is, Mouseville. Afterwards Phœbus Apollo of the Ho-

meric fiction took from this place his title of *Smintheus*, or the Mouser.

Then came Dardanus, son of Zeus and the nymph Electra; that is, the Sky loved the Lightning, Daughter of the Mountain, and Dardanus was born of the marriage. So the land was called Dardania. The people were the Teuceri. Afterwards, when Tros succeeded his father Dardanus on the throne, the people became Trojans. Tros took to wife the daughter of Scamander, and three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede, were born. From Ilus and Assaracus two royal houses were derived. The princes of the first were Ilus, Laomedon, Priam, Hector. Those of the other were Assaracus,



PSYCHE RECEIVED INTO OLYMPUS.—From the painting by Caravaggio.

should attack him. Journeying through the Troad he was beset by mice, which gnawed in twain his bowstrings and those of his companions. So here the

Capys, Anchises, Æneas. From Ilus the city took the name of Ilium; and, according to Vergil's fiction, the far-off Roman name of Julius was thus derived.

Thus rose and flourished Troy. The earth was too thickly peopled. The

The gods join issue, Achilles rages, and Troy hurtles down.

gods must destroy some for the good of the remainder.

In the Olympian councils war was chosen as the means unto the end. Discord threw the apple among the goddesses. Paris was appointed committeeman to decide its ownership. His reward was Helen. The immortals conspired that he should take her

invented or elaborated or believed by the sons of men.

The knowledge of the Trojan arts has already been diffused through the world.

More recently the explorations of Schliemann have demonstrated the truthfulness of the old literary pictures transmitted by the Greeks. The Trojans were undoubtedly a chivalrous people—active, warlike, pervaded with noble

Knowledge of Trojan arts diffused and perpetuated.



HELEN OF TROY.—Drawn by Hieron, from the Spinelli cotylos.

away; but she was the wife of the king. Hospitality was broken. Greece arose in arms. Troy was assailed. Ten years the siege continued. The gods came down from the mountains and fought among the mortal warriors—all for Helen. Then came the insult to the priest of Apollo; the sudden wrath of Achilles; the final stratagem, the wooden horse, the sack and pillage of the doomed town, the accomplishment of fate and destiny.—No other such story has been

sentiments. Their customs and rules of conduct are graphically delineated in the Homeric page and need not be repeated. In some respects the arts had reached a high development. The jewels and ornaments plentifully discovered in the excavations at Hissarlik show conclusively the taste and skill of an accomplished race. The textile fabrics that were worn for garments by the princes and warriors indicated a high measure of attainment in the practical arts. At the same time

the wearing of lions' skins and other trophies snatched by savage conquest from the natural world points to the comparatively recent emergence of the dominant people from the barbaric age.

Though Phrygia was one of the most interesting of the ancient states

Place of the
Lydians in the
highway of mi-
gration.

of Asia Minor, it was by no means the most powerful. The leading place, civilly and politically, belongs to Lydia. The country was centrally situated, and was no doubt immediately in the pathway of migration from the Old World to the New—from the Asiatic nest of races to their dispersion in Europe. As in the case of the other states, the boundaries of the country can not be fixed. They were indefinite, and varied greatly at different epochs.

Tradition has preserved the usual stories relative to the founding of the

Legend of the
foundation of
the Lydian
power.

Lydian kingdom. There was a dynasty of the sons of Hercules. As in the case of Phrygia the name Midas is the legendary title of the mythical kings, so, in Lydia, Lydus is the royal name during the fabulous ages. Herodotus tells the story. Lydus was the brother of Mysus and Car. It is the mere duplication of that military chieftainship under which the Aryan tribes in all parts of the world were brought from the migratory into the settled phase of life. From Mysus and Car we have the two geographical names of Mysia and Caria. It is the old story of the division of a territory among three brothers.

The old Lydians had a native historian, Xanthus, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century B. C.

Stories of Xan-
thus and Herod-
otus.

According to his authority, three successive dynasties held sway over his country. The first, that of the Attyads, is purely mythi-

cal. The ancient Aryans always placed a god at the beginning of their dynasties. Herodotus has a story to the effect that Tyrseus, son of Attys, during the Attyad dynasty, gathered a Lydian colony and went into Etruria. Perhaps the Father of History had had a dream to that effect, and regarded it as historical!

The second dynasty was also divine, or half-divine, in its origin. The names of the kings belonging to this period seem to have been derived from the East. Herodotus says that Omphale, first of this dynasty, was a son of Ninus and a grandson of Belus. As a matter of fact, there was considerable ethnic interfusion among the Lydians from an Assyrian and Babylonian source. We are here in a country far enough to the south to have received certain currents from the countries peopled and civilized by the Semites. This may account for the association in the page of Herodotus of the Lydian dynasty with that of Chaldaea.

Ethnic history, however, is not much concerned with legendary conjectures about the founding of nations. The old credulous story-tellers must be put aside if we would substitute fact for fiction.

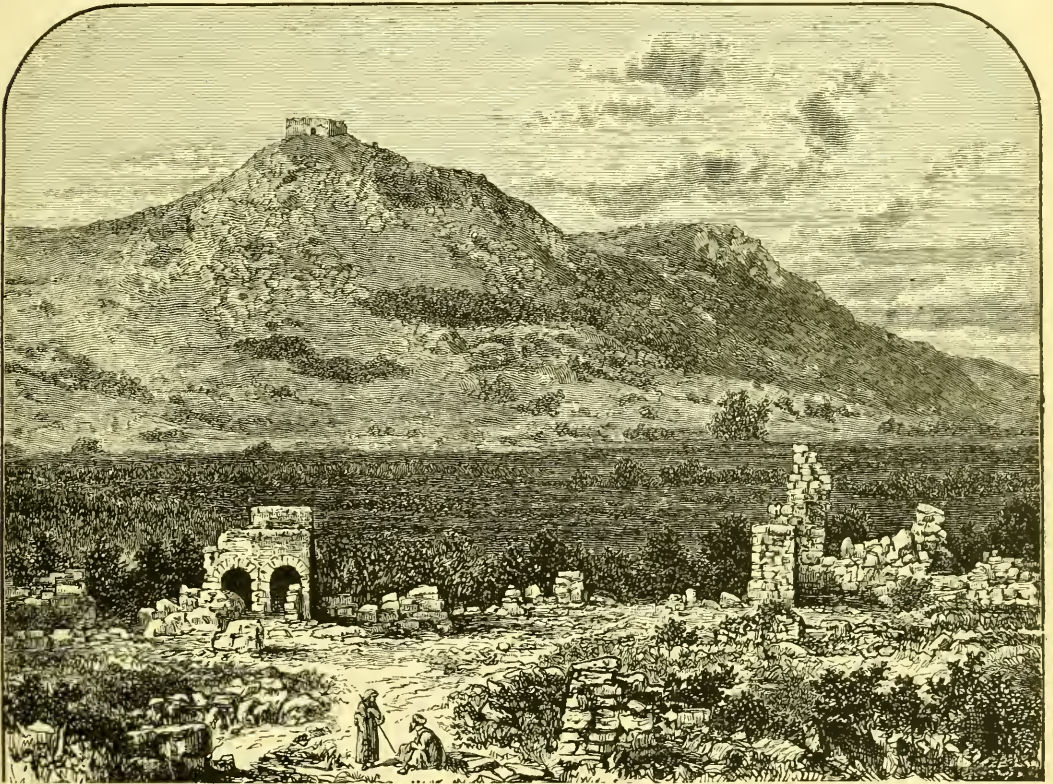
Lydian race of
Aryan descent;
invention of
coined money.

The real current of Lydian nationality was of Aryan origin, and the development of the kingdom was in the same manner which we have seen exemplified in Cappadocia and Phrygia, but on a more extensive scale.

Antiquaries have drawn from the ancient Lydian monuments and other sources of information many authentic data upon which a tolerably accurate account of the national life may be constructed. It can not be doubted that the Lydians were one of the greatest industrial peoples of antiquity. They have been credited with the invention of

coined money and of many other instruments of barter and general commerce. It is thought that the oldest existing coins, properly so called, are those of the Mermnadæ, or great kings of Lydia. These coins—if so they may be called—were of *electrum*, that is amber, but were probably alloyed with gold and silver. These were used in Lydian commerce until the times of Cræsus, when

placed in contrast with the Eastern Aryans; and the contrast is ever afterwards maintained among the races of Europe. The civil, social, industrial life becomes more than the mythological life, the life of superstition, of awe, of devotion. Not that the Aryan peoples of Asia Minor and, further on, those of Southern Europe, ceased to have the religious instinct, ceased to brood over the



RUINS OF EPHEBUS, WITH THE PRISON TOWER.—From a photograph.

coins of the precious metals took their place.

Here for the first time in the history of the Aryan race we perceive the ascendancy of new forces in the coming national life. It can no longer be said that the religious evolution is dominant over the other elements which were blending in the formation of the Lydian character. They now begin to be

problem of existence, ceased to frame explanations of the mysteries of the natural and spiritual worlds, but the peoples of the West henceforth remanded these considerations to a less important place, and became essentially practical in their development.

The old Iranians were on the crest between the Oriental and the Occidental tendencies of the human family. From this high ridge of division mankind

Beginnings of
secular society
among the Lyd-
ians.



ANCIENT LYDIAN TYPE.—CROESUS BEFORE CYRUS.

slope off orientalwards into the valley of the Indus. Mysticism more and more

Lydians the first of the great industrial peoples.

prevails; superstition more and more predominates; the industrial and practical aspect of life is more and more subordinated to the dream of the philosopher and the rhapsody of the devotee. But westward from Iran the tendency is reversed. The

Lydians may be called the first great industrial Aryan nation. Their country was such as to suggest the devotion of human energy to the creation of value. Very unlike the mountainous and sterile regions of Cappadocia were the hillsides and valleys of Lydia. Here grew the forest of fir; here sprang the vine; and here rich fields of grain and saffron rose, almost unaided, from the bosom of earth.

The climate was mild and healthful. The rivers gave life to the valleys, and their sands were mixed with shining particles. The Pactolus from his fountains in the Tmolus mountains, passing centrally through the country, brought down a burden of

Distribution of gold; other favoring conditions of nature.

gold. Cities that were built on his banks had golden sand in the streets. The region was favored beyond any of the countries which we have thus far described as belonging to the Aryan race. Though the land was sometimes shaken with earthquakes, and the Mæonian plateau on the east was the center of volcanic disturbances, nature was

otherwise calm in her aspects and fertile in her resources. The rivers and lakes, such as the Gygaean, in whose waters the remains of pile dwellings like those of Switzerland have been discovered, abounded with fishes, and the native woods of the hill-country furnished the gentler kinds of game.

Such were the natural conditions in



SCULPTURES FROM TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS.
From original in British Museum.

which the Lydians found themselves at a period fully a thousand years before our era. Duncker has fixed, with approximate certainty, the date of the establishment of the Heraclid dynasty at 1194 B. C. Henceforth Lydia began to flourish and to assume that strongly industrial aspect which the inventive genius of her people and the richness of the country suggested. From this time

Beginning of nationality and the industrial life.

may be dated the beginnings of the industrial arts. All of the physical aspects of civilization brightened under the existing conditions, and only the unfortunate place of Lydia on the map prevented the country from rising to a first rank among the ancient nations.

The Greeks were not wont to ascribe to other peoples such arts as they might claim for themselves. Among the foreign races to whom they cheerfully conceded preëminence the Lydians held the highest rank, with only the possible exception of the Egyptians. As early as the days of Homer, Lydia had become a manufacturing state. There were costly garments and rich jewelry.

Fame of the Lydians and their arts among the Greeks.

sufficiently conceal, the beauties of the human form was first begun. Indeed, all the articles from which the finest garments of antiquity—finest as to both their material and their fabrication—were produced, were either invented or manufactured by the skillful spinners and weavers of the Lydian cities. Herodotus has pointed with some wonder to the disposition of the Lydians to discourage nudeness or the large exposure of the body without drapery. Herein was a striking diversity of taste between them and the Hellenes, whose artistic sense was so strong as to make of no effect certain modest dispositions of the human species which have led most

Artistic fabrics; concealment of the person in dress.

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PHRYGIAN CAPS AND CASQUES.

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The weapons worn by the Lydian warriors in battle were considered artistic by the old bard, who was familiar with the splendid armor of the Greeks and the Trojans. The invention of the art of dyeing fabrics with rich hues is conceded to the Lydians. Their purple was famous. The carpets manufactured in Sardis were as preëminent in their kind as are the Turkish rugs which the modern connoisseur imports from Smyrna. It has been conjectured that for fully three thousand years the manufacture of these rich and costly fabrics has continued unbroken in the country where they were first produced.

It was by the Lydians also that the manufacture of those semitransparent fabrics which sufficiently reveal, and yet

ing in that physical excellence which would have delighted the eye with its curving lines and tints of beauty. It is more likely that the industrial spirit among them and their skill in fabrication led them to encourage the wearing of costly garments, elaborately produced and ornamented.

From this point of view we are able again to see the dividing tendencies between the East and the West. The costume of the Lydians was virtually an abandonment of the Oriental pattern. The old Aryans of the Iranian plateau, and even their Western descendants, the Armenians, still favored the styles of the East. The loose and girded sort of garments still prevailed in the eastern

The Lydians abandon the costumes of the Orient.

parts of Asia Minor, among the Cappadocians, and even the Phrygians; but among the Lydians other patterns, distinctly suggestive of the styles of apparel which were prevalent in classical Europe, and even in more recent ages, appeared, and became characteristic of the people. While the Lydian dress was as brilliant in its color and more complete in its details than those of the East, it tended to a closer and more artistic conformity to the body, revealing its beauty while concealing.

The Lydians have been assigned the distinction of being the first people to have invented and worn trousers, coats with sleeves, and shoes properly so called. Here are at least three leading articles of apparel to which these ancient people may be said to have dictated the ultimate forms which they now bear among the civilized nations of the West. It is claimed, moreover, that the celebrated Phrygian cap, which has been taken as a model for beauty and majesty in headwear, was invented by the Lydians rather than their eastern neighbors whose name it bears. Wherever on the coins or medals of ancient or modern times, on the summit of liberty poles, on the heads of those ideals which art has devised to express the spirit of freedom or nationality the old Phrygian cap appears, we have, among all civilized nations, a memento of the skill in costume and handicraft peculiar to the ancient Lydians.

In one other respect at least this people mark the western limits of a disposition which was peculiarly Aryan. The old race of Iran had for its companion the horse. More than once we have remarked upon the skill with which our ancestral Iranians governed and subordinated this

noble animal. Horsemanship was the primitive art of the Aryan race. It has been maintained in several countries to the present time. He who beholds a Persian prince riding through the streets of Ispahan sees the modern representative of the ancient knight who scoured the plains on horseback, outriding the winds. This ethnic characteristic was carried westward with the Aryan migrations, and reappeared in many of the states where the tribes of this stock established themselves and grew. In the eastern kingdoms of Asia Minor horsemanship was nearly as much cultivated and perfected as it had been in the original seats. As late as the times of the Persian ascendancy the Cappadocian horsemen were regarded as the flower of Darius's cavalry; but on reaching Lydia the disposition to ride gave place to the disposition to fabricate. The clatter of horses' feet, beating like the rhythmic pulse of Greek hexameters over hill and plain, gave place to the clatter of the artisan's factory and the merchant's shop. It was in the fertile countries of Western Asia Minor that the fiery race of steeds which had borne their masters for centuries in wild pursuit and wilder flight on the uplands of Iran descended with the hills to the level plains and sank in the sands of the Pactolus and the Mæander.

For some reason not easily discoverable this people, remarkable for vital activities and industrial enterprises, highly inventive as it relates to the products of artisanship, were not great in art, and had no literary genius. Owing to these two circumstances, the reputation of the Lydians with posterity has not been fixed on that immovable basis from which have risen the imperishable columns of Egypt and Hellas. Many

Introduction of
new garments
and styles of
dress.

Absence of the
artistic sense
and literary dis-
position.

Iranian passion
for horse-riding
subsides with
the Lydians.

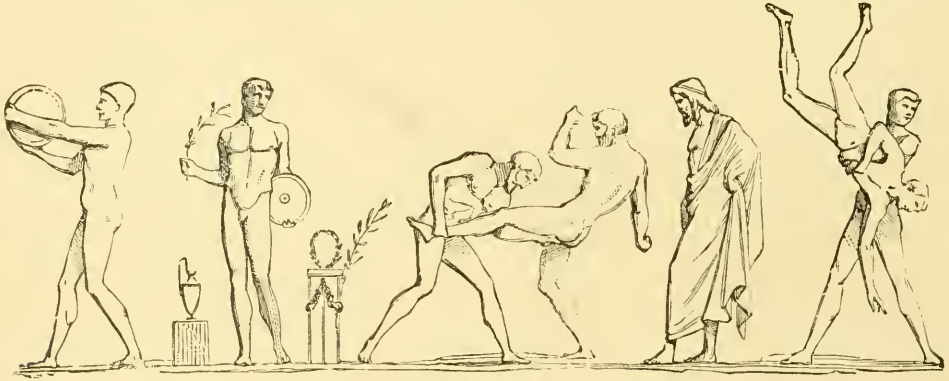
phases of Lydian civilization have accordingly perished. In other respects we are dependent for their reputation upon foreign peoples, notably the travelers and historians of Greece, and for the perpetuation of a fame which might otherwise have totally vanished.

It is doubtless true that, like other utilitarian peoples, the Lydians were immersed in the pursuits of gain and in the pleasures consequent upon the possession of wealth. It is conceded that many forms of amusement, afterwards cultivated by the European Aryans, had their origin in Lydia. Games at ball and

Love of gain pre-
dominates;
Lydian games
and music.

vivacity. The women participated with the men in public feasts and banquets, and this circumstance furnishes another striking example of the great departure which the Western Aryans were making from the old Iranian standards. Already we may discover traces, in this comparative equality of the woman, of that still wider emancipation which she was destined to attain among the Teutonic nations. The Lydian women appearing in public came well clad, uncovered as to her face and head, but closely and elegantly dressed as to her person. In her costume were all those

Society of the
Lydians; Sardis
a pleasure re-
sort.



LYDIAN GYMNASTS.—After a Greek sculpture.

at dice were learned by Greek adventurers who visited the country and were carried back to the youthful Hellenes, well suited to indulge in such sports and to improve them. It is thought that the flute and the cithara were both of Lydian invention, and that the science of music was cultivated to a degree that led the Greeks to introduce both the instruments and the melodies. The rustic pæans of the older Greeks were thus improved in form and harmony by the superior music of the Lydians.

The people were peculiarly free from care, jocular, sociable. The ancient authors who visited the country could but be struck with the prevailing con-

vidences of elegance and taste to which we have referred above in considering the dress of men. Children also came with their mothers to the banquet. The country became luxurious, and the semi-austere Roman travelers of the later republic, and more notably pleasure seekers from the West, were struck with amazement at the refinements and feasting of the Lydians. It became fashionable for the man of Europe to go on pleasure trips to Sardis, and there to become to a certain extent assimilated with the gay train of revelers. The city was to the earlier classical ages what Paris has been in modern times.

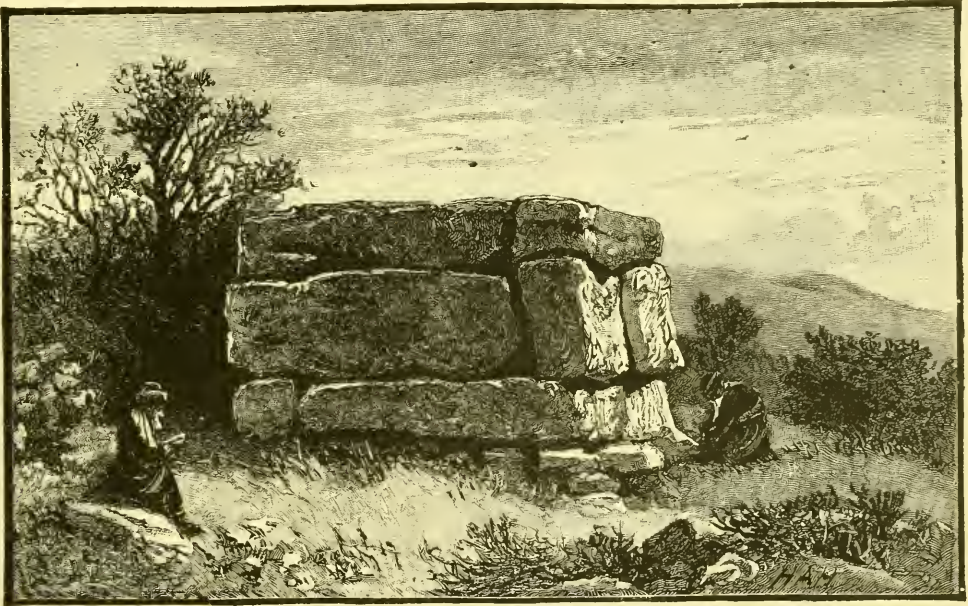
It has been thought by those who have looked into the philosophy of the situation that the reduction of Lydia to a satrapy by the Persians, with the consequent paralysis of the local political life, turned the energies of the people to the social life, which expanded and flourished under the stimulus thus afforded. The reputation of the Lydians for the gayety of their manners, their luxurious style of living, their skill in entertainment, and particularly their

Gayety and luxury of the people; Lydian music.

ciety its allurements during the whole of the Hellenic and Roman ascendencies. In the eastern part of the country the people retained much of their original character, and were assimilated with the half-barbaric Cappadocians; but in the copious districts of Western Lydia society grew rich and feasted on its own abundance until luxury intervened with a measure of effeminacy.

Reign of refinement; effeminacy follows abundance.

Only in one respect did the Lydians cultivate the more enduring forms of civ-



ROCK TOMBS OF THE LYDIANS AT MEIRON.—Drawn by Harry A. Harper, from a photograph.

musical genius, was handed down first to Europe, then to modern times. Even the saturnine genius of Milton remembered with a thrill the music of this ancient race, as the dancing strophes of *L'Allegro* wound and raveled in his imagination:

“ And ever, against eating cares,
Lap me in soft *Lydian* airs,
In notes, with many a winding bout
Of linkéd sweetness long drawn out.”

The civilization of Lydia was thus refined rather than substantial. The country held its attractiveness and so-

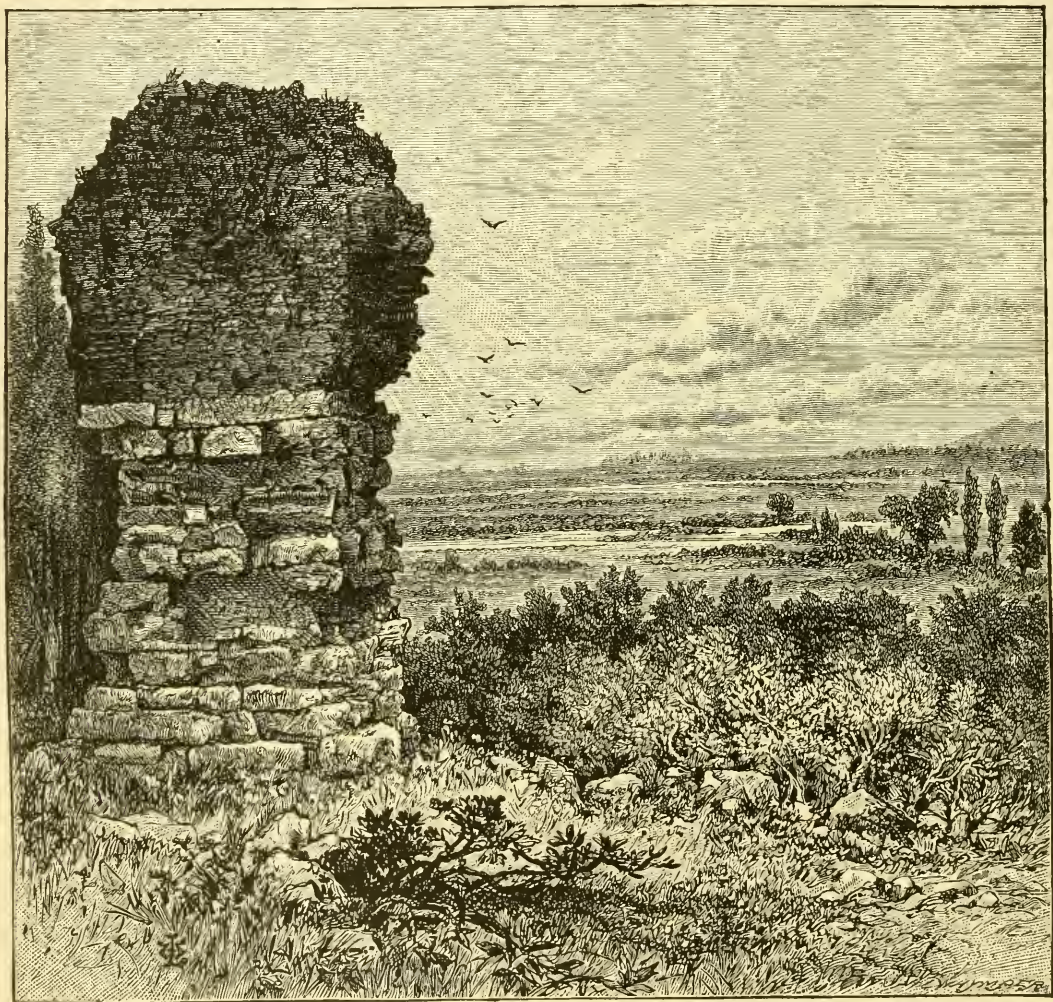
ilized life. Neglectful of true art and of the advantages of literature, they sought to perpetuate themselves, especially their princes, by the ancient device of monumental sepulchers. Rock tombs, with sculptures and other concomitants in stone, are found in all parts of Asia Minor, from Cappadocia to the Ægean. Lydia is rich in such remains. After the tremendous sepulchral monuments of Egypt those of Asia Minor are perhaps the most imposing and significant existing mementos of the dead.

Strife for immortality by monuments; the Bin Tepe.

About five miles north of Sardis, on a rocky elevation between the Gygæan lake and the river Hermus, the Lydian kings were buried. The place is called the *Bin Tepe*, or the Thousand Hills. The "hills" referred to means the "tombs," which rise to great proportions.

and has a circuit of three thousand five hundred feet. The situation of the great mound is such as to look directly across into the ancient acropolis of Sardis.

Under this monument was buried King Alyattes, whose fame is coëxtensive



RUINS OF SARDIS.—From a photograph.

About eighty of them are still in tolerable preservation. Among these, three tumuli are of very great size and importance. The smallest of them is one hundred and ten feet in height and about two thousand feet in circumference; while the greatest rises to an elevation of two hundred and thirty feet,

with the Lydian name. Herodotus declares that the tomb of this monarch, "except the work of the Egyptians and Babylonians," is the greatest monument of the kind in the world. There is much in common between these memorials and the pyramids of Egypt. The

Character of the royal sepulchers.

sarcophagus is far within, in the center. The dead prince was laid either in a cavity hewn from the native rock, or else in a stone chamber of the strongest masonry. Around this and above was placed heavy stonework, generally circular in form, and the whole was crowned with the tumulus. It is not impossible that antiquarian research, extending to these old vaults of the Lydian kings, will still reveal much of interest relative to the life and manners of the people who reared them.

Lydia, as might be inferred from her industrial and commercial character, was a land of great cities. Many of these

Principal Lydian cities; Sardis in particular.

were already famous before the age of the Greeks.

Besides Sardis, the capital, the cities of Smyrna, Samorna (afterwards Ephesus), Myrina, Cyme, Priene, and Pitane were all of greater antiquity than the municipal development of the Hellenic race. These old Lydian towns were reputed to have been of Amazonian origin. Myrina, Queen of the Amazons, is said to have given her name to the city so called, and the tomb of the mythical princess is still pointed out in the Troad. As to Sardis, it was certainly one of the richest and most luxurious of the early cities of Western Asia. It is believed that the Homeric Hyde, said to have been the capital of the Mæonian chiefs, is the same as the more recent Sardis. It is certain that from the beginning of the eighth century B. C., and even before, to the time when Constantinople became the capital of the East, Sardis continued to be the center of those refinements and luxuries with which her name is ever associated. Amid the ruins on the banks of the Pactolus columns are still standing which mark the site of the temple of Cybele. Under foot are the ruins, not of one

city, but of many, and it is believed that few ancient sites would so richly reward the scientific explorer as that of the old Lydian capital.

In the time of her ascendancy Lydia had a quasi sway over several adjacent states. On the north and northwest were Mysia and Bithynia, between which and Lydia the boundaries were fluctuating and uncertain. Bithynia lay on the Euxine, and was in close connection, ethnically and historically, with Thrace. Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo all agree that the Bithynians were of Thracian origin; that the line of migration had here doubled back across the Bosphorus into the country south of the Euxine.

Tradition of the descent of the Bithynians.

The country is said to have taken its name from the Thracian tribe called the Bithyni, but there was another tribe, the Thyni, who lay nearer to the Bosphorus, and were, therefore, more likely to be of Thracian descent. There were already aborigines in the country when the Bithyni appeared as conquerors. One of these, the Mariandyni, resisted the invaders and maintained their independence. These lay further to the east, having their territories adjacent to Paphlagonia. According to Herodotus, the Thyni and Bithyni maintained a separate political existence until the age of Cræsus, when they were subjugated by Lydia. Afterwards they were absorbed in the Persian dominions, and were included in the satrapy of Phrygia.

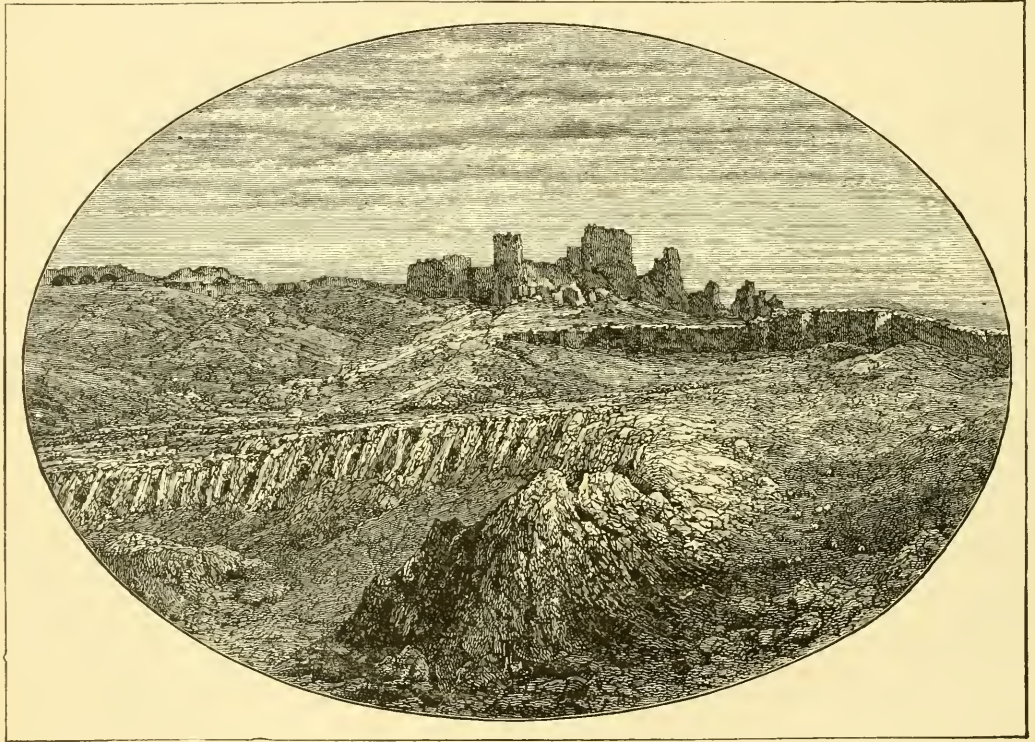
The natural features of Bithynia are more irregular than those of Mysia and Lydia. There are mountains covered with forests. It is, perhaps, the best timber region of Asia Minor, and large deposits of coal are added to the resources of the country. The valleys which open

Features and products of the country.

toward the Euxine are rich in fruits and flowers, while that of the Sangarius is fertile in the production of grain. The mulberry flourishes, and the silkworm supplies from the city of Brusa the materials of an extensive manufacture.

Bithynia is the seat of several important cities. The two capitals were Nicomedia and Nicæa, rivals in their own country, and famous in the annals of the

traced with exactitude. There was not much specific development, but a considerable general display of national growth. Mysia was much less important as a state than Lydia. Herodotus makes Mysus, the head of this tribe, to have been the brother of Lydus and Car. During the Trojan war the Mysians were allies of the Trojans, but their early history is lost in obscurity. Herodotus re-



PERGAMOS.

Greeks. Chalcedon at the mouth of the Bosphorus, and Haraclea on the Euxine coast, one hundred and twenty miles away, were also celebrated cities during the Hellenic and Roman ascendancies. The industries and commerce of these seaport towns rivaled the trade of the Ægean islands, and drew thither the barks of the Phœnicians.

It is clear that the early populations of Western Asia Minor were greatly inter-fused. The ethnic lines can be nowhere

peats a story that the Mysians invaded Europe with the Teucrians before the war with Troy, but the story is fiction.

Authentic history touches the Mysians for the first time on the occasion of their subjection to Cræsus, King of Lydia. Afterwards the country was absorbed in the Persian empire, and became a part of the satrapy of Phrygia. Of the Mysian language only a single relic has been preserved. This is the inscription found in the acropolis of Thymbria, which has not

The Bithynian cities; place of the Mysians.

Political vicissitudes of the race; Mysian cities.

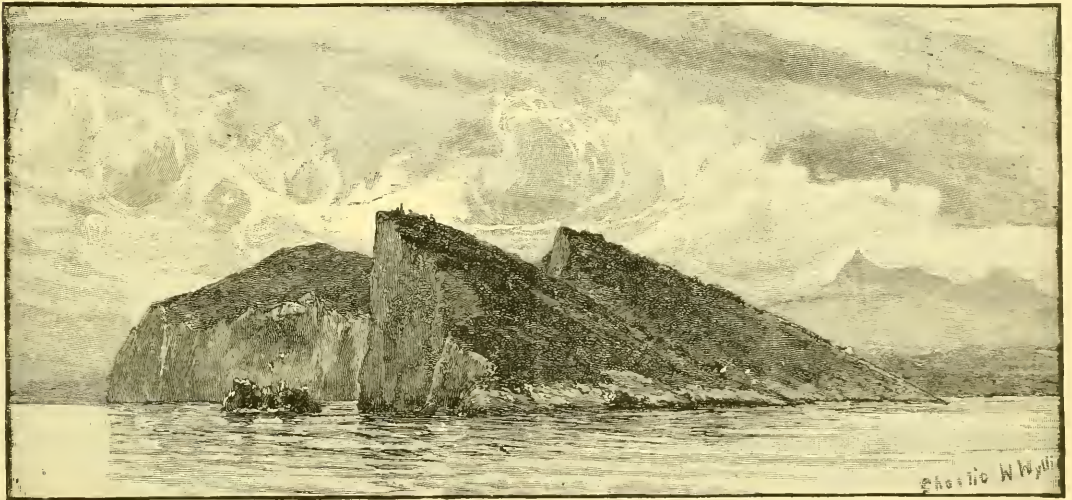
yet been deciphered. The most important of the Mysian cities was Pergamon, which flourished at a very early age and afterward became the seat of a great monarchy under the successors of Alexander. Cyzicus, on the Propontis, was a Milesian colony, and was the principal of several Greek settlements which extended around the seashore of this part of Asia Minor. The region here referred to became in after times, under the dominion of the Greeks, the seat of the Æolian confederation.

Caria occupied the southwestern angle

of the peninsula, many of which were separated from the mainland by only narrow straits. Here lay the great islands of Rhodes and Cos, while Symi, Telos, Leros, Calymnos, Patmos, and many others were at no great distance from the shore.

The civil and political development of Caria was not strikingly different from that of the northern states, but the ethnography introduces new elements. The race descent of the Carians was doubtless originally common with

Ethnic descent and development of the Carians.



CARIAN LANDSCAPE.—CAPE DUCATO.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

of the peninsula. Like the other states of Lesser Asia, its boundaries were indeterminate. The most striking natural feature of the country is the succession of great promontories which run out into the Ægean, including within their protecting walls deep inlets and gulfs, which penetrate far into the land. The gulf of Cos is seventy miles in depth. That of Jasus, on the north, and the great inlet between Miletus and Priene are almost equally capacious. Here were the suggestions of an early maritime and commercial development. Beyond the coast line were numerous

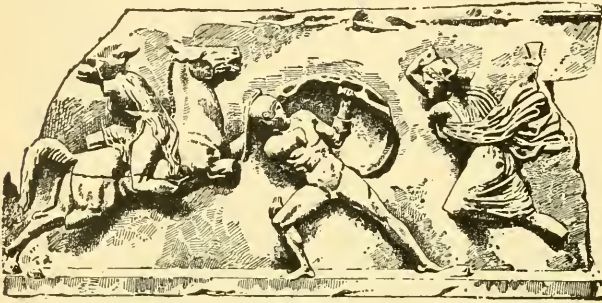
that of the Lydians, Phrygians, and Cappadocians—that is to say, Aryans; but the departure was greater. Here, moreover, we are plainly under the lines of Semitic and Hamitic influences. The effect of these streams of population winding around the Mediterranean out of Syria was to give to the Carians a more composite character than we have discovered in the northern countries of Asia Minor.

Herodotus, in his garrulous style, derives the Carians from Father Car, thus associating them with the Lydians and Mysians. It is only another specimen of the three-son method of accounting

Place and physical character of Caria; the littoral islands.

for the existence of diverging races. In general, the ancient historians speak of the Carians as a different race from the Lycians and Phrygians. Authentic annals give no account of the origin of any of these peoples. The primitive

The three-son story of Herodotus; insular influences.



FRAGMENT OF THE FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM HALICARNASSEUM.

From the original in British Museum.

tribes inhabiting the Carian coast and the outlying islands by the Greeks were called Leleges. They were said to have been subject to Minos, King of Crete. They had an early reputation as sailors and adventurers by sea. We have seen that the Bithynians were thought to have been planted by a reflex movement out of Thrace. The Greek tradition gives a similar account of the Carians, who were said to have been driven from their insular position by the Hellenes and compelled to establish themselves on the mainland of Caria.

These reflex movements may be taken with much allowance. The greater likelihood is that the Carians came with the advance of the Aryan races from the East, and that they were subsequently intermixed not only with an aboriginal population, but with Semites and Hamites, who traversed these regions and planted colonies. It is not unlikely that the Greek tradition of an insular origin for the Carian race was attributable to the wars which the Dorian Greeks had

Interpretation of the legends; Dorian confederation.

with the Carians early in the historical era. It was on this part of the coast that the Dorians established themselves in a number of colonial cities, known as the Hexapolis, or Dorian Confederation, somewhat famous in after times. Three of these cities were in the island of Rhodes, and the other three on the mainland. The latter were Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus, all of them celebrated seats of intercourse and commerce during the classical ages.

From the land-side cities of the Dorians the Greek population gradually spread along the coast and then subordinated the whole country; but the Car-

The Greek ascendancy; race origin of the Xebeks.

ans maintained an independent existence in the interior, and were recognized as a distinct race to a late day. At the present time the mountain regions in the eastern parts of Caria are inhabited by a people who call themselves Xebeks, who are believed to be the modern descendants of the ancient people. They are said to preserve certain distinguishing marks, traits of character, manners, and customs which are so clearly in an analogy with those of the primitive race as to leave little doubt that the existing tribes are the descendants of the old Carians.



APHRODITE.
From a medal of Cnidus

If from the southwestern angle of Asia Minor we pass eastward along the Mediterranean coast, we shall traverse the ancient states of Lycia, Pisidia,

Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, at the eastern borders of which we touch Syria,

Semitic border of Asia Minor; descent of the Lycians.

and are lost in the Semitic countries. There is perhaps no region of the earth an ethnic classification of whose ancient and modern peoples would be more difficult on general principles than that which we here traverse from Halicarnassus to Antioch.

Among the different races lying along this coast, perhaps the Lycians were the most important. The country is a promontory, or at most a peninsula, held in place on the north by the ridge of Taurus. Herodotus says that the primitive people dwelling here were the *Termilæ*; and for once the assertion of the Father of History is verified by the inscriptions of the country; for the native name *Tramilæ* has been recovered from stone slabs and architraves in the country. The story of Herodotus gives also the name of the aborigines, who were called *Milyans*, and we may accept this also as correct. But the Cretan origin which he assigns for the Lycians must be rejected, as well as his other reference to an ancestor named *Lycus*, son of *Pandion*.

The Lycians have a singular political history. They were able in the first

Political career of the race; the Lycian antiquities.

ages to defend themselves against the growing power of the Lydians. They succeeded in maintaining their independent existence during the whole Lydian ascendancy, and when that country yielded to the Persians and became a satrapy in the empire, the Lycians stood up against the armies of *Cyrus* with a courage that would have done credit to the Greeks. At last, however, they were subdued by *Harpagus*, the general of *Cyrus*; but their final resistance, when they were hemmed in to their

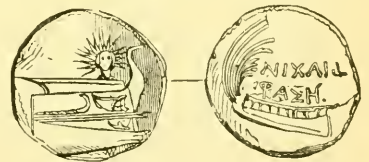
capital city of *Xanthus*, was memorable and heroic.

Within the present century the attention of antiquaries and ethnologists has been turned with special interest to the monuments of the ancient Lycian race. The country has been found to be unusually rich in remains of a prehistoric civilization. In the years 1838–40 *Sir Charles Fellows* made explorations through Lycia, and called the attention of the British Government to the country as a splendid field for antiquarian research. An expedition was accordingly sent out, and the British Museum has been enriched with a great addition of valuable memorials from Lycia. These have been drawn for the most part from the sepulchral monuments of the country.

The relics are among the most interesting which have been recovered from Asia Minor. There is found among the sculptures and architectural remains a

Deductions from architectural remains and inscriptions.

strong likeness to the art of the Greeks, but in addition to this a certain native style of building and decoration has been discovered,



which is said to possess features remarkably like those of the Elizabethan era in England. In addition to the tombs which were opened by the English antiquarians, many ancient Lycian theaters were explored and their character determined. These are in close analogy with the amphitheaters of the Greeks, and the inscriptions are also Greek in their sentiment and style.

But far more valuable than any deductions from the architectural remains

ANTIQUE VESSEL AND MEDAL OF LYCIA.
From a vase in the Cabinet of Medals, National Library.

of the Lycians are the linguistic discoveries which the inscriptions have fur-

Bilingual tablets lead to a knowledge of the language.

nished. These are in the native language of the country. The characters

employed are of a kind hitherto unknown; but fortunately for the information of mankind, several inscriptions were bilingual, one of the languages being Lycian and the other Greek. The latter has been deciphered with little difficulty and a translation thus obtained of the original Lycian. The circumstance is exactly similar to that of the famous Rosetta Stone of Egypt, which first gave to scholars the true clue to the hieroglyphics. A restoration has been effected of a considerable portion of the native language of Lycia, and the striking feature discovered is that the vernacular speech of the country was *in close analogy with Zend*, thus fixing its origin in the Aryan stem. The discovery is of extreme importance, as it has tended more than any other single fact to determine the race character of the ancient populations of Western Asia Minor.

The Lycian language, thus in some slight measure restored, was also in af-

Strong likeness of the Lycian language to Old Greek.

finity with the Greek. There had evidently been, before the development of

the written system, a mingling of the two races. In the restoration of the Lycian alphabet it was found that twenty-four of the letters had been formed after Greek models; that is, they appeared to be only variations from the established uncial forms of Old Greek. It was discovered, moreover, that the alphabet and the dialect itself lay close alongside the Dorian variety of the Hellenic speech. Dorian is the most antique dialect of the Greek. So it is evident that the relationship be-

tween Lycian and Greek was established at a period very remote. In the case of such discovery, however, it must always be borne in mind that the relative priority of the two tongues is still an open question. Was Lycian a derivative of Dorian, or vice versa? Back of this question even lies the other more important one, Were not both languages derived from a common tribal vernacular far more archaic than either? In fact, of all conjectures, the latter is most reasonable and most in accord with what we know of other similar instances of derivation.

We have here, then, in the extreme southwest of peninsular Asia a people who are evidently of Ar-
The Lycians classified ethnically by means of language.
 yan descent. Though they were maritime; though they lay directly under the lines by which all the primitive Syrian tribes would make their way into Europe, whether by land or sea; though they were out of the direct path of the Western Aryans en route for the archipelago and continental Europe; though they were held from that pathway by the ridge of Taurus; nevertheless, some branch of the primitive stock made its way of old into the Lycian promontory, and gave a fundamental ethnic character to the people who were afterwards developed therein.

The reader who glances even casually at these circumstances can not fail to observe the exceeding value of linguistic information in determin-
Great value of linguistic science in ethnology and history.
 ing the race dispersion of ancient tribes and peoples.

In fact, without this unmistakable linguistic trace it would have been impossible for modern scholars, in the face of tradition and ancient lore and fixed opinion and superstition itself, to determine with scientific accuracy in what

way and into what parts the families of men were originally distributed.

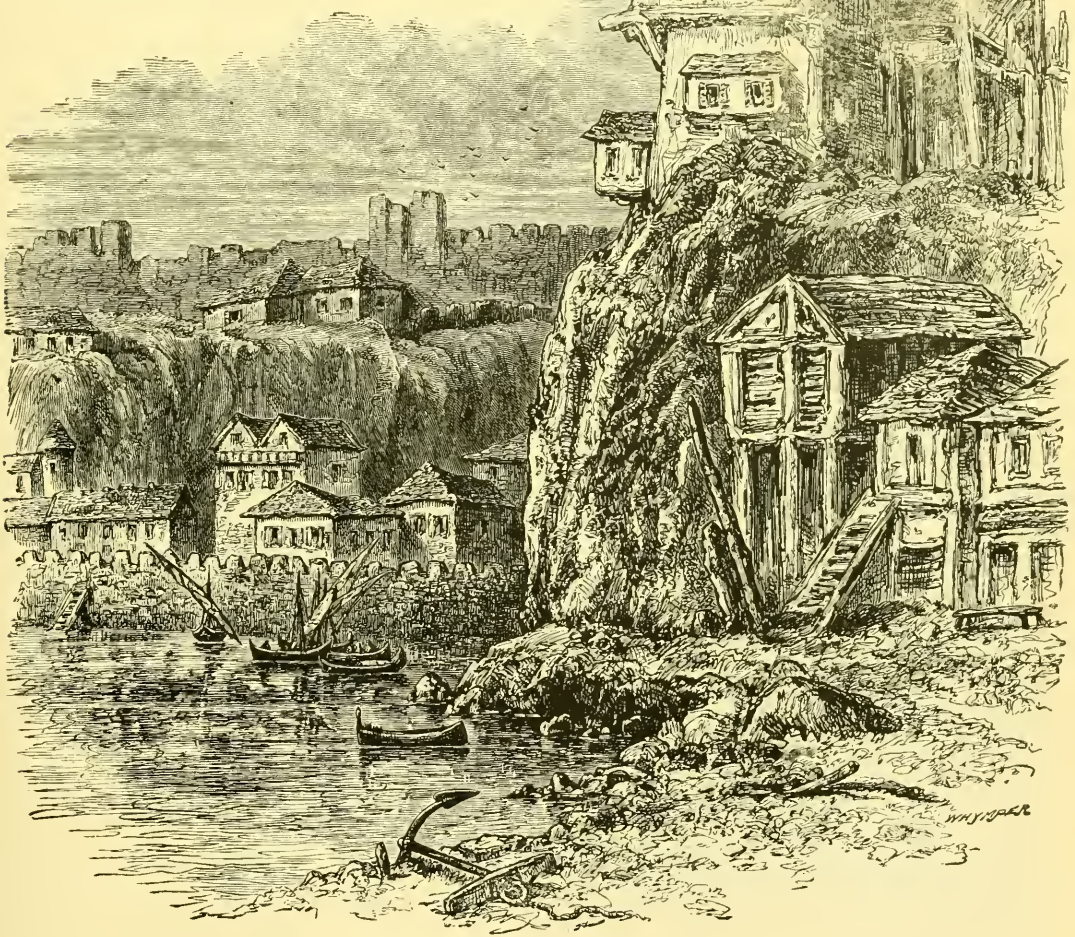
Passing eastward from Lycia we enter Pamphylia, a narrow coast country, well known to the ancients.

Herodotus gives a tradition that the people called Pamphylians were originally a colony which had been led into their country after the Trojan war by two chieftains named Amphilochus and Chalcas; but this account has little value. Strabo re-

times as an independent nation. Little mention of them is found before the age of Croesus, when Lydian conquest was extended over all the adjacent countries of Asia Minor, Pamphylia with the rest.

Tradition of the
origin of the
Pamphylians.

Herodotus gives a tradition that the people called Pamphylians were originally a colony which had been led into their country after the Trojan war by two chieftains named Amphilochus and Chalcas; but this account has little value. Strabo re-



VIEW OF ATTALEIA.—From a sketch of C. J. Danford.

cites the same story. Coins recovered from some Pamphylian cities have been noticed to bear inscriptions in letters resembling Greek, but the language was evidently a barbarous dialect. The Pamphylians were not known in ancient

At a later period, when the Roman ascendancy had extended over Western Asia, Pamphylia, in common with Cilicia, was a seat of piratical power sufficiently portentous to give alarm even to

The country a
seat of piracy;
mixed race
character.

Rome. It is now believed that the Pamphylian seaport town of Side was the principal nest of those freebooters who

it is likely that the interfusion of Semitic peoples was here more considerable than in Lycia and the Western states.

Of the Pisidians, the next people toward the east, no mention is made by Herodotus. Nor are they enumerated as among the races subjected by the

Meager knowledge of Pisidians; Xenophon's narrative.

Lydians and afterwards by the Persians. There is no separate classification of Pisidian troops in the army of Xerxes, but at a later period they furnish the occasion for the expedition of Cyrus the Younger into Asia. Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, relates that the Pisidians, by constant aggression upon their neighbors, brought on a conflict in which the Greeks of Asia Minor, and finally the Spartans, participated. This drew into that country the army of Greeks, of which Xenophon himself was a soldier, the ostensible object of Cyrus being to put down the Pisidians, while his real object was the crown of his brother, Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Of the tribal descent and ethnic connections of the Pisidians nothing is known. Some ethnographers have thought them to be identical with the

Little known of ethnic relationships or history of the race.

Milyans of Homer, while others have referred their origin to the ancient Solymi; but Strabo declares that the languages of the Solymi and the Pisidians were distinct. The country was a mountainous region, and several ancient tribes were known to dwell in the fastnesses, the principal of which were the Cabali and the Milyans.

The same uncertainty exists relative to the ethnic character of the Cilicians.

At the present time the fertile plains of this province are overrun with hordes of Turcomans and Kurds, and the country is devoted to pastoral and nomadic

Cilician race in like obscurity; the Syrian border.



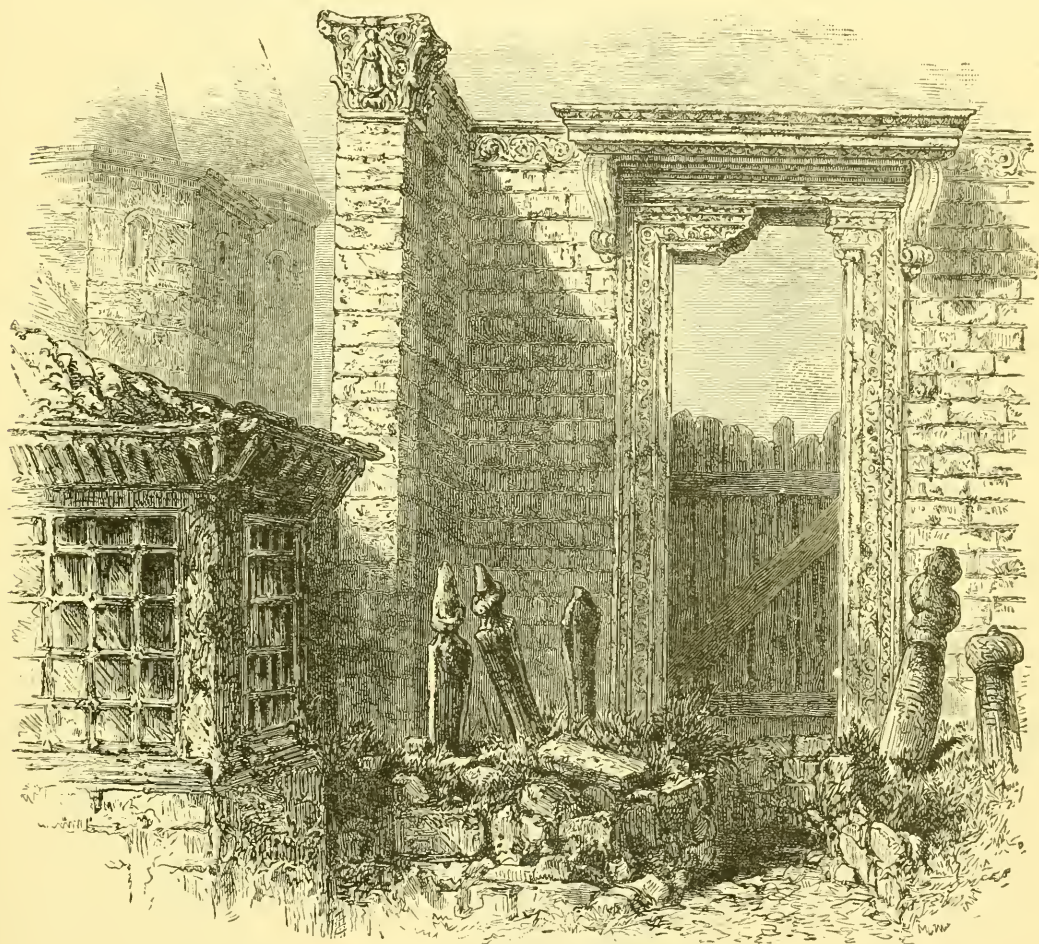
KURDISH WARRIOR OF BORG—MODERN CILICIAN,—TYPE.

Drawn by J. Laurens, from nature.

for a long time terrorized every nation around the Mediterranean. Of the language, traditions, and arts of the Pamphylians little is known. Though we may ascribe to them an Aryan origin,

pursuits; but these circumstances furnish but little clue to the character of the ancient inhabitants. If we are to accept the assertion of Herodotus, that Cilicia extended on the east to the river Euphrates, it is manifest that the population would be Semitic; and it can not be doubted that a large percentage of this

to have received a primitive population of Aryans. It was these shores, with their numerous inlets, bays, and obscure rivers that furnished, during the latter years of the Roman republic, a nest for the piratical empire, for the overthrow of which Pompey the Great was finally sent out, to the imminent hazard of the



RUINS OF ANCVRA GALATIA.—After Charles Texier

stock, that is, of the Aramaïc branch thereof, had entered the Cilician country.

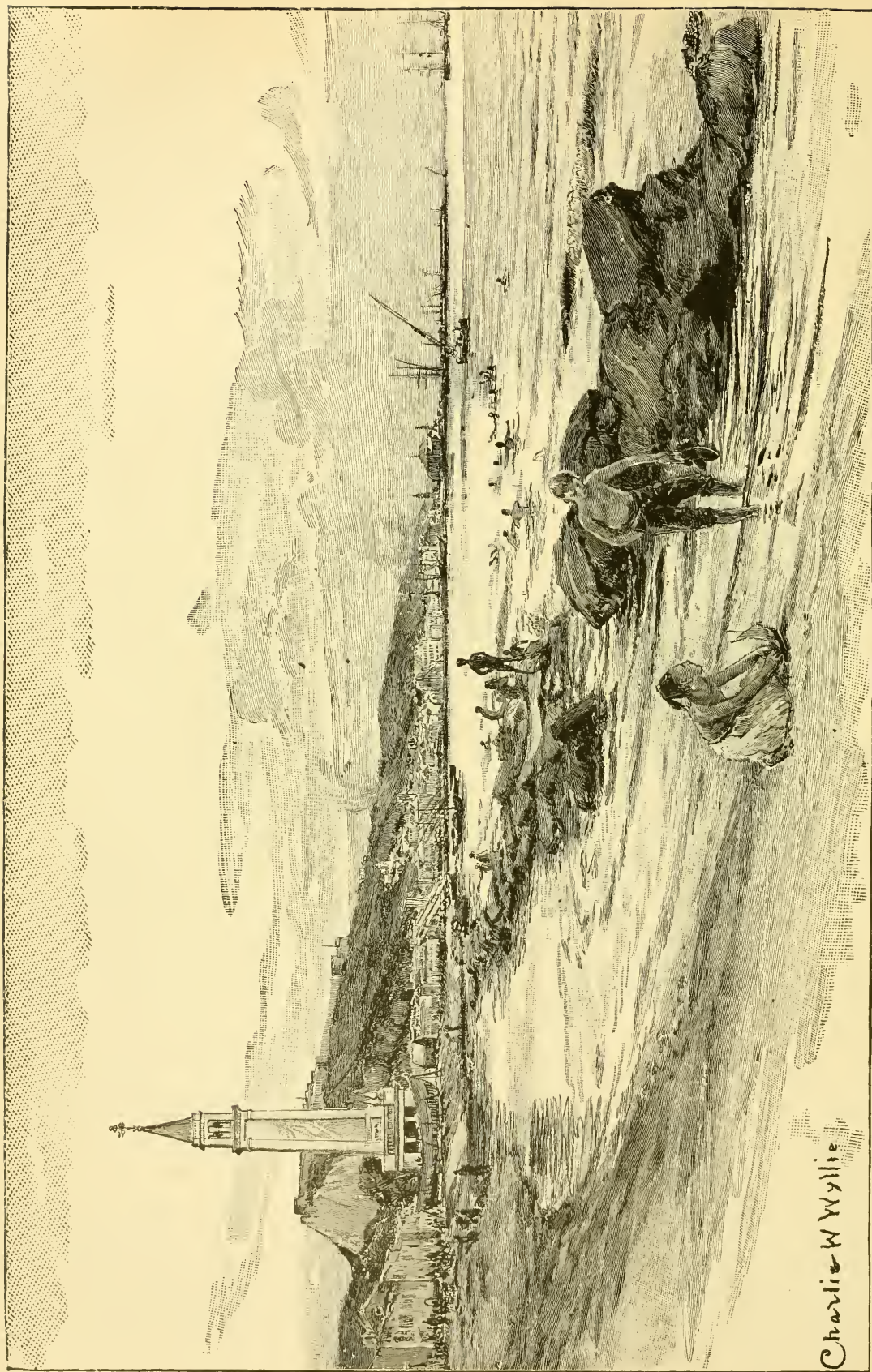
We are here, however, on the borders of Syria and may, on general principles, expect a decline in Aryan influence. The coast region from Pamphylia to Antioch is separated on the north from Lycaonia and Cappadocia by mountain ranges, and for this reason is less likely

Roman fleets and his own military reputation.

The remaining province of Asia Minor, as it existed in the classical times, is Galatia, an inland country lying east of Phrygia. Its position in the ethnic scheme of

Anomalous position of Galatia; its ancient inhabitants.

Western Asia is anomalous. Perhaps no other country, ancient or modern, has re-



Charlie W. Wyllie

IONIAN CITY OF ZANTE.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

ceived its leading population under circumstances so extraordinary. Originally Galatia was included, at least in part, with Phrygia. There can be little doubt that in common with the other countries of Asia Minor there were aborigines in these regions whom the Aryans overcame in their migrations westward. No doubt Galatia had at one time a population of Aryan extraction. The geographical position of the country would seem to forbid any other conclusion, but the strange fact in the ethnic history of the country is the incoming of a Gallic, that is a Celtic, race from the West.

It was this Gallic invasion of 277 B. C. which gave the name to the country.

Story and results of the Gallic invasion.

It appears that a great body of Celts, turning back from the western parts of Europe, as we have shown in the former book, came upon Northern Greece, under the leadership of their great chieftain, Brennus, and reduced the northern countries to their sway. One division of these invaders crossed over into Asia Minor and made their way into the center of the peninsula, where they settled into permanent occupancy. The race was divided into three tribes, the Trocmi, the Tectosages, and the Tolistobogii, distributed respectively in the eastern, the central, and the western parts of Galatia. They became a nation detached from their own ethnic stem by a geographical space of nearly two thousand miles. The national development was strong and substantial, and the nation was sufficiently robust to interpose a strong barrier against the progress of the Roman empire in the East.

We have now considered all the leading peoples of Asia Minor with the exception of the Greek colonists of the coast. Of the establishment of these peoples in the places where we find

them in the dawn of the historical era we shall have occasion to speak in the following chapter. To what extent, historically speaking, these Greek colonies—Æolia, Ionia, and Doria—were the result of the growth of an original people common with the Greeks, distributed along the eastern shore of the Ægean, and to what extent they resulted from a later colonization, as the Greek historians would have us believe, it is impossible to determine. Doubtless both movements coöperated in peopling the coast, as well as the adjacent islands, with races of Hellenic descent.

Traditional origin of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor.

The spread of the Aryans westward from Armenia through peninsular Asia, and their establishment there in many states of comparatively small dimensions and not of much historical importance, well illustrates the nature of that general diffusion by which the world has been peopled. It also shows in strong light a race tendency of the Western Aryans, as distinguished from their kinsmen who migrated eastward from the original seats. The west-bound nations broke up, conformed to the geographical environment, took on a multifarious development which has for each its own line of evolution and race character, until the resulting peoples exhibited even within narrow territorial limits great diversity in institutions and languages.

Diffusion of mankind illustrated in the spread of the Greeks.

Asia Minor illustrates well this principle of ethnic growth. It also foretokens what we are now prepared to consider, the conspicuous example of race expansion in the Hellenic family. Western Asia Minor slopes off into Hellenic conditions, and at the coast exhibits features scarcely distinguishable from those presented by the Greek peoples of the archipelago and the mainland of Hellas.

CHAPTER XLV.—ABORIGINES OF HELLAS.



It has been remarked that the ethnologist and historian are absolutely baffled in the attempt to discover the beginnings of tribal life in any quarter of the world. There are always suggestions of a *lower stratum* underlying the first ascertainable movements of man on the earth. The first people find another people before them, and these if they could be interrogated, would find still another. The races of men have thus been successively superimposed, and we are obliged to be content with the discovery of what is only *approximately* the aboriginal state of man.

Nowhere are these facts more clearly verified than in primitive Europe. We are able to discover indistinctly the first tribes of the Aryan race on this continent. The movement was migratory, wave following wave from the East. With the help of the historic imagination we can trace many imperfect outlines of the incoming and distribution of the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans, the Teutons and the Celts. But while investigating this dim period in remote human history, we come, ever and anon, upon the vestiges of preceding races. Europe was not only habitable, but inhabited by many peoples long before the first man of our own ancestral stock touched the shores this side of the Ægean and the Hellespont. This epoch of pre-Aryan history opens up a vista of facts and surmises the investigation of which will, perhaps, never be satisfactory to the inquirer. Too much

has been lost of this early estate of man to admit of any complete delineation of his life and manners; only vestiges remain.

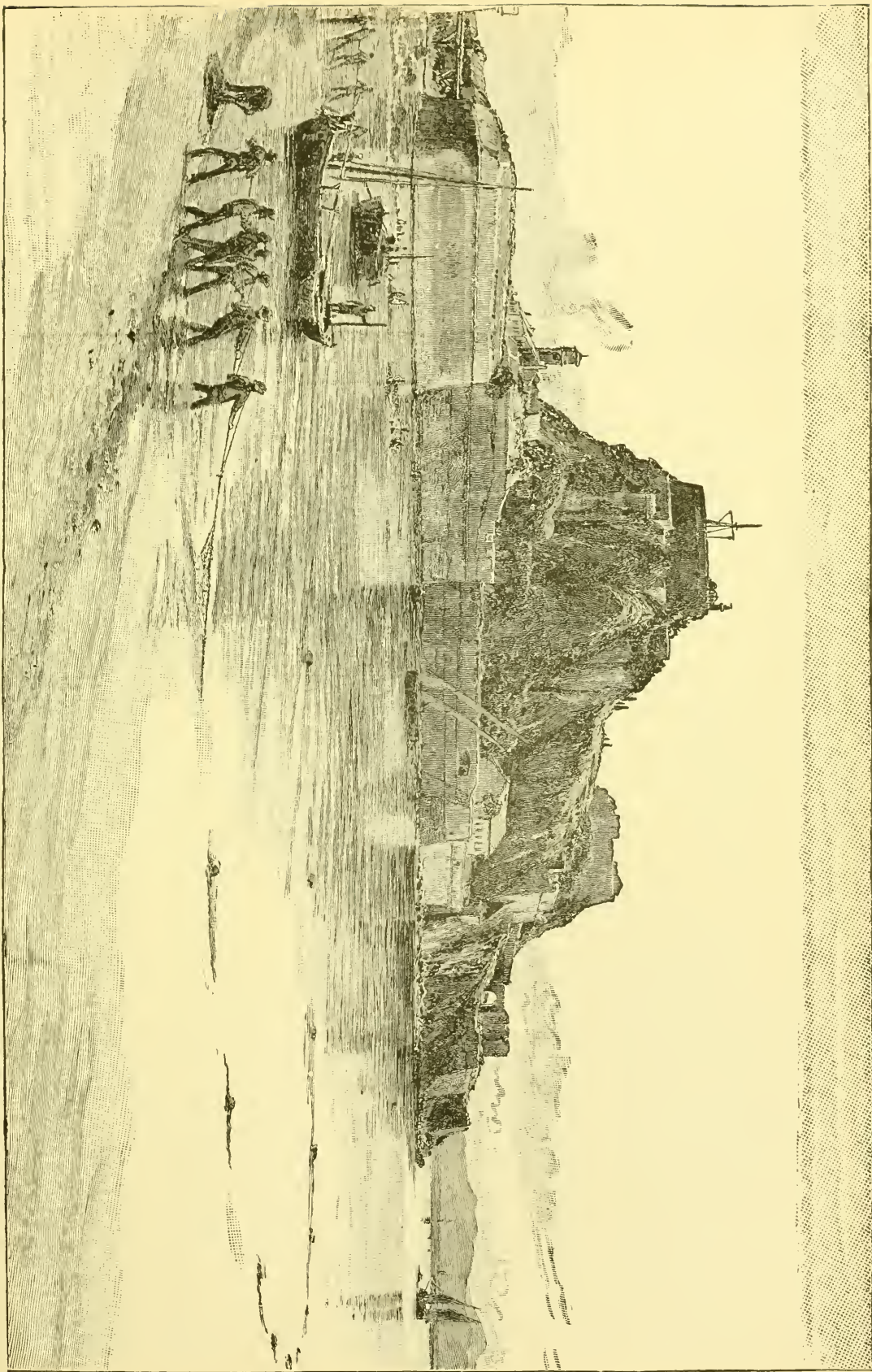
The attempt will be made in the present chapter to note some of the most primitive aspects of life which are dimly outlined in the prehistoric ages in the southeastern peninsula of Europe. It was known—well known—to the Greeks themselves that another people had preceded them in Hellas and the Ægean islands. Like knowledge was possessed by the Latin gens relative to the pre-historic peoples of Central Italy. Neither the Greeks nor the Latins, however, were at all disposed to dwell upon the character and manner of life of the peoples that preceded them in their respective countries. The early Hellenic historians and philosophers gloze the matter over, devoting their whole energies to the glorification of their own ancestry and passing by as barbarous the achievements of the other peoples with whom they had come into contact on entering the country.

The historical and archæological investigations which have been carried forward by patient industry and under the guidance of scientific methods, in the present century, have thrown much light on the period which we are now to examine. But many things still remain obscure. One of the points still undetermined is the race affinity of the primitive peoples of Hellas and Italy with the great Celtic race distributed in the western parts of Europe. The Celts are, of course, of Aryan descent, being allied in their ultimate ancestry with the

Greeks and Romans ignore their precedent races.

Primitive Europe shows the universality of aborigines.

Question of the race affinity of the Hellenic aborigines.



ASPECT OF INSULAR EUROPE FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN.—CORFU AND CITADEL.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutonic races. But it is not known whether the primeval tribes which were found by the immigrating Hellenes and Latins in their respective peninsulas were of the same stock with the Celts or of a totally different descent. Some ethnologists have been disposed to regard the Pelasgians of Greece and Italy—which people we are now to consider—as the earliest local results of the Celtic immigration into Europe; that is, it is held that the incoming Celts *dropped* certain of their tribes in the Hellenic peninsula, and afterwards still others in Central Italy, while the more radical and restless branches of the race pressed on to the west, until they found insuperable barriers to further progress in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain.

The idea is that the Greek Pelasgians were themselves of a common substance with the Celtic wave which overspread at first the southern parts of Europe and afterwards the western and northwestern regions of the continent. Other historians have held, with perhaps equal grounds of confidence, the opinion that the pre-Hellenic as well as the pre-Italic peoples of the southern peninsulas were of a totally different stock from the Celts, and that they were deduced either from a Semitic source, by way of Phœnicia and the East, or that they were of Hamitic origin, being allied with the Egyptians and the Cushites. The question remains undecided, and the reader is obliged to content himself with the statement rather than the solution of the problem.

But the Pelasgians were nevertheless a fact—the great fact in the primitive history of the Grecian peninsula. The extent and dispersion of their tribes through the country can not be well as-

certained, but the principal seats of the race are well known. When the first Hellenic tribes, drifting into Greece by way of the Ægean islands or down through Thrace from their former home in the highlands of Phrygia, touched the mainland, they found the older people there before them. The extent and variety of the wars by which the Pelasgians were jostled from their settlements, displaced, driven back to the remote and mountainous parts of the country have no authentic record—scarcely the outline of a tradition. None the less, such a dispossession of Greece actually took place, and the Hellenes became dominant, planting the germs of a new development in the country.

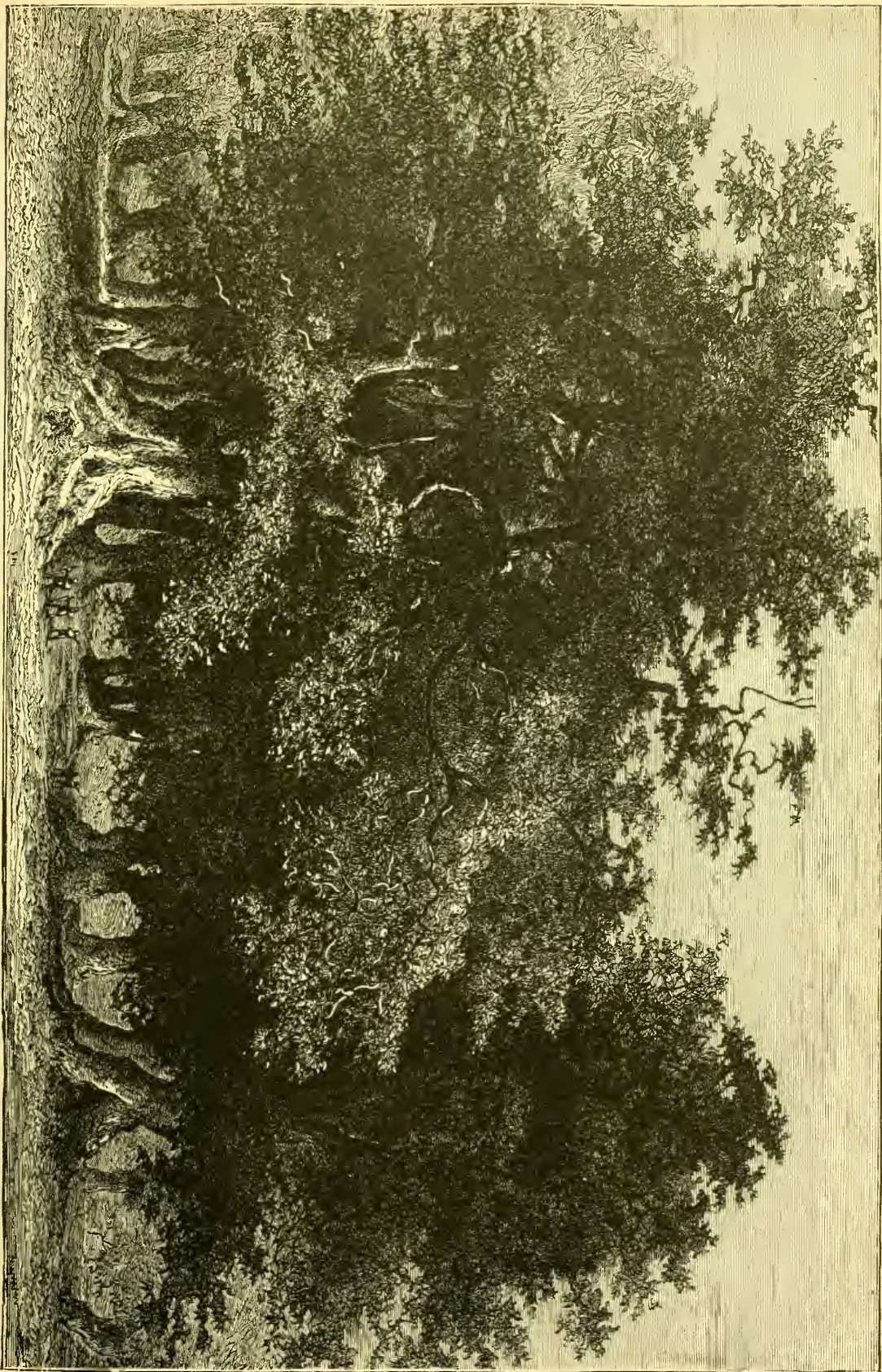
The Greek authors give incidental sketches of the character and manner of life of the people that preceded them. They are described as barbarians, and perhaps the epithet is justified as it relates to the Pelasgic race in most parts of the peninsula. But in some districts the people had made considerable progress toward the civilized condition. The western seat of this Pelasgic development, indeed the national center of the aggregation of tribes, was at Dodona, in Epirus. The fame which this locality acquired and ever afterwards maintained was traceable to the fact that the place was the nucleus of the Pelasgian traditions and religion. Here the Dodonian Zeus was worshiped by the primitive race with such solemnity that the Greeks adopted the cult of their predecessors.

It is well known to what extent the superstitions of Dodona afterwards entered into the general mythology and religious ceremonials of the Greeks. The situation was very similar to that which,

Obscurity of Pelasgian displacement by the Greeks.

Greek Pelasgians the probable residue of the Celtic migration.

Greek sketches of their predecessors; the Pelasgic Zeus.



OAKS OF DODONA.—Drawn by H. Clerget, after a sketch of M. H. Belle.

many centuries later, was present in Britain, where the old Druidical ceremonial, having its center and virtue in the oak woods, perpetuated itself into the epoch of the Saxons. The Hellenes, however, were more willing to accept previous beliefs and practices than were the stubborn Teutonic barbarians of our ancestral island.

The Pelasgians, at least the frontier tribes, are described as a barbarous people of the woods. They were shaggy hunters, rough in manners, and truculent in character. As late as the times of Homer references to the primitive people of Epirus and Achaia are common in poetry and story; and there is always a touch of contempt for the barbarous life of the people referred to. The Achæans, whose name among the cultured Greeks was a synonym of barbarity, were supposed to be a mixed race, deducing many of their elements from the original Pelasgic tribes.

If Dodona and the west were the principal seat of Pelasgic tradition and mythology, the east and south of Hellas were the center of progress and power. It was in the Peloponnesus that the best development of the Pelasgic race occurred. But in other parts of the peninsula, as far north as Thessaly, in portions of Bœotia, in Attica itself, the remains of this old race are abundantly discoverable. Such remains are truly monumental. The Pelasgians, in their own day, had what may be called an international fame. They were known to the Egyptians, and are mentioned many times in the sculptures of the Nile valley. The Egyptian philosophers were wont to claim kin with the Pelasgians of the Ægean islands and the mainland, and

The Dodonian cult enters into Greek mythology.

Barbarous character of the Epirotes and Achæans.

Evidences of Pelasgian ascendancy in Southern Hellas.

to patronize them on account of their skill as builders. It is in the latter regard that the Pelasgic race has its fame with posterity.

Underlying the monumental remains of the Hellenic race in Greece and Ionia, and in places distant from the seat of that magnificent people, are the remains of another people, who were in some degree the fathers of Hellenic architecture. It is as masons, as builders in stone, that the Pelasgians have astonished all succeeding peoples, and as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century the astonishment has been intensified by a more careful and scientific examination of the ruins left behind by the primitive builders of Pelasgia.

Perhaps the most remarkable of these monumental remains are those found in the ancient state of Argos, in Southern Greece. This territory seems to have

been the seat of the military power of the Pelasgians. The ancient capital was Tiryns, a short distance from the more recent Argive capital. The ancient city was not only the center of population, but a military acropolis. It was situated on a rocky elevation in the marshy plain of Argolis, three miles from the sea. Tradition among the Greeks chatted about the founders of this stronghold and the date of its founding. The work was said to have been done by the hero Proteus, who preceded by some generations the hero Perseus in Greece.

Tiryns was said to have been the early home of Hercules. But it is not with tradition but with fact that we have here to deal. And the tremendous fact under consideration is the massive masonry which remains to this day in attestation of the skill and power of the primitive builders. So heavy is the stone

Superiority of the race as builders manifested in Argos.

Situation of Tiryns; fame of its masonry.

work of these ruins that Pausanius did not hesitate to compare the fortifications for massiveness with the pyramids of Egypt. It was current among the Greeks that the gigantic Cyclopes were the builders of the Tirynthian walls which were thought too great to be the work of mortality. To this day the name *Cyclopean* preserves the ancient tradition of the ruins.

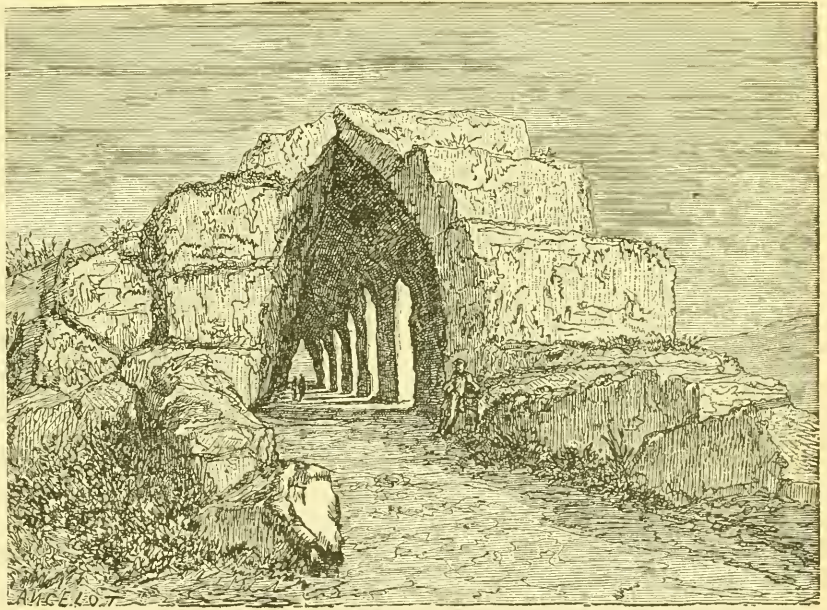
Attempts have been made to fix the date of the time of the city of Tiryns and the Pelasgian ascendancy in Greece.

It may be safely stated that the same occurred not later than the eleventh century before our era. The fortifications, the palace, and other public buildings of Tiryns continued to exist until 468 B. C., when the Hellenic Argives of the neighboring city of Argos succeeded in destroying and partly obliterating the old Pelasgian capital. During the

period of Grecian ascendancy the old race and its architectural ruins were first ignored and then forgotten. It has remained for recent times to explore the memorials of pre-Hellenic greatness, and to describe them with scientific accuracy.

The rocky elevation on which the citadel of Tiryns was built has a length of three hundred and thirty yards and a breadth of one hundred and twelve yards at its widest part. This area is encompassed with a wall which, for massive-

ness, is hardly surpassed by any ancient or modern masonry. The wall is from thirty to forty feet in thickness, and was originally about fifty feet in height. The method of building was skillful in the last degree, and was in close analogy with the massive stonework, to be hereafter described, on the plateau of the Andes, in South America. The stones employed were so massive that Pausanius says that the lightest of them would be a load for a yoke of mules. The outside stones were cut and dovetailed into each



AN ENTRANCE WAY AT TIRYNS.

other in a manner most ingenious, and with special reference to securing immovability in the structure. In the outer layers no dependence was placed on mortar or any like artificial means of binding together. All depended on the masonry proper. The interior of the wall, however, was made up of stones which were held in place by mortar and by the cut stonework with which they were braced on both sides.

The stones in this great monument are dressed with hammers, and the work is done with astonishing accuracy. Through

Date and vicissitudes of the city.

Dimensions and massive ramparts of Tiryns.

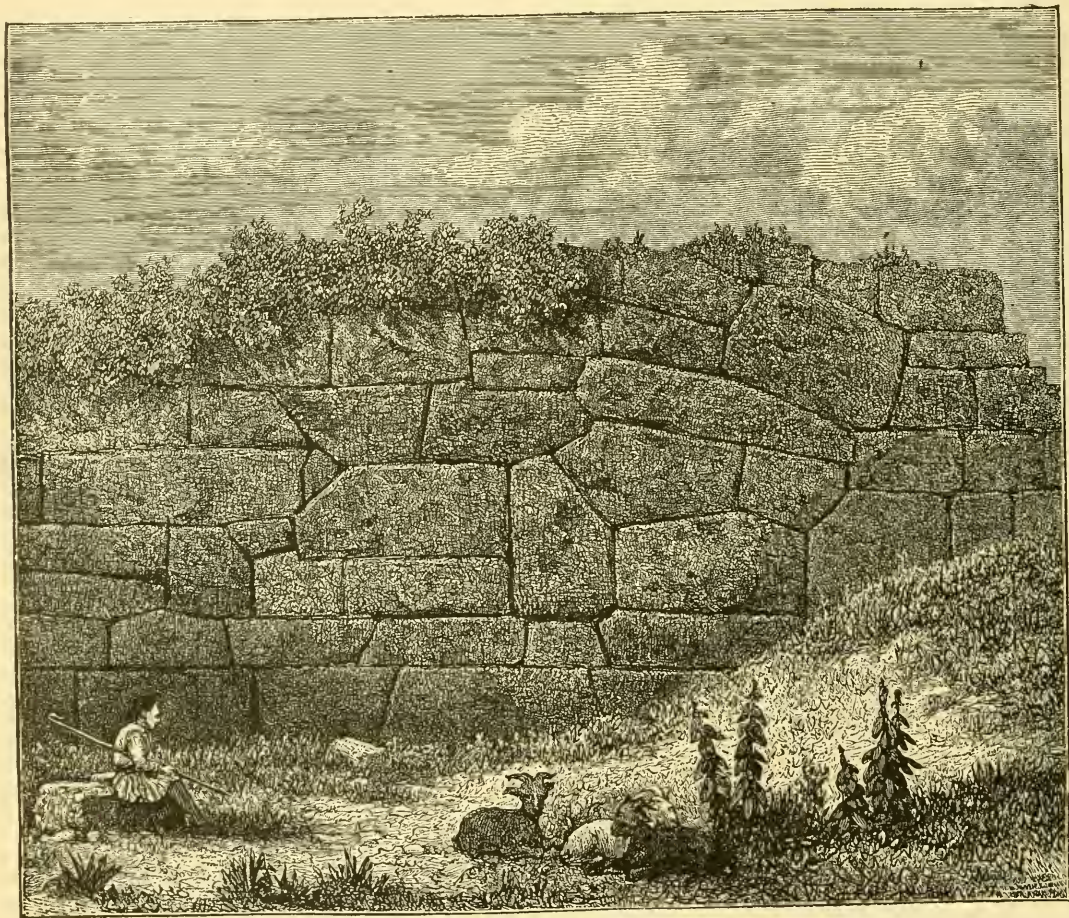
the wall there was one great gateway, which is believed to have resembled what

Character of the
stone work and
passages.

Schliemann has called the Lion's Gate, at Mycenæ.

There were other passages through the walls, but they were narrow and easily defended. Within the great circumvallation here described the cita-

with respect to seclusion and defense. There was a main gate defended by a tower, and from this there was a passage extending to an inner gate, and thence to the courts of the palace. There was a great court, fifty-three by seventy feet in dimensions, in which an altar was erected, with a pit or arena alongside



PELASGIAN MASONRY.—WALL OF TIRYNS.

del was divided into parts by cross walls almost as massive as those of the circumference. Within the inclosures thus formed the outlines of several important structures have been determined. The foundations of the royal palace have been made out and the plan of structure ascertained. The building was surrounded by a stone rampart, and within this was another, everything being arranged

to receive the blood of the sacrificial victims.

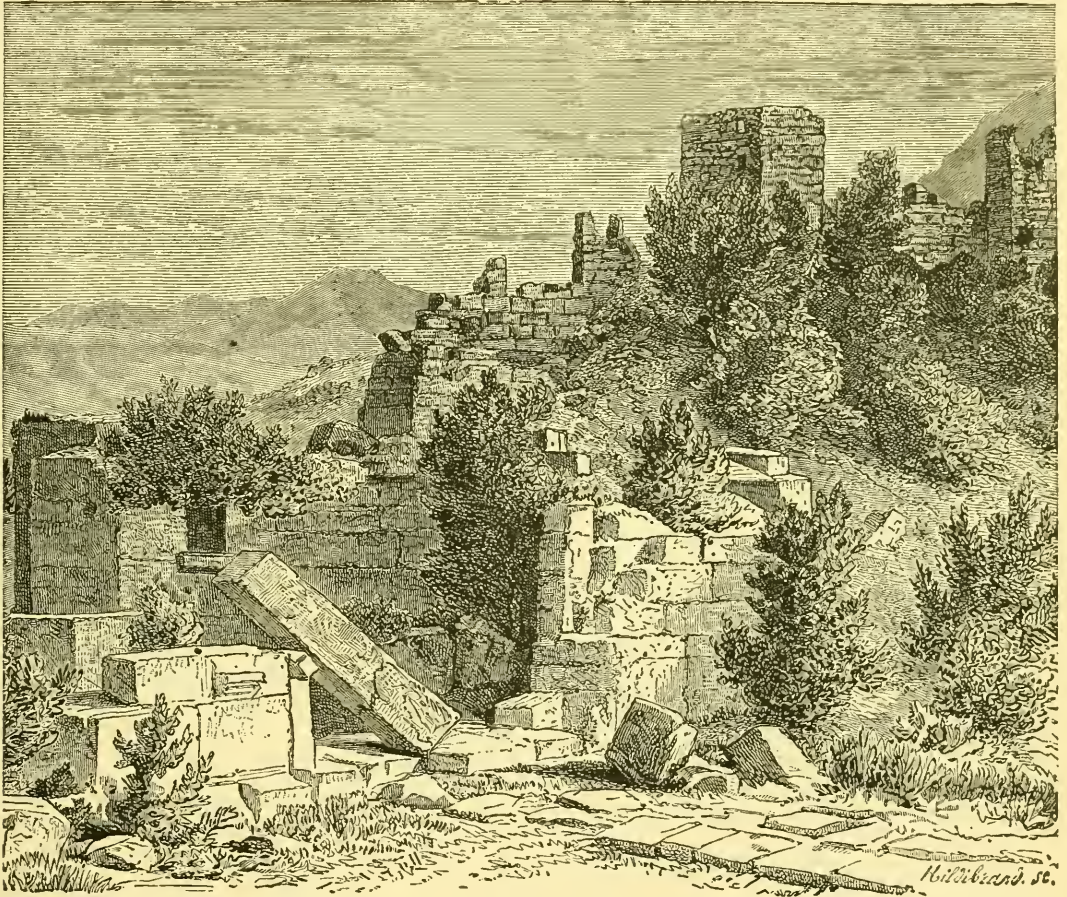
It appears that the colonnade about the palace was of wood. The hall within had dimensions of

Particular features and style of the palace.

forty by thirty feet, with a great circular hearthstone in the center. On one side of the hall were a number of chambers intended for the occupants of the palace or for

guests. One series of apartments were for women and another for men. There were staircases leading to the upper floors, and the usual details peculiar to royal abodes. On the top of the surrounding wall was a colonnade of wooden pillars, each resting on a circular block of stone. Upon these pillars

where the dowels were inserted for the support of the ceiling are still plainly seen. The doors were hung on hinges of bronze, and many of the cuplike sockets in the lintels are still in place. Specimens of the ornamentation are found, exhibiting excellent work as to pattern and execution. The designs in-



VIEW OF MYCENÆ.

was constructed a flat roof, which was open toward the inside of the city.

Another peculiar feature of the Pelasgian building was the use of stucco and of sun-dried bricks in the less important parts of the walls. The columns and doorposts were of wood, and it is in evidence that many of the rooms were ceiled with the same material. The holes in the interior of the wall

include birds and animals and scroll work done in imitation of the semi-Oriental styles prevalent in Asia Minor. A part of a frieze executed in white alabaster has been recovered and preserved. It consists of rosettes in relief and various vinelike patterns, studded with pieces of blue glass and enamel.

It is evident from the whole ruin, from its massiveness, its strength, its

elegance of design within, and its elaboration of details that the Pelasgians as builders in stone and wood had reached a very high degree of excellence, worthy indeed to be compared with the greatest architects of ancient or modern times, and this at a date before the first impulses of Hellenic migration had been felt in the Ægean islands or on the mainland of Greece. The brief notice

Deductions
from character
of royal build-
ings and citadel.



PELASGIC ART—GOLD MASK FOUND BY SCHLIEMANN AT MYCENÆ.

here given of the monumental remains at the old Pelasgic city of Tiryns covers nearly all that is known of the architecture and skill of the people.

The usual inferences may be drawn from the existence of such a city and citadel. It was evidently a stronghold of the race. The palace included within the walls was certainly royal in its design and use. About the fortified part of the city doubtless lay spread the less important dwellings and marts of the people. There has always been a

correlation between the public and private edifices of a given age and people. The former are more majestic and permanent; the latter soon go down to the indiscriminate dust. The existence of such a capital as Tiryns implies opposing powers. It may be that the military significance of the place bears evidence only of the tribal struggles which were going on for the mastery of the peninsula, but the greater likelihood is that foreign states across the Ægean and even the Mediterranean were the powers contemplated when the Tirynthian walls were built.

Not only in Argos, but in Attica, even on the site of Athens herself, similar Cyclopean

remains have been discovered. In Bœotia, and far north in Thessaly, the outlines of pre-Hellenic stonework may be found here and there, furnishing abundant evidence of the wide distribution of the Pelasgic race. Though these ruins give to modern times the most tan-

Cyclopean re-
mains in other
parts of Greece.

gible and indisputable proofs of the existence and work of such a people as the Pelasgians in the Grecian peninsula, their real influence in subsequent times doubtless lay in the modification which they effected in the character of the Grecian race.

It is one of the most interesting inquiries with which the ethnologist has to deal to determine the influence of a subject people on their conquerors. Such influence varies very greatly with different races and in different epochs of history.

In general, the remnants of the Latin race widely distributed in Europe, exercised a strong reaction on the barbarians who overran the country between the fifth and the eighth century of our era. In some cases, however, as in the Saxon conquest of Britain, scarcely a vestige of the original people could be discovered in the subsequent race development of the island. In the case of the incoming of the Hellenes into Greece, and the formation therein of their petty democracies and aristocracies, and the consequent evolution of a peculiarly brilliant nationality, it is doubtless true that the original Pelasgic tribes contributed

Possible influence of Pelasgians on the Hellenes.

largely to the creation of the new Greek character. Certain it is that some parts of their religion entered into union with and became almost dominant over the imported mythology of the Greeks, and it is also certain that their skill as builders suggested the subsequent architecture of the Hellenes. The masonry of Mycenæ and of the other great towns of the Heroic Age was copied from the older work of the Pelasgians, and is indeed only a later and completer development of the original system of stone-cutting and structure. The Pelasgic masons were the fathers and school teachers of the great builders of the Doric era in Greece.

CHAPTER XLVI.—HELLENIC TRIBES AND THE ENVIRONMENT.



N entering upon the race history of Europe two methods present themselves to our choice. In the first place, we may take our stand in the cur-

rents of those migrations by which Europe was first peopled by the Aryan races, and may follow the various tribes and nations in the order of their evolution into the civilized condition. This involves the determination of the question of priority. Which was the oldest of the Aryan families on the European continent? Which was first to arrive and to plant itself in permanent form? Did the Celts precede the Græco-Italic race? Did the northern stream of migration discharge its volume into the West at an earlier epoch than did the southern? Were the Teutones the oldest or the youngest born of the great ethnic family? If this first method of inquiry be adopted, all of these questions must be settled in order that we may follow the streams of migration in their natural course to their natural destination.

In the second place, it is practicable to take up the various races of Europe in the order of their historical development; that is, we may consider first those nations which present the earliest complete activities within the historical era, and pass from these to those of a later date. That is we may begin with the Græco-Italic race in the southern peninsulas of the continent and notice, first of all, their successive expansions into national forms; and afterwards we may pass to the countries north of the Alps and take up the later evolution of the Teutonic, the Slavonic, and the Celtic families.

Question of priority among the European Aryans.

These races considered in order of historical development.

On the whole, the latter method is to be preferred. We have already arrived on our westward course at the Ægean islands. It is but a step to the mainland of Greece, another step to Italy, and still another to the North. Historically, this is the order in which the great races of Europe have presented themselves. It is not, therefore, so much a question of the relative priority of the original

termine precisely how much the words *Greek* and *Hellen* should include in ethnography. It may be safely assumed that the oldest seat of the race was in the Ægean islands and along the western shore of Asia Minor. We speak here of the first period of conscious life among the Greeks, and not of the mere diffusion of barbarous tribes. All the

What the ethnic terms Greek and Hellen should include.



ISLE OF SCIO.—A STEPPING-STONE OF THE GREEK MIGRATION.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

tribes which gave a primitive population to the continent as it is of priority and natural sequence among the civilized races. We shall therefore adopt the order of the historical progress among the European families rather than what may be supposed to have been the migratory procession by which the original tribes were distributed into the countries west of the Bosphorus.

We shall thus begin with the Hellenic tribes and nations. It is difficult to de-

termine precisely how much the words *Greek* and *Hellen* should include in ethnography. It may be safely assumed that the oldest seat of the race was in the Ægean islands and along the western shore of Asia Minor. We speak here of the first period of conscious life among the Greeks, and not of the mere diffusion of barbarous tribes. All the

Ægean archipelago was Greek. The eastern coast was essentially Greek as far north as the Hellespont. Hellas Proper was Greek, and the Peloponnesus. This is said of the country as far west as the northernmost limits of Epirus.

It is on the north that one of the boundaries of ancient Hellenism seems most uncertain. Were the Thracians Greek? and afterwards the Macedonians? If we follow the line of migra-

tion out of the Phrygian highlands and assume that the tribes would effect their

Difficulty of knowing the race descent of the Thracians. passage at the Bosphorus, we come naturally into

Thrace and afterwards into Macedonia. Of the aborigines of these northern regions history knows nothing. Respecting the peoples whom the Aryan tribes may have found in the region between the Hellespont and Thessaly, conjecture gropes blindly; and we have little evidence as to the extent to which the restless Hellenes took possession of the country on their way to the south.

The question here before us suggests a notice of what were certainly two of the principal routes by which the Greek immigrants gained footing

The two principal routes of the Greek incoming. in their future home.

There can be no doubt that a people essentially Hellenic were carried forward by the general movement of the races to the western shores of Asia Minor and into the adjacent islands. This movement continued across the archipelago into Greece. It was doubtless the first distribution of a truly Hellenic population from Phrygia and the East. The second migrations were later in date. These came by way of the Hellespont and Thrace into Greece from the north; and it is thought that the immigrants doubled back into the archipelago and distributed themselves along with older Hellenes already in partial possession of the Ægean islands. The Ionian Greeks did not cross into Europe, but extended themselves down the coast, and we may believe that the earliest conscious bud-dings forth of Greek civilization were out of Ionia. It is safe, on the whole, to include the peoples of primitive Thrace along with the Hellenes, and to regard them as a result of an ethnic distribu-

tion made by the Greeks in passing through the country to the south.

The Thracian language has wholly perished, and the monumental remains of the country have as yet thrown but little light upon the ethnic classification

Linguistic and monumental relics of the Thracians.

of the original inhabitants. They are known to have been Indo-Europeans, and to have had much in common with the Greeks of the south. As late as the middle of the period of Hellenic ascendancy the Thracians were wont to be in alliance with the Athenians against the Macedonians, which proves conclusively the historical affinity of the two peoples. It is also known that the prevailing worship among the Thracians was that of Dionysus, which they had in common with the Phrygians and the Greeks.

The existing monuments of the country are tumuli, of vast proportions, similar in character and purpose with the hill of Marathon. Of these tumuli, there are thousands within the limits of the Thracian territory, but as this region has corresponded for a century or more with the heart of European Turkey, science has made little progress in exploring the ancient mounds. In some of them relics have been found identical in design and workmanship with similar implements among the Romans. It has been thought by antiquaries that these remains were of the post-classical period, when the country was under Roman domination, and when later burials threw into the same mound the workmanship of a later age.

Historically, our earliest acquaintance with the Thracians shows them in the tribal condition.

Condition of the Thracians at the beginning of history.

In the fifth century B. C. they had not yet become truly national in their development. There were lead-

ing tribes, and others of a subordinate character. The most powerful of these was the Odrysæ, whose king, Teres, was

son of Teres, who became an ally of the Athenians to help maintain their ascendancy in the Chalcidian peninsula. The

power of the Odrysæ was broken up during the reign of Seuthes, nephew of Sitalces, and the tribal condition remained with little disturbance until the rise of Macedonia.

The five tribal names by which the Thracian peoples were distinguished were the Getæ, the Treres, the Triballi, the Daci, and the Mæsi. The student of history will readily recognize several of these ethnic names as the titles of races projecting themselves at a later period into the history of the West.

It was believed, as early as the times of Herodotus, that the Thracian nations were allied in race descent with the Scythians; but there was no better ground for such belief than was found in the well-known character of the Thracians, whose ferocity in battle and savagery in peace reminded the Father of History of the Scythic barbarians. The Thracians are represented as powerful warriors. They were disposed



ORPHEUS.

From the painting by Benjamin Constant; engraved by Jounard.

a conqueror in his day, extending his dominion over the larger part of Thrace. This may be referred to the middle of the fifth century B. C. It was Sitalces, by both nature and habit to battle, and their cruelty against the enemy was as notorious as their courage was undoubted.



PRIESTESS OF BACCHUS.—From the painting by John Collier.

The Thracian gods, like themselves, were truculent, fierce, and passionate.

Superstition
and mythology
of the Thra-
cians.

Besides the worship of Dionysus, already mentioned, the Thracian Mars and Bac-

chus and Diana were adored with the

Thracians contested with the Greeks. It was claimed that Orpheus, Musæus, and Eumolpus were Thracian heroes; but it is more likely that the Thracians had merely preserved in these characters a recollection of their Phrygian origin.



SALONICA (MODERN THESSALONICA).

usual rites peculiar to the Aryan nations. Baccius had an oracle on the summit of Mount Rodophe, where drunken orgies were performed after the manner of barbarians. The only touches of light among the darkness of North Hellenic barbarism were certain myths and mythical characters, the possession of which the

Between Thrace and Hellas lay the widely extended country of Macedonia.

Here again we are in great doubt as to the character of the original inhabitants.

Race relationships of the primitive Macedonians.

There are evidences that the Thracians, though further separated from the Hellenes of the south, were more closely

allied with them than were the Macedonians. It is also thought that the latter people were of Illyrian descent, and that their coming into the country was by a reflex movement from the southwest; but we may safely affirm that both the Illyrians and the Macedonians were descendants of the common stock which gave the Hellenes to Southeastern Europe. It is well enough, therefore, to classify them along with the Thracians,

curred; but the Macedonians were little regarded in that world-famous event.

In the *Iliad* reference is made to a country called Emathia, and this has been identified with Macedonia. Somewhat later the Greek story-tellers invented a mythical founder of the race, called Macedo, from whom the principal tribe of Macedonia was said to have been descended. Macedo was the son

Poetical tradition of Emathia and Macedo.



MACEDONIAN SOLDIERS IN PHALANX.

and to note their peculiarities in this connection.

Of no other great people of the ancient world, whose activities were so largely displayed within the historical era, are we so ignorant as of the Macedonians. They emerged into view at a late period, being unknown to the Greek historians at any age earlier than the reign of Amyntas, about 500 B. C. It was in the time of his son Alexander that the Persian invasion of Greece oc-

Historical obscurity of the Macedonian race.

of Zeus—another example of the cloud-born ethnology of the ancients. Still later, the country was named Macetia, from the tribe of the Macetæ, and the latter word has been associated by curious ethnographers with the Hebrew Chetæ, or Kittim; but the alleged etymology is unnatural, and therefore improbable.

The name Macedonians was first applied to this people by Herodotus. We may gather from his narrative that the original home of the nation was near

Mount Pindus, whence they spread out to the northeast, intermingling with Thracian and Hellenic colonies already established in that part of the country.

Story of Herodotus and inferences therefrom.

It is fairly to be inferred that the Macedonian race, such as it was in the times of the empire, was the result of a composition of original Illyrian tribes with Greeks and Thracians dwelling in the maritime region between Thessaly and the Chalcidian peninsula.

The character of the Macedonians is tolerably well displayed in the writings of the Greeks. We speak of that later character which they had after their rise to nationality and power. They differed not greatly from the Hellenes themselves in the earlier ages of their development, before the civilizing light had shined forth from Attica; but there was always a want of intellectual greatness in the Macedonian race. They rose to the level of warriors, but not to the rank of poets and sages. As compared with the Greeks, they were a stolid, heavy people, whose ideals were low as paralleled with the refined spirituality of the southern race. Even the efforts of the Macedonian emperors to import into the country the art and learning of Hellas and to make them flourish therein was a failure. The Macedonian race became known as a great political power, but not as a refining force. It was the vehicle by which the enlightenment of the Hellenes was carried into the larger part of Western Asia; but the vehicle itself did not flame with the Promethean fire.

Even the language of the Macedonians has virtually perished. In the times of the empire Greek was spoken at the court; and it is likely that dialects of Greek, rude and uncultivated,

were the prevailing tongues of the people; but the absence of Macedonian literature has left the matter in much doubt. There appears to have been no ethnic culture of the northern race by which it might be distinguished from the nations of Asia Minor and Hellas. On the whole, it is safe to define the Macedonians as a race of rude and half-developed northern Greeks, whose evolution into the refined activities of the artistic and literary life was stopped midway by the growth of a great political despotism, under which the energies of the people were diverted from the chisel to the sword.

Absence of literary and monumental remains.

Most of what has been said relative to the Thracians and Macedonians may be repeated of the Illyrians, the remaining race, lying north of the Hellenes. Illyria was the northwestern country of the Hellenic peninsula. Both the country and the people were in the same belt with the Macedonians; and we are obliged by all the evidences in our possession to classify the Illyrians with the Græco-Italic peoples rather than with the northern, that is, the Slavonic, branch of the Indo-Europeans. In fact, if we assume the Danube as the line of division between the northern and southern Aryans in Europe, remembering always that both nature and history abhor a line, we may assign a common ethnic origin to all the peoples on the south, and another common origin to those on the north. On the south, we have the Græco-Italic nations; on the north, the Slavo-Teutonic nations. In Hellas we must probably except the Pelasgians from the general scheme, assigning to them a different race descent; but as to the rest—Thracians, Macedonians, and Greeks—the fountain head was common.

Affinity of Illyrians with Macedonians and Thracians.

and the streams of ethnic outflow only slightly divergent in the different countries.

The Greek writers preserved the myth of the origin of the Illyrians, whom they recognized as their kinsmen.

Greek myth and tradition of the race.

They assigned to them an illustrious beginning. Cadmus, after having given letters to the Greeks, removed with his

his sister Europa, who was lost, and that Harmonia was the daughter of Mars and Venus. This is to say that Harmony is born of War and Love, and that Cadmus found Europe when he had Harmony in the search.

On the north, then, we may say that there was a clear demarkation between the Illyrians and the Slavo-Teutonic races; but southward they were graded



OFF THE ILLYRIAN COAST.—SULIMORE SPIXA.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

wife, Harmonia, into the northwest of Hellas, and settled there. To him was born a son, Illyrius, ancestor of the race that bore his name. By war, the Enchelians, whom we may regard as the aborigines of Illyricum, were subdued; and then Cadmus and Harmonia were removed by the gods to Elysium. It will be remembered that Cadmus had first come, according to the legend, from the Phœnician coast in search of

off imperceptibly into the more active and civilized Hellenic tribes. The same want of definite division existed on the east, where they were mingled with the Macedonians. It is believed that foreign intercourse carried into Illyria many alien races, some of whom were much more enlightened than the people among whom they settled. Phœnicians, Ionians, and Dorians are said to have

Ethnic boundaries of the Illyrians; foreign admixture.

planted, or attempted to plant, colonies in the northwest; but, with the single exception of the Greek town Epidamnus on the coast, none of the colonies seem to have survived. Doubtless the greater attractiveness of life in Hellas Proper was the motive for withdrawing from

VALERIO. 1875.



MODERN ILLYRIAN TYPE—PEASANT OF SPALATO.
Drawn by Theodore Valerio.

the remote and barbarous regions of Illyria, the outposts of civilization.

Through their whole career the Illyrians remained in their primitive condition. They shared but little in the intellectual and commercial activity of the Greeks. Though their country was fertile, though their coasts were indented with admirable harbors, the people continued to choose the pursuits of war and

barbarism. In these respects the Illyrians were closely allied with their Macedonian neighbors on the east. There was really no ethnic difference in that part of the country where the two peoples were mixed and interfused. Both races were in like manner assimilated with the Thracians, though the latter made much greater progress toward the civilized condition.

As a consequence, a line of separation was drawn between the barbarism of Illyria and the refinement and progress of Hellas. North of this line the old habits continued to prevail. According to the Greek historians, tattooing of the body was practiced by the Illyrian tribes as well as by the Macedonians and ruder Thracians. Their religious rites also were exceedingly barbarous, and if the testimony of the Greeks may be accepted as true, human sacrifices were offered to the gods of Illyria.

We may for these reasons be the more surprised to note the importance of women in this half-savage country. The life of woman was free and honorable. The daughters and wives of the Illyrian chieftains frequently led in war, and in peace were regarded as the equals of their brothers and husbands. The manner of life seems

to have been analogous to that of the German tribes as they are described by Tacitus. According to the testimony

Important place of woman among the Illyrians.

of Greek authors, however, the Illyrian women were reckless and unchaste, differing in this regard from the women of the Teutones.

The dominant characteristic of the Illyrian tribes was their passion for war. They beat for generations against the

borders of Macedonia. It was like the warfare of the Saxons with the Picts in the border region of England and Scotland. The power of Macedonia could not for a long time prevail over their barbarous enemy. Not indeed until the time of Philip was a successful conquest made of the Illyrian tribes.

Passion of the
Illyrians for
war.

Of art, of literature, of refinement, of that ideal progress and intellectual expansion which made the Hellenic race illustrious, the Illyrians knew nothing.

Barbaric career
of the race; rea-
sons therefor.

The country is as poor in monumental remains as it was unimportant in history. The few relics of the civilization which Illyria affords to the antiquary belong to the period of Roman ascendancy and are common with those of Italy. The causes of the continued barbarism of the Illyrians long after the Hellenes had risen to the pinnacle of civilization might be hard to discover. Doubtless they were the same as were the forces which held back the Thracians and the Macedonians from a high development. The more rigorous climate of the north and other discouraging features of the environment may have somewhat chilled the buddings of enlightenment and progress; but it is probable that the northern stock was in its instincts and dispositions averse to those high and rational activities of which the Greeks became the prime examples in all the ancient world.

At times the Illyrians broke out of their fastnesses and displayed their warlike passions in the south.

Hostile contact
of the Illyrians
with the Greeks.

Herodotus tells of an attempt made by them to sack the temple of Delphi. In 424 B. C., Brasidas, marching with a Spartan army across Thessaly and Macedonia, was furiously assailed by the Illyrians. Not

that the latter were in sympathy with the Athenian cause, but were merely impelled by love of slaughter and spoil. A little later, however, they found their match in the Gallic tribes, who forced their way into Illyria on their way to the south. The impact was more than the barbarian warriors could stand, and they gave way to the settlement of the Gauls among them. The event here referred to is a part of that general movement of the Celts to the east and south, by which they were ultimately carried into Asia Minor and established, as already related, in the province of Galatia.

In entering upon the ethnic history of the Greeks, we come to what may be fairly regarded the most astonishing example of human development which the history of the race has thus far afforded. Before attempting to offer any suggestion relative to the causes and circumstances of this tremendous evolution, it will be proper to note the local distribution of the people called Hellenes. In a former book we have already stated in general terms the traditional tribal divisions of the Greeks. In so far as these divisions were based upon the Hellenic tradition of their old ancestors—Helen, Æolus, Dorus, Xuthus, Ion, Achæus—the whole may be neglected as of slight value in scientific ethnography; but the great fact of the race divisions among the Greeks exists. A large part of the civil and political annals of the Greek race grew out of its separation into several groups of states based upon community or diversity of ethnic origin. We may, therefore, in the present connection look at the several groups of Hellenes as they existed in the earliest dawn of authentic history.

Importance of
tribal separa-
tions among
the Greeks.

There were two general divisions of

the race, the Dorians and the Ionians. These represent distinct aspects of ethnic evolution. Indeed, it might be said that they had one thing in common: they were both Hellenes. But they were Hellenes of different dates, different circumstances, different instincts. The Dorians were the oldest of the Hellenic peoples, so called. They best expressed the physical force and adventure of the

Division of the Hellenic race into Dorians and Ionians.

The Dorians were manifestly of a Phrygian origin. They came into Europe by way of the Bosphorus, or Hellespont, through Thrace, and thence to the south. They are considered the third wave which had spread westward in the same manner. The first was undoubtedly the movement which carried the Latins through Thrace and Illyria into the western peninsula. The second

Origin of the Dorian tribes; myth of Dorus.



GREEK TYPES.—Drawn by C. Coll.

Greek. If the historian were called upon to point out among all the early races of men a parallel to the restlessness and physical antagonisms of the Dorian Hellenes, he would be embarrassed with the requirement. They spread from place to place. They were still in effervescence at the beginning of the historical era. Many of their movements can be delineated from historical data, and others may be inferred by reasonable deduction and conjecture.

migration was that which sent the Thraco-Illyrian tribes to their destination in the countries north of Hellas. The third brought the Dorians. Their eastern origin is well preserved in the myth of Dorus, the eponymous ancestor of the race. He had for his sister, Protogeneia, meaning The Early Dawn. She was wedded to Zeus, the Gleaming Heaven. There was born a daughter, who became the mother of Aethlios. He was the Toiling Sun, and

was the father of Endymion, the Setting Sun. The genesis is clearly Oriental, and the exodus is into the West.

Historically, we find the Dorians first of all in Northern Greece. The particular portion of the country which they are said to have occupied is the southwest of the great Thessalian plain. Afterwards they are found in the country below Ossa and Olympus. Again their presence is discovered among the highlands of Pindus. It is in this region that the Father of History took note of them and recorded them under the name of Macedonians. Still, again, they removed into Dryopis, and from this point made their way into the Peloponnesus.

It would seem that at a very early age the Dorians were well distributed in Northern Greece. Tradition has called up the sons of Hercules as the origin of the Dorian movement into the south. The Peloponnesus was claimed after the Trojan War by the Heraclidæ as their inheritance. They accordingly gathered the Dorians out of the countries north of the isthmus and bore down upon the south. There ensued a desperate struggle between the invaders and the primitive inhabitants of the country, whom we may reckon in part at least as Pelasgians. Those ethnographers who classify the latter peoples as Indo-Europeans maintain that they had settled into Peloponnesus from the north, being an offshoot from the second, or Thraco-Illyrian, migration out of Asia. After strenuous warfare the Dorians succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in three principal states of Southern Greece: Argolis, Messenia, and Laconia. Hence the development of the three Peloponnesian branches of the Dorian family: Argives, Spartans, and Messenians.

It may be accepted as correct to regard Peloponnesus as the true seat of the established Dorian race. North of the peninsula, however, the Dorians continued to hold the little inland state of Doris, with its three townships,

Peloponnesus
the seat of the
Dorian evolu-
tion.



DORIAN GIRL, VICTOR IN THE FOOT RACE—TYPE.
Drawn by C. Colb, from an antique.

where they maintained themselves in that dogged isolation for which the race has ever been proverbial. It is remarkable that the only two inland states of all Hellas, Doris and Laconia, were both possessed and developed by Dorians; but this circumstance is hardly worthy to be reckoned among the causes of the seclusiveness and nonintercourse by which they were ever characterized.

Thus at the very beginning the Dorian race presents a contradiction. We

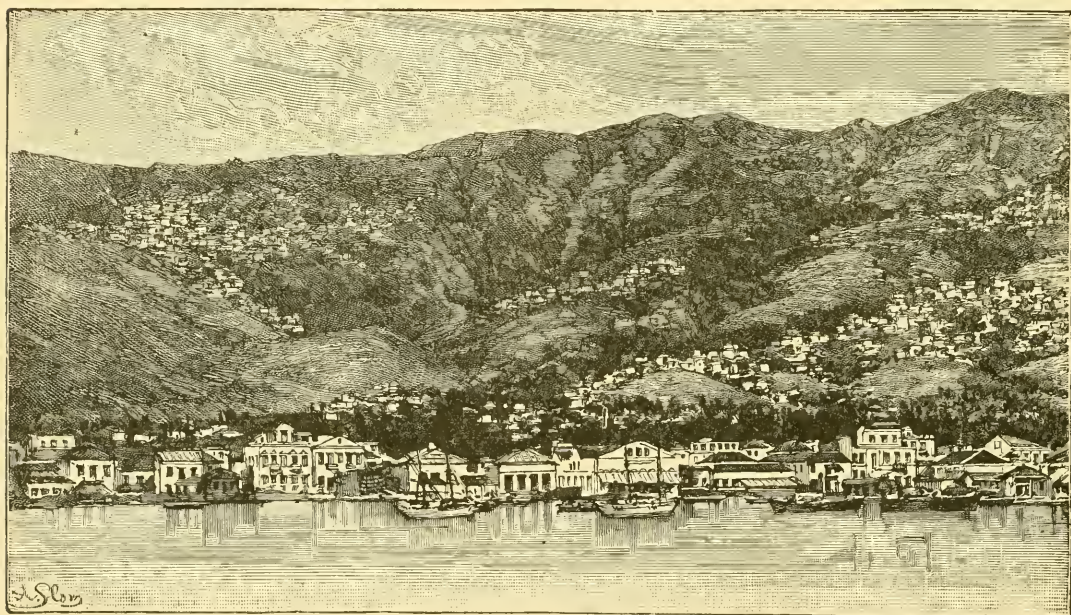
Spread and
permanency of
the Dorian
colonies.

should expect, *à priori*, a total absence of the colonizing spirit among such a

people; but, on the contrary, the disposition to send out colonies was one of the strongest features of Dorian history. It was from the homesteads of these peoples that Greek colonies were in process of time sent out into different and distant quarters of the world. Corinth

Græco-Italic race. So into other parts of the world the Dorians sent their colonies; and the instinct of colonization was perpetuated to the third and fourth generation of cities.

This, however, is to anticipate. From Peloponnesus the Dorians spread into the archipelago. It was they who contributed the Hellenic population of Crete. More than all the other Hellenes combined they spread themselves through the Ægean islands, and finally



VIEW OF THESSALIAN COAST, FROM GULF OF VOLO.—Drawn by A. Slom, from a photograph.

within the historical era planted Coreyra and Syracuse, and from these sprang in turn the colonies of Epidamnus, Ambracia, and Potidæa. The Dorians in Crete and Rhodes established Gela in Sicily; and from Gela was sent out a company who founded Agrigentum in the same island. From Megara was dispatched a colony to the Bosphorus, and there they planted Byzantium, which was destined in the course of ages to become the capital of the Eastern Cæsars and the final abode of whatever remained of the intellectual and social activity of the

to the coast of Asia Minor. Upon this they planted themselves to the south of Ionia and set six cities along these ancient shores. These were combined—as far as anything Dorian could be combined with another—in a loose confederation, known as the Doric Hexapolis.

Another strange aspect of the race work of these people was the persistency with which their colonies held their own when once planted afar. Rarely did one of their outposts recede from a position once taken. At the same time the

The foreign settlements preserve the Doric character.

colonial establishments of the Dorians maintained a strong likeness to the parent state. The same manners and customs, the same laws, the same policy, were upheld, the same traditions accepted, the same striking municipal individuality created in distant Asiatic and European settlements as in the Hellenic homestead. Perhaps the only considerable variation from the common type was in the case of the Spartans, whose great preponderance in Peloponnesus has led many authors to regard them as the typical people of the whole Dorian race. This view, however, has been successfully controverted; and the peculiar Spartan character, though certainly Dorian of the Dorians in its origin, has been

set apart, and is to be considered as anomalous not only among their own kindred of Doric extraction, but among all the Hellenes.

The migrations and conquests by

which the Dorian race was thus distributed in Hellas Proper, the Peloponnesus, the Ægean islands, on the southwest



RUINS OF DORIAN HALL OF COUNSEL AT RHODES.

Drawn by E. Flandin.

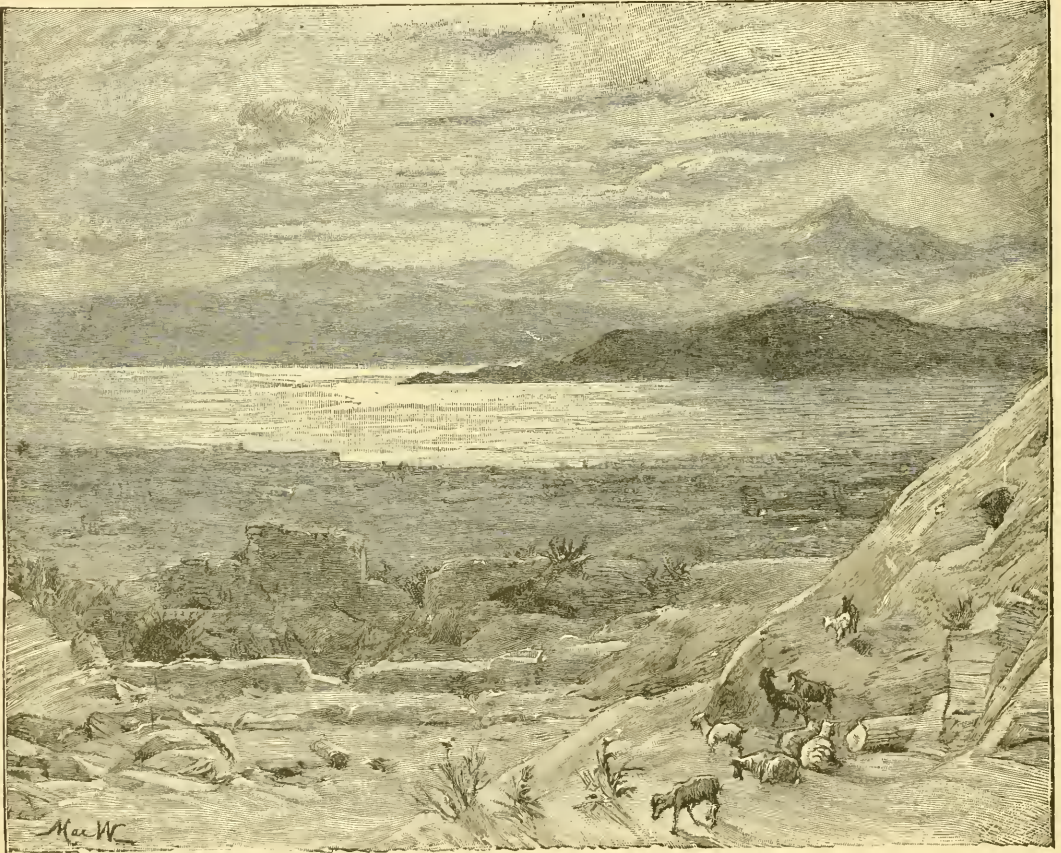
coast of Asia Minor, and in foreign colonial establishments were of such character as to disturb and unsettle all previous populations with which they came into contact. The result was that those

populations were thrown the one upon the other in successive waves and were nearly all displaced from their original seats. The tribes, half-formed into states, were jostled from their position, and immediately avenged their wrongs by falling upon their neighbors. All the peoples of Greece were in a measure

Disturbance and displacement of the preceding Greek races.

mained in their seats had they not been urged therefrom by invasion.

The old Pelasgian peoples, driven out of Argolis and their other countries in the Peloponnesus, threw themselves upon the Achæans and forced them from their homes. They in turn fell upon the Ionians, who had their native seats on the Corinthian gulf. This is perhaps our



RUINS OF THE DORIC SICYON.

redistributed by the Dorian movements, and it required the lapse of several generations to bring about a settled state. Greece was full of militant tribes and of fugitives. The towns became for the time a refuge for Greek wanderers who had no other home. It was this condition of affairs that led to certain removals and colonizations by the non-Dorian Greeks, who would doubtless have re-

first historical contact with the Ionian race. They, like the Dorians, were out of Asia Minor. It is not known certainly by what course they came into Europe. The manner of their migration has been referred to in the preceding book. It is not unlikely that the Ægean islands were the stepping-places by which the Ionians made their way to

The Ionian race revealed by Dorian aggressions.

Hellas. The center of their power at the time of the great Dorian disturbances was, as we have said, on the gulf of Corinth. Here they had attained a settled condition, and were under the dominion of the civilizing forces when the fugitive Achæans struck them from the west.

The movements of the Dorians in the larger part of Greece had already disturbed the Ionian tribes, and many of them had flocked into Attica. It was the compression of population thus occa-

Androclus, the two sons of Codrus, were placed at the head of emigrant bands, who now gathered the overplus from all Attica and set out across the Ægean to the east.

Thus was founded the Greek state called Ionia, situated on the west coast of Asia Minor between the Hermus and the Mæander, bounded by Lydia on the east and by the Ægean on the west. It was a small strip of seashore not more than ninety geographical miles in length, and having in no part a breadth of more

Founding of Asiatic Ionia; the Dodecapolis.

Concentration of Ionians in Attica; tradition of Codrus.



NORTH SHORE OF THE GULF OF CORINTH.—After a sketch of F. E. Blackstone.

sioned by the concentration of the race in the Attic peninsula and the outside impact of the Achæans that led to the organization and dispatch of colonies into distant parts. Legend has been busy with the event. We have here the story of Codrus, last king of mythical Athens. By his self-sacrifice the city was saved and monarchy forever renounced by the Ionian race. But the death of the king could not relieve the plethora of inhabitants. Colonies must carry off the surplus. So Nelus and

than thirty miles. But such were the remarkable indentations of the coast that the sea line from the Hermus to the Mæander measured no less than three hundred and forty miles.

Ionia lay between Æolis on the north and Doris on the south. The situation was especially favorable. It was the Phœnicia of Asia Minor. No position in Western Asia could surpass Ionia in commercial advantages. Here the colonists from the mother country planted themselves. Here were founded at dif-

ferent times twelve or thirteen cities,¹ which were bound together, after the Attic plan, into what became famous under the name of the Ionian Confederation. Besides the coast region, which was properly Ionia, two islands of importance were included in the Greek league. These were Chios and Samos, and with them were associated some smaller isles of less note.

Thus was planted Asiatic Greece. It is not impossible that old Greeks—Hellenes—had previously inhabited this coast, and that their descendants were resident there when Ionia began. But not all of the Ionian race departed from the mother country. In Attica and in other districts the old stock maintained itself, and through generations and ages fought out the race-battle with the Dorians. That struggle constitutes the essence of the civil history of Greece. It was Dorian against Ionian. The two races were of different instincts. Like brothers alienated, the contest was more determined and persistent than the battle of strangers. The general aspect in Hellas during the historical era is that of the Dorian power, with its center in the Peloponnesus, in conflict with the Ionian power, having its head in Attica and its body in Northern Hellas. Southern Greece was *Dorized*, and Hellas Proper was *Ionized*, and the battle for ascendancy—a battle of physical force

Race battle of the Ionians and the Dorians in Greece.

¹The ten cities of Ionia Proper, beginning on the south, were Myus, Triene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa. To these were added the two capital towns of Chios and Samos, thus composing the Ionian Dodecapolis. About the year 700 B. C., Smyrna, which had been an Æolian city, committed treason against the parent country and was taken into the Ionian confederation, thus making in the historical era thirteen municipalities bound together in the Asiatic Greek league.

and persistency on the one side and of intellectual force and passion on the other—continued until both powers were prostrated by the sword of Rome.

The Dorians and Ionians were the two great divisions of the Greeks; but a third branch of the race must not be neglected. This was the Æolian family.

Tradition of the descent of the Æolians.

According to tradition Æolus was the eldest son of Helen; that is, the Æolic was the oldest division of the Greek race. To Dorus was assigned the second place, while Ion was the youngest of the three. But the relative importance of the three branches of the Hellenic family was not determined by priority—this on the assumption that the Æolians were really the eldest.

At what time or by what route the Æolians came into European Greece we have no means of knowing; but their locus on the mainland has been tolerably well determined by their language and by a few historical evidences. It is highly probable that the Æolic migration was by way of the island of Lesbos from Asia Minor. Lesbian is regarded as the oldest dialect of Æolic. The race spread into Thessaly and Bœotia. It has been thought that the Eastern Macedonians were of Æolic origin, and in so far as they were true Hellenes this opinion may be accepted. The inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia, that is, the original Greeks of those two states, are thought to have belonged to the same stock, though the ethnologists have been divided on this point. It is safe to say that the Æolians were the northernmost of the three major families of Greeks, the Ionians occupying Central Greece and the Dorians the south.

Conjectural routes of immigration.

Here again the reader must be on his guard against accepting the artificial

lines of division which convenience has suggested in discriminating these peoples the one from the other. It is in evidence that the Greeks of different stocks commingled along their selvages of contact, and were shaded off imperceptibly into a common character. Thus the Æolians of Thessaly and Bœotia were merged with the Ionian Greeks on

Overlap and intermingling of the Greek races.

Ionians and the Æolians. It was a peculiarity of the Dorian movement through Greece that it held what it gained. That is to say, when the invasion under the lead of the Heraclidæ set out from Doris, to which, as a center, all the Dorian influences had gathered, the state was not abandoned, but was held and developed as such within the his-

Antecedents of Æolic colonization abroad.



SHEPHERDS OF ARCADIA—TYPES.—From a painting by Nicholas Poussin.

the south until it was impossible to discriminate the one from the other. In Elis and Arcadia the commingling was between the Æolians and the Dorians. The language spoken in these states was neither the one nor the other, but both—a composite dialect.

The old Dorian wars were at the bottom not only of the colonization of the Dorians themselves in foreign parts, but also of the colonial movements of the

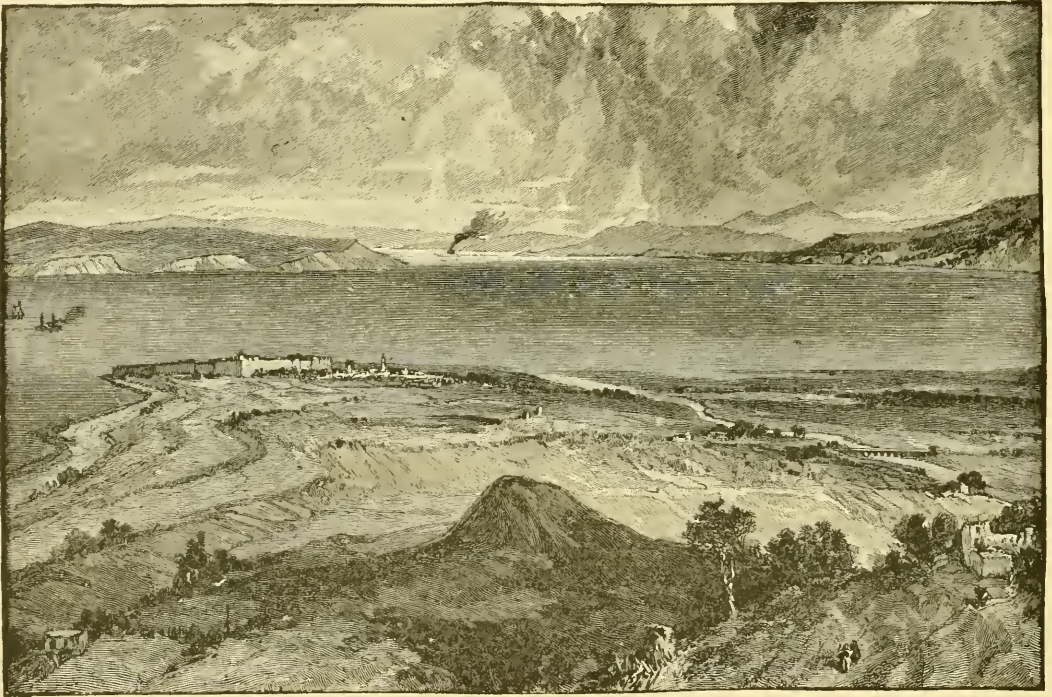
torical era. The invasion was carried across the gulf, and the Argives, Lacedæmonians, and Messenians were obliged in turn to leave their native seats and make what disposition they could for their future. So the wave of conquest and colonization was started. As to the real invasion of the Dorians, it was stopped, according to the legend, with the death of Codrus under the walls of Athens. Into Attica had been gathered

not only the fugitive Ionians from different parts of Greece, including many of the most distinguished families, such as the descendants of Nestor, from Pylos, but the Æolic populations also had flown thither, partly by actual displacement before the Dorians, and partly as refugees from other quarters.

These materials furnished the source of Æolic colonization. Bands of this race set out, islandwise, across the Ægean,

On this coast were already established the ancient Dardanians, builders of Troy. We are thus brought to the verge of the great question whether or not this successful attempt of the Æolians to plant a dominion, including the Troad, was not the historical cause of the Trojan War rather than the Homeric fiction of the rape of Helen. Of course there is a confusion of dates. The re-

The Æolians
contest the
Troad with the
Dardanians.



THE DARDANELLES, LOOKING TOWARD CONSTANTINOPLE.—Drawn by William Simpson.

and planted themselves finally on the upper coast of Asia Minor. The shores selected extended from the Hermus northward indefinitely to the Dardanelles and the Propontis, thus including the Troad. Here was founded that Asiatic Æolia which became a league of cities like the Ionian Dodecapolis on the south. At the first the northern limit of this territory was Lectum and the gulf of Adramyttium, but afterwards the boundary was extended to the Propontis.

turn of the Heraclidæ was, according to the Greek legend, sixty years after the sack of Ilium, and it was under the lead of the descendants of Hercules and his son Hyllus that the Dorians were said to have made their conquests. From these invasions the Æolian colonization of Asia Minor resulted. But was not the Æolian colonization of Asia Minor, with its consequent impact on the Dardanians, the *cause* rather than the consequence of the Trojan War?

Thus much is certain: That there was

Establishment
of the Æolic
confederation.

war with conquest in the establishment of the Æolian Confederation. It was only in the southern part of the coast, next to the Her-mus, that the immigrants succeeded in establishing themselves by peaceable measures. Further north they came into contact with the Dardanians. They made war on the cities of the Troad, captured them, destroyed them. It is possible, even probable, that Troy herself was among the number besieged and taken by the European Greeks. The question is whether the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon, and Menelaüs, with their fellow-chieftains of Hellas, were among the Æolians who made war upon their old kinsmen on the ancient coast. If this question should be answered in the affirmative, the minor circumstances of the *Iliad* might well be supplied; and fiction and history, epic song and prose story, would be at one. If decided in the negative, we are left to the bald assertion that the Æolians, after subduing the Dardanians and taking their cities by siege and sack, established the seats of their own power amid the ruins of the older nationality, building up new Hellenic towns on the ruins of those which they had destroyed. It is, however, in perfect accord with the affirmative view that the explorations of Schliemann on the plain of Hissarlik have shown unquestionably the destruction of ancient Ilium in the manner described by Homer, while the relics which he has exhumed from the cinders must have belonged to a people such as the Trojans.

Minor divisions
of the Greeks;
the Epirotes.

We are thus able to view geographically the situation of the three principal races of the Greeks. Besides the Dorians, the Ionians, and the Æolians, there were several minor divisions of the Hel-

lenic stock which may receive a passing notice at this place. In the north-western part of Hellas, bounded on the north by Illyria, lay the ancient land of Epirus. If we may accept the testimony of Aristotle, this was the primitive seat of the whole Hellenic race, but the Father of Philosophy is not verified, even by the story-tellers of his own country.

Greek tradition makes the primitive settlement of Epirus to have been effected by a tribe called the Molossians. They, under the leadership of Pyrrhus,

The offspring of
Achilles founds
a state.

son of no less a personage than the crested Achilles, hero of the Trojan War, took possession of the old Dodonian district of the northwest, and there planted the tribal beginnings of Epirote nationality. Achilles himself, however, must have been from this region aforetime, for he was wont in the intervals of his wrath to offer prayer to the Dodonian Zeus. It is said again that the Molossians took their name from an ancient chief, Molossus, who was the son of Andromache; but this requires still greater stretch of imagination. The Epirotes were divided into fourteen independent tribes, the Chaones and the Thesproti being the principal after the Moosians.

The situation was barbarous, and likewise the people. It is likely that the primitive inhabitants of Epirus were an offshoot from the Thraco-Illyrian branch of the Hellenic race. It is also likely that the religious cult, having its center at Dodona, was of a Pelasgic origin, and thereby associated with the old populations of Peloponnesus. It is also likely that, in the time of the Dorian invasions, branches of that family ran into Epirus and contributed to form the miscellany by which it was peopled. The culture

Several race in-
fluences felt in
Epirus; Zeus of
Dodona.

and activity of the Greeks appear never to have penetrated the region; but the awe with which superstition had endued the Dodonian oaks, wherein the solemn voice of Jove Almighty was heard by the primitive sons of men, was perpetuated into the classical ages of Hellen-



ZEUS—AFTER THE VATICAN STATUE.

ism, and only ceased to have an influence over the Greek mind with the extinction of the ancient race.

Of the Achæans, fabulously descended from Achæus, brother of Dorus, something has been said in the former book. Their original seat is thought to have been a small district in Southern Thessaly. It is not impossible that a tribe

Place and character of Achæans; Achilles a type.

thing has been said in the former book. Their original seat is thought to have

of men having the tradition of a single ancestor held here a portion of the country, and that they extended their sway, according to the legend, until they reached the Corinthian gulf. Warrior Achilles himself was of this race, and may be said to have typified their passions and barbarism. Achilles was little noted for those amenities which are supposed to humanize mankind, and the race to which he belonged was like unto himself.

In the general agitation of Greece, the Achæans made their way across to the northern shores of Peloponnesus and there established themselves in the little country having a coast line about thirty-five miles in extent. This became the classical province of Achaia. Herein the Achæans were manifest in the ages of recorded history; but, like the Epirotes, they were always an uncultured folk, leaving at the last but little trace in the literature, the art, the memorials of the Hellenic race. They were more like Dorians than Ionians, rough warriors and valiant, but of uncouth manners and unfired with the Promethean light. They transmitted no historical or artistic memorials of themselves, though their fame as warriors fixed itself first in the epic and dramatic poetry of the Ionians, and was thus transmitted to mankind.

The race fixes itself in Achaia; lack of culture.

At the conclusion of the Dorian wars in Peloponnesus the restless tribes who had come in with the Heraclidæ were not appeased by conquest. We have already remarked upon the spirit of colonization into which the restless activities of the Dorians were now turned. One of the most remarkable outputtings of this early age—a movement dimly outlined in the shadows of tradition—

Dorians join the immortals in colonizing Crete.

was that adventure which carried the Dorians by migration into Crete. In that island hitherto had been many wonderful works of gods and men. It was here that Minos had planted his institutions at a time to which the epoch of Lycurgus was modern. Zeus had loved Europa. That is, the Shining Heaven overcame Europe, and Minos was born, even before the flood of Deucalion. Minos was the father of the Greek Noah. He wished to be king of Crete, and prayed that a bull might come up from the sea fit to be sacrificed to Neptune. Accordingly, an animal was so sent, beautiful and strong. Minos would fain save so splendid a creature, and sacrificed another in his stead. So was Neptune offended, and the wife of Minos was smitten with folly as a punishment. For she conceived an insane passion for the bull, and so was born the Minotaur. But Minos became king and lawgiver of the Cretes. Not only so, but the Dorian Lycurgus of the Peloponnesus went thither to learn his first lessons in the law. All of this is to say that a primitive offshoot of the Dorian stock made its way into Crete, and there by conquest and development antedated somewhat the rise of civilization in Southern Hellas.

Besides the major nations which we have thus traced to their stations in the Hellenic world, many small divisions were manifest in the general diffusion. In fact, no other people were ever ramified and differentiated to a like extent with the Greeks. This was the bottom

fact in the constitution of the Greek populations. The utter diffusion of the race throughout Hellas and the Ægean islands was not only illustrated but proved by the multifarious dialects which



THE BIRTH OF EUROPA.

Drawn by J. E. Hodgson, from the vision of Titian.

sprang from the common ancestral language. Every neighborhood of the Greeks spoke its own tongue. Not only was the vocalic utterance of the language different in one district from that of any other, but even the consonantal structure of the words was inflected into

new forms, until in many instances the people on the two sides of a range of hills could not hold discourse with each other.

It seemed that the ethnic forces which underlay this complete differentiation of tribe from tribe would be satisfied with nothing short of absolute individualism. The languages or dialects which might be correctly defined by the general term

Innumerable dialects show the spirit of individuality.

tribe from tribe would be satisfied with nothing short of absolute individualism.

Greek were actually innumerable, and this, too, within a region of country having an estimated area of only thirty-four thousand square miles. Already in this fundamental feature of the Hellenic dispersion we discover the tremendous and radical impulses by which the Greek peoples were borne on, first in their dissemination, afterwards in their development, and finally to the acme of their fame.

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE FIELD AND THE MARKET.



WE have thus drawn in tolerable breadth the geographical basis of the Hellenic race, with its several divisions. We do not, for the present, consider that race in its widest dispersion, when borne abroad in the Macedonian chariot it deposited its germs of culture on almost every coast of the civilized world. There was a time when from Massilia in Gaul to the valley of the Indus, and from the hyperborean regions of Europe to the cataract of the Nile, the Greek tongue was heard and understood; but we here view only the primitive distribution of the race, under its own ancient movements, apart from the artificial processes of history. It is upon this primitive geographical basis of Hellenism that we wish now to offer a somewhat extended commentary on the ethnic character of the race.

Human life in the East began with thought and has ended in materialism. In the West it began with materialism and has ended in thought. Even the Eastern Aryans, as they drifted further

and further from the original nidus, partook in large degree of the disposition of the Semitic races. They became dreamers, busying themselves with the construction of a System of Things, especially as it relates to the cause or causes of nature. But in Hellas we find for the first time the phenomenon of life on a strictly natural basis. The Greek career began with the adjustment of the race to physical conditions, and the reflex action of the outer world upon the Hellenic mind was the first element of its progress. Life in the East started with religion, and in Greece with something to eat. Not that material phenomena were wholly neglected by the Eastern races; not that the Iranic and Indic-Aryans failed to note the aspects of the material world; but their peculiarity was the attempt to construct at once from visible conditions an Invisible System of power over nature and man. The Western Aryans completely reversed this process. Not that they failed to idealize. Indeed, their whole life grew in the direction of thought and ideality; but they started from the physical basis and led a natural life.

Striking departures between the East and West Aryans.

Geographical boundaries of the Greek dispersion.

The country in which the Hellenes found themselves was specially favorable for the encouragement of their instinctive dispositions. Greece is anomalous among all the inhabitable parts of the earth. No other region is in its similitude. It is a vortex of all the forces of the natural world. First of

Greek instincts favored by nature; Greece a vortex.

is forty miles from the sea or ten miles from the hills. It has within a territory of little more than twenty thousand square miles almost every variety of climate known in Continental Europe, just as Europe has every variety known in the world. Historians and ethnographers have been given to drawing this analogy, namely: Europe is a cli-



DISTANT VIEW OF CORINTH.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

all, it may be said that the region is expressive of the greatest number and variety of natural activities anywhere discoverable in the world. It was volcanic in its origin. It is and has ever been subject to the vicissitudes of earthquake and tempest. It is a perpetual expression of the strife between earth and ocean, between Zeus and Poseidon. Less than one half the area of Portugal, it has a sea line greater than all Spain and Portugal together! No part of Greece

is the epitome of the whole earth, and Greece is the epitome of Europe. Nor is the likeness strained which thus assigns to Hellas the place of brief abstract and chronicle of all the physical conditions existing in the habitable parts of the globe.

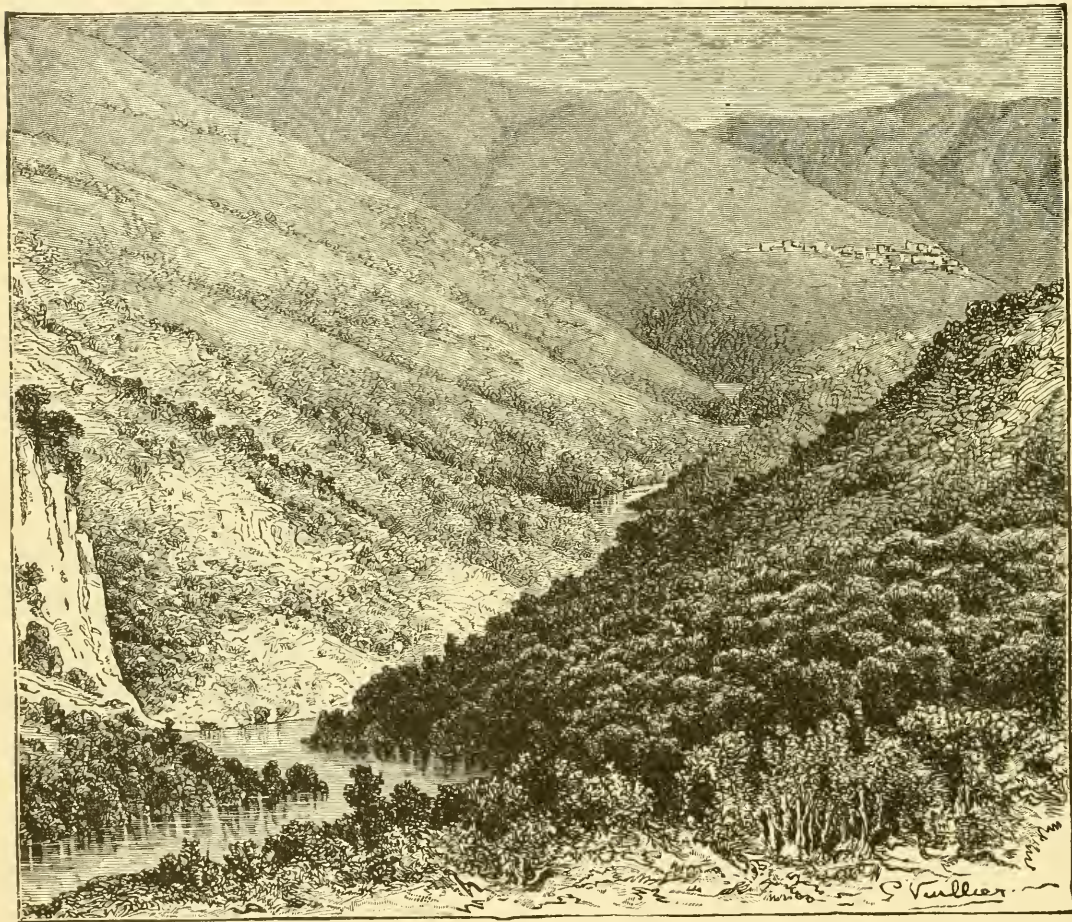
Down from the frozen summits of Pindus and the Cambunian mountains falls the blast of unending winter, while across the Mediterranean comes the hot breath of Africa. In a journey of a few

miles the traveler not only sees with his eye a natural panorama which may

be regarded as a summary of all the known land-scapes of the earth, but he

feels against his person the breath of every climate. At only a short distance from the coast he finds himself perhaps

in a navigable body of live water in the whole country. In summer time the beds of brooks are dry and gleaming white in the sunshine. On the hillslopes are forests. It is reckoned that to the present day fifteen per cent of the original woods remains, with little change except the slow transformation which



VALE OF THE NEDA.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, after a sketch of H. Belle.

at a level of more than five thousand feet above the sea. Below him, here and there, is a plateau. Beyond are peaks and ranges of hills. Between are narrow and sequestered valleys. Here is a small and fertile plain, and there a ravine, traversed by a short and insignificant river, which plunges down wildly to the sea. There is an abundance of running streams, but not a sin-

gle navigable body of live water in the whole country. In summer time the beds of brooks are dry and gleaming white in the sunshine. On the hillslopes are forests. It is reckoned that to the present day fifteen per cent of the original woods remains, with little change except the slow transformation which

There are in Greece at least four distinct zones of vegetation. From the seacoast to the height of about five hundred feet lies the land of corn and wine, of olives, oranges, melons, pomegranates, and all manner of fruits. Between five hundred and fifteen hundred feet

Zones of vegetation and products of each.

of elevation we have the first level of hills where the semitropical products give place to hardier forms of vegetation. This is the region where earth products are supplanted by animal life, where flocks and herds abound rather than gardens and growing fields. From fifteen hundred to three thousand five hundred feet is the forest region of Greece, where the old oaks still spread in their primitive grandeur. This is the second real belt of vegetable life. From three thousand five hundred to five thousand feet rises the land of the beech and the pine, interspersed, however, with occasional districts where cornfields and gardens of hardier vegetables and fruits are found. Beyond five thousand feet rise the mountain heights of a subalpine character, where only a few wild plants are able to maintain a precarious existence.

We thus see a country steep-up, broken, infinitely diversified. If the land level had been a little lower, only the heights would have appeared above the water. The Adriatic and the Ægean would have flowed together, and the archipelago would have been continuous from Asia Minor to Italy. Greece is a land archipelago, the bottoms between the islands being covered with fruits and flowers and inhabited by all manner of living forms.

It was into this region that the primitive Hellenes wandered and dispersed.

At the first, as we have said, it was a quest for food, a quest most successful and encouraging. The Greek tribes found much to eat. In no part of the earth was the struggle for a food-supply among a primitive people rewarded with so immediate and varied results. The fact is here cited because of its reaction-

ary effect upon the development of the race. In the whole Greek career we shall find the idea of food, the physical sustenance of life, and the methods by which it should be accomplished to have been among the most important considerations to which the energies of the Greeks were devoted. It may, therefore, profit that we look for a moment at some of the natural means by which the original plant of Hellenism was nourished as it spread wild over the valleys and hillslopes of the ancient land.

Here grew the grape. The wines of modern Greece are not reckoned among the best, but are extremely abundant and varied in kind. Perhaps they have

A land of the vine and the mulberry.

lost their flavor. At all events, the early products of the Greek vineyards were among the richest of the world. At the present time there are fully seven hundred thousand *stremmas* of land¹ planted in vineyards, and it is probable that even this comparatively wide area does not fairly represent the immense cultivation of vines in the early ages of Greek civilization.

The census of 1876 showed a total of more than two million of mulberry trees under cultivation in Greece.

Throughout Peloponnesus scarcely a peasant, in

The silkworm products; figs and the citrus fruits.

mediaeval or modern times, but has had a few mulberries growing, and scarcely a peasant's wife but has carried about the gathered eggs of the silkworm in her bosom. In primitive times the fruit of this tree was employed for food as one of the native berries of Greece, and to the present day it is not to be neglected as a summer fruit.

But greater than the mulberry is the fig. In Attica, at the present time as

¹ The *stremma* is about one fourth of an acre.

Cosmographical possibilities of Hellas and her islands.

The Greeks satisfies himself with natural abundance.

in the remotest ages of the dawn, the fig tree grows to perfection. Also in Messenia it flourishes. It is reckoned that the fig orchards of modern Greece exceed three hundred thousand trees. The fruit has in no wise degenerated from its ancient qualities. Such as it was when first planted or discovered by

long time extended over a peculiar variety of grape having its native place in the rich country about Corinth. It is called the *currant* in the land of its production and also in the markets of the West. This berry is said to constitute the largest single export from modern

Fame and abundance of the Greek currants.



MODERN MARKET SCENE AT DHOMOCO, THESSALY.—Composed by Tofani, under direction of Henzey.

the incoming Ionians it is to-day. The same may be said of the apricots and the pomegranates, which grow abundantly on all the lower levels and plains of Greece. All of the varieties of the citrus fruits abound—oranges, lemons, citrons, and limes—both on the mainland and in the outlying islands of the archipelago.

The viticulture of Hellas has for a

Greece. The census of 1876 shows an exportation of one hundred and ninety-five million pounds of this small grape, well known in the markets of England and America as the chief constituent of plum-pudding. Doubtless the fruit in question has flourished from the earliest ages, and we may conceive the delight of even the old Pelasgic tribes in finding themselves in the native thickets

where this vine hung heavy with its treasure.

It is not needed to enumerate the vast, almost infinite, variety of fruits and vegetables, berries and grains, native or imported, that have flourished and still flourish in the valleys and on the plains

nature the nourishment which was destined to increase and intensify the native vigor of the people, already vigorous and intense by journeyings and adventure, by poetic exploit and warlike hazard in many lands.

Not only were the Greeks thus in the early ages brought into contact with the

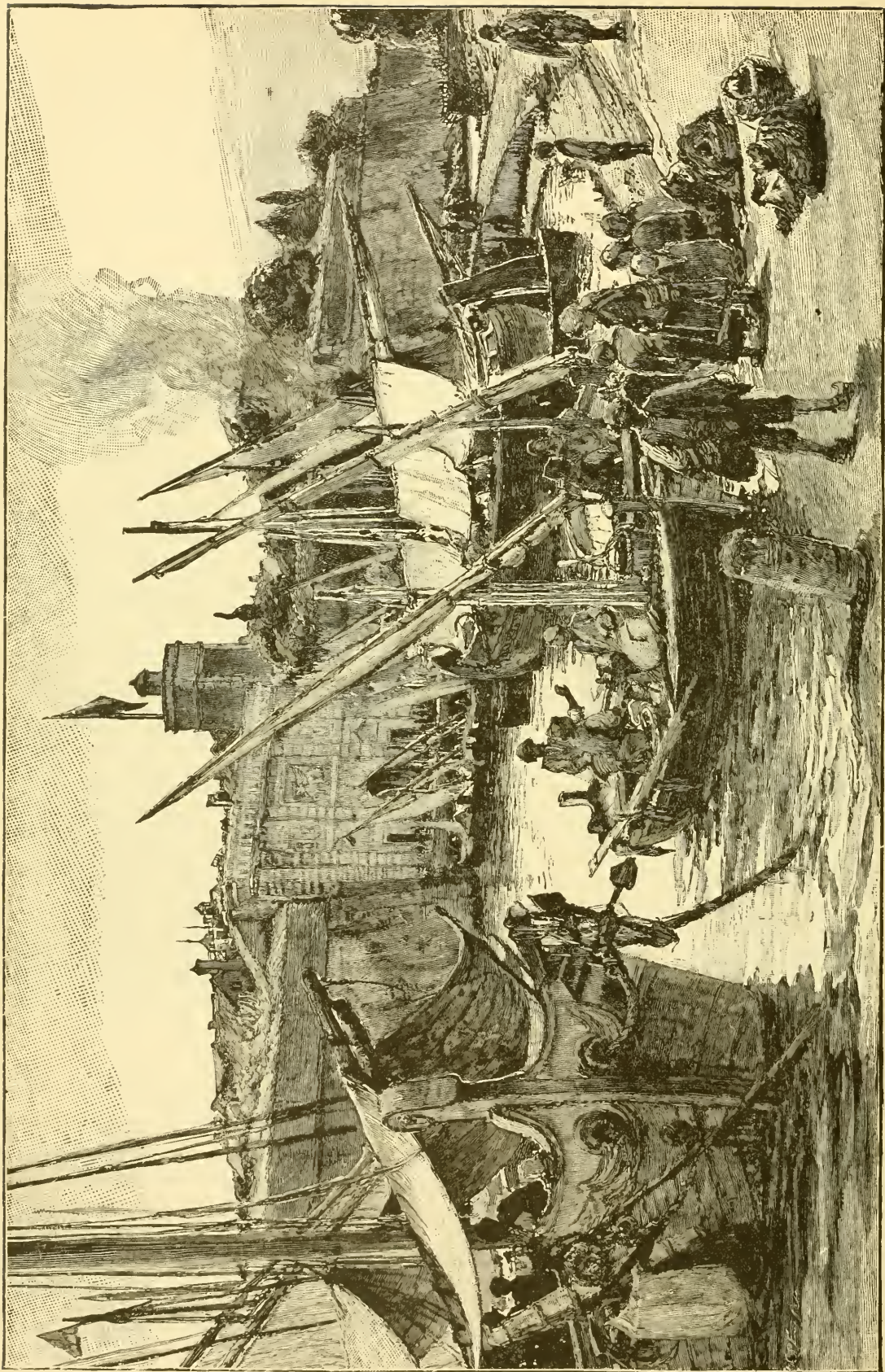


HARBOR OF HYDRA.—Drawn by Barclay, after a sketch of H. Belle.

of Hellas. No other country in the world has had so great variety and so great abundance. True, the area was not large; but nature was here in her intensest mood. She gave of her riches. Her wealth was at first hand. And so amid this abundance the Hellenic family, notably the Ionians and the Dorians, began their career. They reached forth their hand and took from the hand of

most varied and abundant resources of the natural world, as it respects what things soever sprang from the bosom of the earth, but they also found themselves in a region where the old struggle with animal life continued. There was a happy balancing of the vegetable and the animal kingdom, as well as a parallelism between the two in respect to va-

Balancing of vegetable and animal means of subsistence.



GREEK SHIPS, — HARBOR OF HYDRA. — Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

riety and fecundity. The hills of primitive Greece teemed with all manner of living creatures. The wild boar, the wolf, the bear, the lynx, the wild cat, the jackal, and the fox were everywhere and abounded. The wild goat was then an inhabitant of Greece, and to this day finds, so far as Europe is concerned, his last refuge in some of the islands of the archipelago. Game has ever been abundant in Hellas. The red deer, the fallow deer, the roe, the hare, the rabbit, and innumerable other varieties of animated creatures, hoofed and pawed, winged or finned, provoked the adventurous Greek to the excitements of the chase.

Here, then, we have the beginnings of the food-supply of the Hellenic race.

**Greece created
and the Greeks
developed for
commerce.**

But this was not all. The country was created for commerce. Everywhere the ocean has eaten into the land, and everywhere the land reaches into the sea. Harbors are without number. The whole coast is virtually a haven. As if not satisfied with surrounding all the outer shore of Hellas with bays and inlets, nature went within and divided the small country in twain by an inland sea of salt water, safe and capacious for all manner of ships. Already the adventures and excursions of the Hellenes had fitted them for commercial enterprise. Already the journeys of the people had reached out over sea as well as land. Already, by their experiences on the coasts of Asia Minor and in the islands of the archipelago, they had become wise in the management of ships. They were a people, moreover, quick to discern and eager to recognize the value of foreign products and the advantages of interchange. Thus were laid in nature the foundations of the striking aptitude of the Greeks for commercial enterprise. They were, from the

first, the British, the Portuguese, the Dutch of antiquity.

Thus at a very early age the Greeks, out of the resources of their own country and by foreign commerce, supplied themselves with the first necessities of life.

**Strong reactions
of the food-sup-
ply on Greek
character.**

It can not be doubted that the character of the food which the primitive peoples were able to obtain, the method of its preparation and of its taking, had much to do with their development. Eating is far more important in its relations with the body of youth than with the more hardened personage of mature life. So in the youth of nations, to be well fed was to be well bred. There appears to have been, moreover, in the Greek an element of taste with respect to food for which we should look in vain among any other ancient people. He not only fed himself plentifully, abundantly, but also tastefully. He was not as the Roman or the Assyrian a gourmand by nature and practice. His eating was a rational action, and his selection and adaptation of food was a process of right thinking and good taste.

Already, in the age of Homer, the natural condition and distribution of food was a matter of prime importance. The epic concept of food-taking was wholly free from the coarse and degraded notions which many nations have attached thereto. With Homer bread and the distribution of bread, the meat of the sacrifice and its savory smell, were subjects of poetic thought. With him the eating of his heroes was as poetical as their battle. His resounding hexameters knew no difference between the clang of the drinking cups and the lifting of roast meats from spits and beds of coals on the one side, and the clang of shields and the burial of dead heroes on the other. The one

**Food-taking
idealized in the
epic poetry of
the Greeks.**



GREEK BANQUET.—RECEPTION TO SOCRATES, AT HOUSE OF AGATHON.—Drawn by A. Feuerbach.

was the means of developing and ennobling his warriors, and the other the means of their destruction.

From the earliest ages the table of the Greek became in some sense the center of his civilization. Here all of his tastes were cultivated. Beginning with the gratification of his palate and the strengthening of his physical nature, he gave free rein to his thought. He spoke, and his friends at the board responded. There was elegant converse. The Greek table was the first point of light which shone out of the old barbarism; and the garland of flowers which the nude waiting-boy handed to the lady of the house, who reclined at the board between her lord and her father, and with which her delicate hands crowned their brows, was the emblem and promise of the art and poetry of the Greeks.

These fundamental facts in the life of the Hellenes soon passed into their organic development. In the earliest towns built by the Greeks, whether Dorians or Ionians, the central idea was not the place of justice, not the bema where the orator was to stand, not the gymnasium where the youth was to be educated, not even the temple of the gods, but simply the *Market*. We should look in vain among all other ancient peoples for this so physical an emblem in the heart of municipality. Not in the outskirts of his town did the Greek plant his market place; not in the dirty purlieus of his less attractive streets and alleys did he establish booths and sheds for the sale of what things soever his gardeners, his fishermen, his merchants had brought together for the support of life; but in his best square, in his center around which all the other interest of his city were to be set in disposal, there

he made his market place, and adorned it with art.

The most learned and artistic travelers of the ancient or the modern world could but be astonished were they introduced again into the splendid surroundings, the beauties, the elegance, the refinement of the old Greek markets. Nothing like them has been found elsewhere along the wharves, within the walled towns, or as concomitants to the great cities built by men.

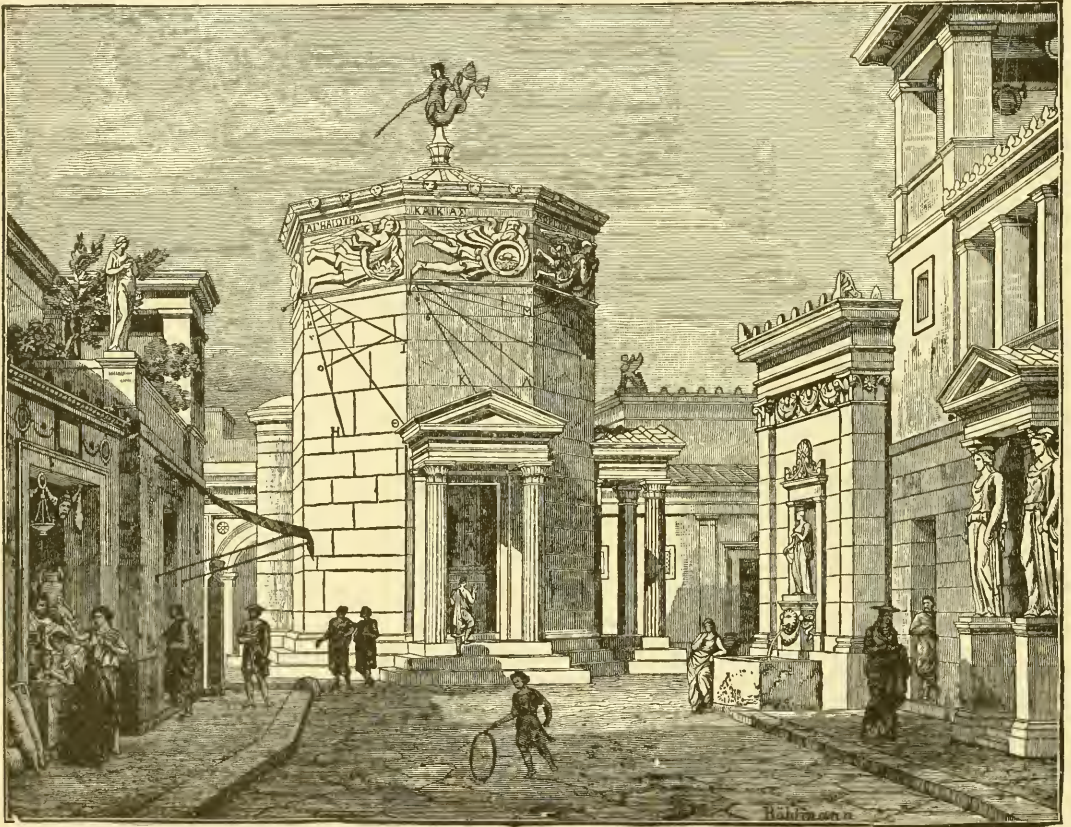
Even among the austere Dorians the same practice prevailed in the building of their towns. Here before us is the market place of Sparta—primitive Sparta—Splendid concomitants of the market place in Sparta.—that old Sparta which was created by the Dorian race in the early days after the conquest of Peloponnesus. It is a broad, open space, paved with marble. Around it are splendid columns, and porticoes elaborately carved and surmounted with statues. Marble seats have been hewn out for the common people where they may sit on coming to buy. Here in the foreground is the statue of Hermes of the Agora. He holds in his arms the infant Bacchus. This single statue would be an art treasure sufficient to distinguish any city of modern times. To the right is an immense portico of marble columns. Far in the background is the citadel, also of white marble. In the rear of the plaza stands superbly the colossal statue of the Spartan people, with brazen shield and inverted spear. To the left and at the rear of the open space is the temple of the Moirai, containing the bones of Orestes. To the right is a smaller, but still more famous fane; it is the memorial hall in which are gathered and preserved the spoils and trophies of the Persian War. One very side are marble elevations and pillars and statues with-

out number. Yet this is Sparta, city of the Dorians, grimmest of all the Greeks.

What, then, shall we expect in the market place of Athens? These are the joyous, effervescent Ionian Greeks, to whom the pleasure of congregation is a *sine qua non* of living. This is the elegant race who, beginning on the same

Features and art works of the Athenian market.

little to the left and further on was the celebrated Areopagus. In the foreground and facing on the square was the world-renowned Bema where the orators stood in addressing the populace. Behind and beyond rose the magnificent rotunda of the Bouleuterion where the *Boul'e* or Great Council of Five Hundred, was wont to assemble. Then



STREET IN ATHENS, SHOWING TOWER OF THE WINDS.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

level of a material existence, rose and flowered like a lily from the soil. The market of Athens was one of the marvels of antiquity. It was set at the south acclivity of the Acropolis, overlooked by the Parthenon and the statue of Athena Promachos. The great square was paved with marble. At the right was the magnificent Portico of the Eponymoi, where were gathered the statues of the ancestors of the Ionian race. A

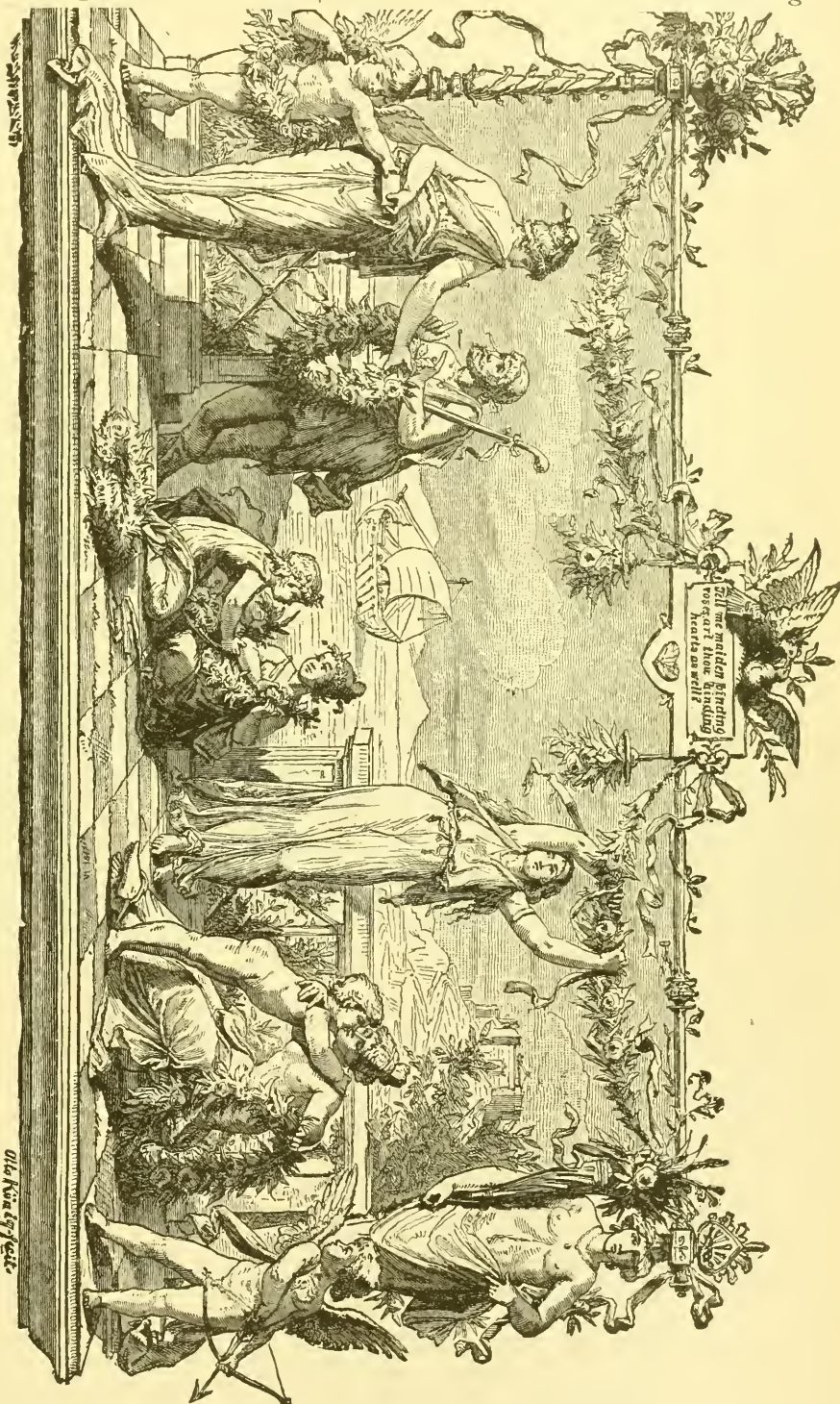
came the great marble stairway, broad and beautiful, leading up between the Bema and the Temple of Peace. Under the shelter of the latter stood the Statue of Peace, with the child Plutus in her arms. Beyond and still to the left was the Portico Poicile, dating as far back as the days of Pisistratus, and adorned by some of the most famous chisels and brushes in Athens. Above and beyond loomed the native precipice of the Acrop-

olis, while still to the left was the portico and colonnade of King Attalus. All of these wonderful structures, in which was expressed the best genius of the most active race of men, were done in shining marble, over which the Attic sunshine spread its splendors, while the most illustrious of the Greeks gathered in the market place not only to buy their fruits and meats and flowers, but to walk and gesticulate and debate the questions of the day.

The keen artistic sense of the Greeks laid under tribute all the beauties of the natural world. Theirs was the kingdom of leaves and blossoms. No table of the

Greeks, no banquet, no household meal where only the family were gathered

was complete without its rich display of flowers. These were done into gar-



FLOWER GIRLS OF THE ATHENIANS.—Drawn by O. König.

O. König

the eaters. Other garlands were put as crowns about the wine vases and cups; and the dishes of viands were not ready to be served until the rim of the plate had its trimming of leaves and blossoms. There was in every city a flower market having special reference to the feast, to the banquet. Nor was it a rude and uncertain class of women and girls who brought hither the treasures of the flower garden and the field,

Flower treasures of the banquet and the flower girls.

place. Nor were these treasures lightly flung aside when they had subserved their purpose and began to fade. They were carried away by the guests as mementos. The lover hung up his wreath at the door, and with all the idealism of a Greek wrote beneath it:

Poetical estimate of wreaths and garlands.

"Fair as these flowers, like them thou soon shalt fade."

Here, then, sprang up and began to blossom the ideal life of the Greeks.

The market place was not

only the scene of an interchange of products, of the selling of meats and fruits and flowers, not only the place of elegant shops where other forms of merchandise were bartered for gain, but it was also the Bourse of Thought. Here idea was offered for idea, conceit for conceit. Plans were made and developed. From the market radiated almost all the lines of institutional life among the Greeks. The political tendencies of the times germinated here, and here the public life took form.

The market of the Greeks the Bourse of Thought.



ON THE PROMENADE OF THE AGORA—COSTUMES AND TYPES.
From a vase.

but elegant Greek maidens and the well-attired of the poorer class came with their baskets laden to the brim with the choicest garlands. Those who would decorate their homes went to this market and received from the hands of women who might well have stood as models for Phidias the beautiful wreaths which were to adorn the tables of numberless homes in Athens.

Not only blossoms appeared, but garlands of myrtle and ivy and of the silver poplar were woven in artistic form by the women and carried to the market

In the market the aspects of private life were in a large measure determined. Manners and customs grew in this fecund city of activities. Hither men came to offer their opinions, to combat the opinions of others, to stand for leadership, to control the forces of society. Others came through vanity. Fashions were made in the agora. The young fops of Athens here displayed their newest suits, and here the sages and philosophers walked about, wearing their short Dorian cloaks and carrying their

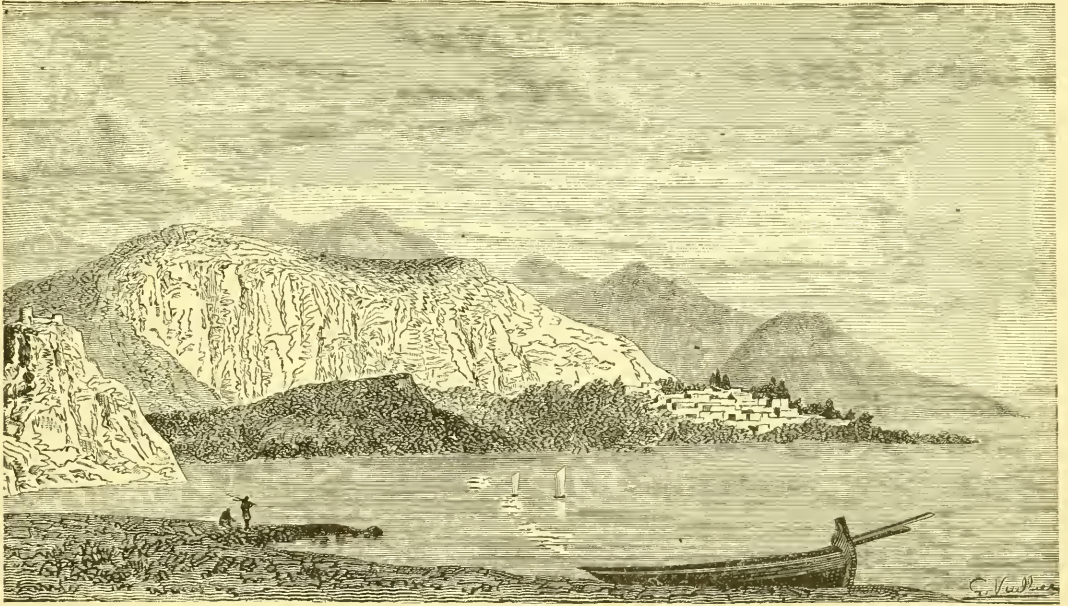
What things were proposed and discussed in the agora.

knotty staves, cut from the myrtle bough. Here was seen the gnarled brows and Promethean eyes of Socrates, glaring at some sophist against whose sapless folly he thundered some unanswerable aphorism, and here the stooping and tattered Diogenes went about, like the cynic that he was, carrying his lighted lantern at noonday.

As we have said, many of the most important civil interests of the Greek cities were grouped about their market

the initiative in all legislative matters. Here the measures were devised by which the public finances were regulated, the soldiery provided for, the decision reached for war, and the vote taken for peace. Here also the envoys and ministers from foreign states were received, and the diplomatic intercourse between the city and distant countries conducted.

The market place in the democratic cities of the Ionians had a greater importance than among the Dorian cities



FISHING BEACH.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, after a sketch of H. Belle.

places. In Athens, for instance, the great Bouleuterion, or Council Chamber of the Five Hundred, was set below the Acropolis and facing on the market. It was thus convenient for members of the Boule to meet each other informally in the agora, and turn thence to the sitting of the council. In coming forth, the first thing which the senators and judges of the Greek states would see was the plaza of the agora, with its assemblage of marketers and citizens. In the Bouleuterion was conducted the important business of the state. Here was taken

of the south; but the aristocratic form of Greek society was also nurtured in the agora. In Sparta, as well as in Athens, the market was the place where the Gerontes, or Old Men, were wont to come and interchange their wisdom. Here the Ephoroi assembled and conducted the government. Under the colonnades of the market place any company of free Spartans might assemble and speak, in their laconic way, of public affairs; but the Spartan orator was not encouraged. He gave only the pith of the thing, and said no more. There

Relations of the market and the Bouleuterion.

In the Spartan agora aristocracy was nourished.

was no response, no agitation, none of that humming and buzzing, that clatter of the tongue and flourish of the arms peculiar to the agora of the democratic states. For this reason the Dorian cities did not to a like degree have the center of their civil institutions in the agora. We must remember, however, the peculiarity of Sparta. As already said, it has been denied that the Spartans were the typical representatives of the Dorian race. If we should take Corinth as an example of Doric development, we should find a much closer approximation to the form of life and social evolutions peculiar to the Ionians.

Commercially speaking, it must not be understood that the market place of

Commerce also
centered in the
market.

a Greek city was the scene of merely light and transient barter. On the contrary, it was the place of the solid and extensive business upon which the commerce and trade of the whole state depended. Here the bankers and brokers had their *trapezai*, or tables, from which the money dealings of the city were transacted. The great merchants, the importers, and shippers congregated at these banks. It was the primitive board of trade; and already many of the vices and much of the heat peculiar to the modern exchange had appeared in the heart of the Greek metropolis. There were speculation and fraud. Handfuls of counterfeit money were thrown down on the trapezai to be rejected by the connoisseurs behind the tables. The bankers made checks, drew bills of exchange, and received deposits, much after the manner of modern times. Borrowers and lenders came together in the marble porticoes where these things

were done, and the old man who had completed his will on the previous night handed it across the marble table to a banker for safe keeping.

In no other situation may the life and manners of the Greeks be studied to better advantage than in the market place. It was an open arena in which

The market an
arena for the
study of Greek
character.

the Hellenic genius displayed its powers and tendencies at will. Men, set free, show their nature for what it is. Artificiality disappears with liberation. In the market the Greeks went free, and the natural man was revealed in all his aptitudes and passions. Here he walked and talked and acted under the dominion of those natural forces which, like a half-transparent garment, clad without concealing his person and his spirit.

But it is not intended in this connection to branch out into a discussion of the manners and customs of the Greek people. The point here made is that the

Social life of the
Greeks was fash-
ioned in the
agora.

market place was a sort of center in the life of Hellas. Beginning with the food-supply of the people, with the gathering and distribution of those varied products which the Greek peasants brought in from the gardens and orchards, the sheepfolds and fishing beaches, the citizens soon extended and enlarged the functions of their market into a true agora around which were gathered most of the interests of the people. The instinctive tastes of the Hellenes led them to adorn, beautify, and extend the scene of their intercourse, until at length marble supplanted the place of wood, art the place of primitive rudeness, and wit the place of vulgarity.

CHAPTER XLVIII.—THE WOMEN—PHYSICAL TRAINING.

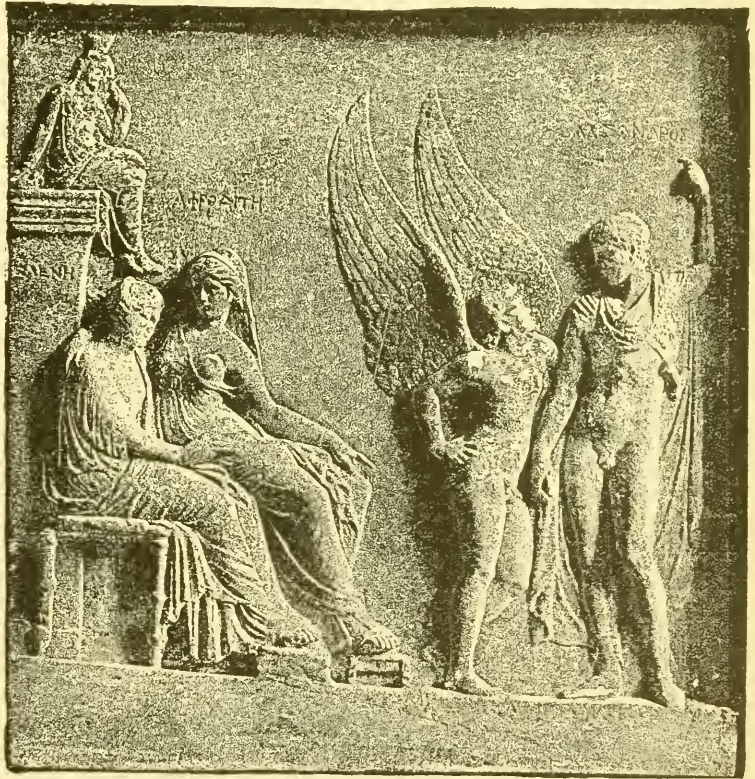


ET us now descend at once to the bottom fact of the social state, the relation of man and woman. In following the migrations of the Aryans to the

sacrifices herself to restore her husband. Iphigenia offers her life, and feels no bitterness. Antigone follows her blind father and suffers with him all the misery of banishment. Penelope is almost as much the heroine of the *Odyssey* as her husband is the hero. No picture

Splendid fame
of the great
women of the
Greeks.

West we have thus far looked at the movement of *men*, without stopping to consider the fact of sex as the necessary concomitant circumstance of human life and progress. Already in Western Asia Minor the woman begins to rise. In Phrygia she makes a prehistoric apparition. At Troy it is manifest that she has become a power—not only a power, but in some sense the glory of the city. All the Homeric narrative revolves about her. She is evidently in the ascendent on both sides of the Ægean. Andromache is in Ilium and Helen is in Mycenæ. About these two all the heroic action turns. In



HELEN OF TROY.

From a marble relief of the third century B. C.

Woman rises to
honor with the
West Aryans.

the progress of the Homeric narrative, both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we are able to trace the epic concept of the women of the Hellenic dawn.

We have only to glance at the character which the epic and tragic poets of the earliest ages of Greek literature gave to women to catch the fundamental notions and practices of the race. Alcestis

has ever been drawn of a more ideal perfection in the love and devotion of woman to man than that of Andromache to the valiant Hector. Nothing shakes her from her allegiance. No horror of the overhanging doom disturbs her fidelity or clouds her hope. Even Helen is more sinned against than sinning. The gods had planned a stratagem, and she was one of the victims of the play. Arete

is not more religious as a queen than as a woman. It is her womanhood rather than her majesty that appeases the multitude and settles the quarrel of the state. Everywhere the picture of woman in the epic dawn has the same outline of nobility and beauty; and even in the post-epic age she survives for a while as the divinity of the man and the princess of the state.

It is therefore all the more painful to note first the check and then the retrogression of woman in ancient Greek society. In the age of the evolution of the political power of the Greek states forces appeared which, while they promoted the man, thrust back the woman. True, she was not converted again into a slave. True, some portions of her old-time dignity and queenliness remained through all the subsequent vicissitudes of Greek history. But she lost her place at the head of society, and became to a great degree the servant and associate rather than the companion and queen of her lord.

Nor are we greatly embarrassed in determining the causes of this fall. It was the work of the Ionian democracies. So radical and violent were the activities of the ancient citizens that woman was obliged to retire from the agora and the public place into the shadow of the Gynæconitis for shelter and safety. Here she must remain in seclusion while the powerful action of the comedy and the tragedy were carried forward in the outer world. This to say that domestic life, which was really the only life in the Homeric epoch, gave place to the public life, which was the only life of the classical ages. With the evolution of the state men devoted themselves to the public life, and the domestic life

Painful falling of woman from her place in Greek society.

gression of woman in an-
cient Greek society. In the
age of the evolution of the

sank into unimportance. With it went down the primacy of the Greek woman. Within the walls of the Gynæconitis she was no longer able to keep pace with the intellectual development and activities of her lord. Her restriction became a habit, and the progress of democracy in the agora was concomitant with the retrogression of the private life in the Greek home.

It was for the reasons here delineated that in Dorian Sparta, where aristocracy instead of democracy became the bottom principle in civil society, woman long

The Spartan woman kept her place at the fore.

continued to hold her rank by the side of the man, such as it had been in the old days of the heroic war. The Spartan wife or mother was still a princess, a queen, long after the Ionian woman—even of sparkling Athens—was lost in the seclusion of the Gynæconitis. To the end of the Dorian ascendancy the woman of Sparta maintained her pre-eminence. Her like for vigor and courage was never seen elsewhere among the nations of the earth. It was said as a sort of mocking satire that not even the iron legislation of Lycurgus could reduce the women of Sparta to submission or curb the audacity of their spirit. But the satire was taken by those against whom it was directed as the highest compliment! They answered that if they were the only beings whom the Lycurgian laws had been unable to reduce, they were also the only beings who had ever given birth to *men*.

From infancy the Spartan girl-child was subjected to the very same physical exercises and general discipline as her brother. If the latter was destined to be a warrior, the former was destined to be a warrior's wife and the mother of other warriors. The Spartan maiden

Athletic discipline of the girl-children of Sparta.



MORNING IN THE WOMAN'S COURT OF A GREEK HOUSE.—Drawn by E. Klimsch.

appeared on the Olympic race course, at the festival of Hera, and ran for the crown of olive. If she won, her portrait was set up in commemoration of the victory. At the religious festivals the custom was the same. Women were not only permitted to share the rites, but their service was a necessary part of the national religion. After her mar-

intellectual development, properly so called, she knew nothing. In this she was at one with her husband. He not only knew nothing of ideality and intellectual preëminence, but he despised both. The culture was simply physical. But it was impossible that such culture should not produce startling intellectual

Dorian culture was from a purely physical basis.



GREEK WOMEN AT HOUSEHOLD DUTIES.—Drawn by E. Klimsch.

riage the Spartan matron not only assumed the supremacy of her household, but she also had the management of the slaves, that horde of half-savage and insubordinate Helots who were always the menace of the state. Her authority was absolute, and even her freeborn lord, when at home, yielded to her commands.

Of a certainty this life of the Dorian woman was a purely physical life. Of

effects. For the mind is the flower of the body; and if the stem be vigorous, the flower is likely to be beautiful. But culture is still necessary to refine and purify—to give fragrance and ideal perfections to the blossom of life. It is sufficient to say of the Spartan woman that she was the most vigorous and perfect if not the most beautiful animal of the ancient world.

With the growth of democracy among

the Ionian peoples the woman, as we have said, was thrust into the background, but she was not destroyed. In her restricted sphere she continued preëminent. It is true that the glory of Greek womanhood was not, on the whole, comparable with the glory of Greek manhood. We speak now of the age of the Hellenic ascendancy, when power and learning and art had come; when Athens sparkled as the eye of Greece.

The Ionian women, however, could not be retired into the shadow of the splendid male-life of the race without some peculiar social effects. The dammed-up current of womanhood sought a side channel of development where the waters were more brilliant and free, but at the same time more dangerous and uncertain in their course. The Ionian laws of marriage were extremely severe as it respected the fidelity of the woman who entered wedlock, but they threw no restraint upon the lord of the house. The Attic democrats were careful not to lay social fetters upon themselves. They took all the liberty which the age, the circumstances, and their own caprice suggested. To meet the wayward fancy of the great Greeks a large division of the Ionian women were diverted from marriage proper into a career of social freedom which, while it was not a positive degradation, at least not the depth of degradation, was nevertheless a wide departure from the canons of monogamic virtue. A class of talented and audacious women called *Hetairai* arose; that is, the "others." These others were the female friends of what Greeks soever they could bring within the circle of their influence and affection. The relation was a peculiar one. The *hetairai*

and the matrons of the Ionian cities became competitors for the favor of the great men of the race. To the modern inquirer it seems strange that such a



ONE OF THE HETAIRAI—TYPE.
Drawn by C. Kolb.

state of society could have existed without self-destruction as its end; but the canon of the times was so little severe that the home life of the Greek was not much disturbed by the license of the man.

However pitable in many respects the condition of the hetairai must have been, in other regards it had its brilliant aspects. Distinction attained by this class of women.

It can not be doubted that much of the genius of the Greek women



APHRODITE.

Drawn by L. Michalek, from the Venus of Cnidos.

took this course. Born wit, which wasted itself unspoken in the shadows of the Gynæconitis, found free expression when the possessor was a hetaire. Women of this class became noted in public life. They received the adulation of the most distinguished citizens of the Ionian states. They became the companions and counselors of those great Attic democrats whose magis-

terial intellect ruled the world for a season. They showed at least that the intellect and will as well as the taste of woman are able to express themselves in the grandest and most brilliant activities when once the condition of freedom is attained. It appears, moreover, that a standard of virtue, such as it was, was established and maintained by the hetairai of the Greek cities. There was much fidelity between the versatile, witty, and accom-

plished women of this class and the men with whom they were associated by no tie other than that of preference, admiration, and a certain kind of affection.

Not a little was the current history deflected at times by the influence of the woman who was associated at the head of affairs with the leader of the epoch. Hardly any great Greek was free from the entanglements of this relation. Pericles had for his companion the famous Aspasia, whose intellectual and otherwise exalted character has shed

Ascendency of the hetairai over statesmen and philosophers.

a luster even upon the class of which she was the greatest ornament. So pre-eminent was she in her day that the greatest philosophers and statesmen visited her home. Her fascination was of the mind, far above the region of mere erotic illusion.

Saturnine Socrates himself sat at her feet, and declared that he had learned eloquence from her lips. He was also conversant with a second distinguished woman named Diotima, from whose conversation he gathered all that is set forth concerning the

nature of love in the celebrated *Symposium* of Plato. Pericles freely ascribed to Aspasia the best parts of his eloquence, and it has been alleged that his great oration, or panegyric, on the soldiers who fell in the Samian war was com-



ASPASIA.

Drawn by C. Kolb, from the bust in the Vatican.

posed by her, to be spoken by him. Strange commentary, that after the death of the greatest of all the Athenian democrats, the woman who had thus ruled him and through him the Hellenic world, should have married Lysikles, a common fool of the city!

“Destroyed by Alexander; rebuilt by Phryne the Hetaire.” Such was the in-

scription which the beautiful, but audacious, repro-
bated Phryne proposed to put on the restored walls of Thebes—restored by her own wealth and profusion, which she had gathered as the contributions of the most distinguished Athenians, not even excepting Demosthenes. The walls of Thebes had been thrown down by the Conqueror, and the people of the devastated city had not the means of restoration; but *she* was able to restore the walls, and would do it if they would allow her to associate her name with that of Alexander and also to attach the word which designated the class of brilliant and reckless women to which she belonged!

Like Aspasia, Phryne was a power in Attica at a time when Attica was still a power in the earth. Statues of her, done by Praxiteles himself, were set up alongside of that of Aphrodite, at Thespia, and between the votive offerings of the King of Sparta and of Philip of Macedon at the shrine of Delphi. She it was whom Apelles painted as the Venus of the Seafoam, and she it was whom Praxiteles made his model when he chiseled the imperishable Aphrodite of Cnidos.

It were vain to extend the list of these brilliant creatures whose wit and beauty were so powerful over the destinies of Greece. At Corinth, Laïs, another of the number, was reckoned in her day the

fairest woman of the Greek world. Such was her reputation that devotees—if not victims—from many states were at her altars, and of her it might well be said, in the time of her triumph:

“Hellas, resplendent in martial fame, unconquered in battle,
Willingly bent her haughty neck to the power of beauty.”

If the hetairai among the Greek women were in the ascendant during the age of Hellenic glory, the matrons of the home rose above them in the time of the political decline.

Women of the home emerge with the decline of Greece.

It was the evolution of democracy which led to the seclusion of the home-women of the Greeks, and it was the decadence of that same democracy which led to their emergence. As the hilarious uproar of the agora and the pnyx passed away, the Greek citizens fell back from the exuberant public life which they had hitherto led into a home life, more pronounced than that which had prevailed in the times of the political greatness of Greece. It thus happened that so far as the women of the Ionian Hellenes were concerned, they are displayed in two epochs of greatness; first, in the dawn, when epic poetry drew in elegant hexameters the outlines of womanhood in primitive Hellas; and, second, in that later day, when the political sun of the Greeks was going down in the west. Between these two eras the intellectual life of woman was eclipsed, or had its manifestation only in the brilliant and lawless audacity of the hetairai. In Sparta the Dorian wife and mother maintained their ascendancy to the end; and in the last days, we find the mother and wife of King Agis after his death, urging on Cleomenes and his warriors in a final effort for the freedom of their country.

Artists make Phryne their model and ideal.

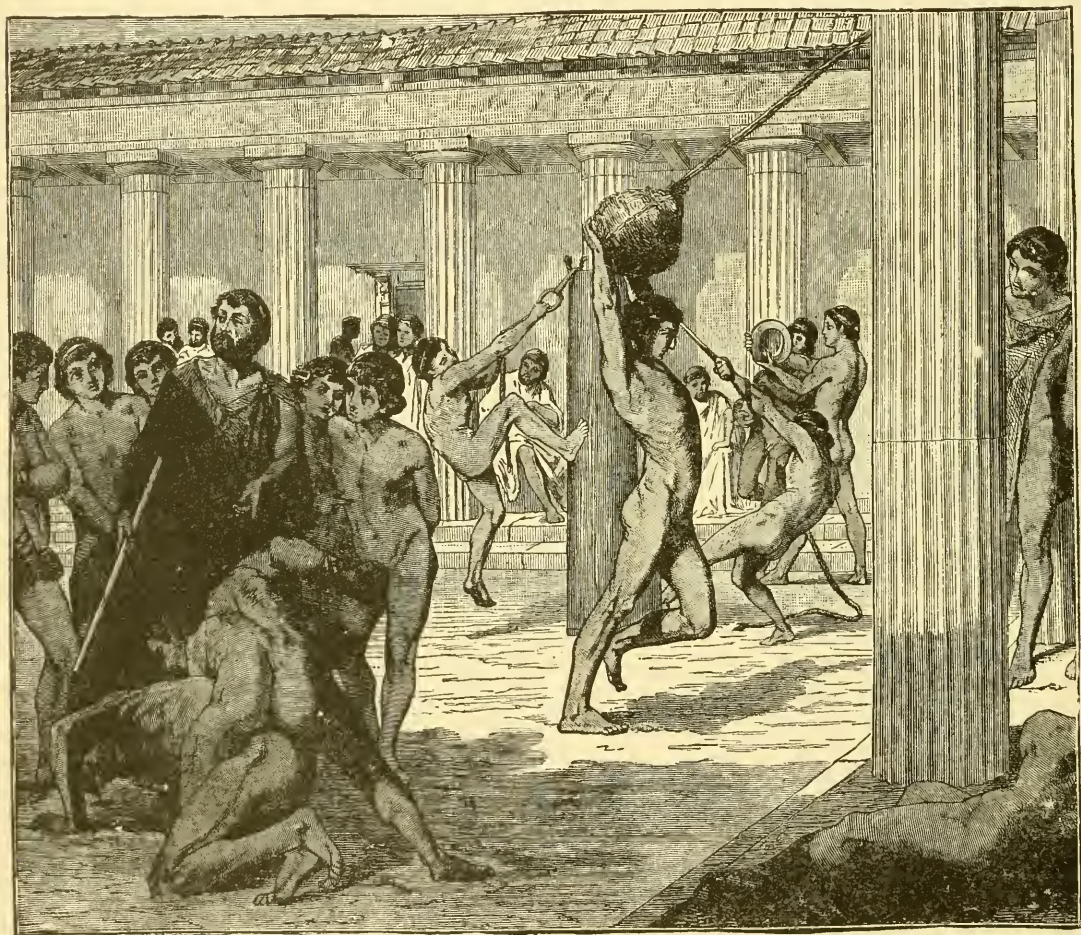
Life among the Greeks was a physical rather than a moral product. It was evolved merely by natural forces and supported by natural means. From this point of view we may understand the small estimation in which life was held among the Hellenes. They reckoned it

Reasons for slight estimate of life among the Greeks.

with death. The infant was less the property of the mother and the father than of the city.

We are here face to face with the subject of the treatment which Greek children received at birth. The child was, in the primitive ages, subjected to the in-

Destruction of imperfect children; manner of exposure.



GYMNASTIC EXERCISES OF SPARTAN YOUTH.—Drawn by P. Grot Johann.

as a force to be employed for the good of the state. Notwithstanding the intense individualism of the race, notwithstanding the almost insane democracy of the Ionians, the theory of the subordination of the individual life to the life of the city was strenuously maintained. This theory began in its application with birth, and ended only

speciation of the Ephors, or their representatives, and the question passed whether or not the infant was worthy of preservation. It does not seem that there was much discrimination against girl infants. The principle was general. If the child was weak or disproportioned, or had any serious defect in its physical nature, it was rejected and given over to

the destroyer. In that event the infant was borne away to the ravines or hills and left to perish. The actual destruction was effected by wolves or foxes or birds of prey. It seems that those who had the disposal of the rejected children in hand shrank from the actual act of murder, and took the circuitous method of exposure to ravenous beasts.

The accepted children were kept for a while by the mothers, and then, if Spartans, were delivered over to the public. The principle of communism now prevailed. The youth was to be made into a warrior, or, if a girl, into a warrior's wife. To this end the means of physical culture were diligently and assiduously applied. The whole education consisted of gymnastic exercises, with such incidental development of the mind as might be acquired in the general process. Boys and youth were permitted to listen to the laconic sayings of the Gerontes, but were not permitted to participate until they were thirty years of age. Conversation in the chief Dorian city was always disparaged. It was one of the many superfluities which the Ionians might cultivate, but which every true Dorian ought to despise.

In the northern states of Greece, and even in those parts of Peloponnesus lying next thereto, the rigor of the southern discipline was much relaxed. In Attica children were not destroyed after the barbaric age. The method of culture also was in the Attic cities directed to both body and mind. It might be impossible to state accurately at what time regular schools were first instituted in Thebes and Athens; but it is certain that from the earliest epoch of Greek progress, the children of the Ionians were subjected to a more rational and

humane kind of discipline than those of the Peloponnesian cities. In course of time much attention was given by the Attic philosophers to the subject of education, and the methods which they employed were long regarded as the most efficient of any in ancient times. As late as the seventeenth century, in England, there were still great thinkers who accepted the Greek model of the school; and even Milton, in his educational scheme, followed that model in nearly all of its details and peculiarities.

We have already pointed out the theory which underlay the training of the youth in all the Grecian states, whether Ionian or Dorian. It was the making of a citizen who should belong to the state—the construction of a perfect human block that should fit exactly and permanently into the edifice. Among no other people has this dogma been so absolute and invariable in its application as among the Hellenes. At the same time that it was sought to develop all of the human forces in the individual and to make him perfect in his kind and structure, it was also sought to fashion the unit with strict reference to the whole of which he was a part.

That whole was the city or state. City and state were essentially convertible terms. The one was the other. That is, the city was the state. There was, of course, an outlying region, a country thickly populated, cultivable, productive; but the country was only so much physical tissue round about the heart, which was the life thereof. The heart was the city. The man was the citizen. Of himself he was nothing. It is surprising in the last degree that this subordination of the individual to the organic structure of society did not appear

Communal
training of Spar-
tan children and
youth.

Greek training
looked to the
making of cit-
izens.

More rational
and humane
methods of
North Greeks.

Complete subor-
dination of the
man to the city.

to fret the great spirits of the Greeks. We do not hear Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, complaining of their complete subjection. We might say that they did not *feel* their slavery to the city. True enough, the results of it were most tangible and terrible in their own lives. The individual was crushed as beneath a stone if he resisted the abuses of

and carried out in all of the mature practices of the Greeks. To have said from the bema of any Greek city at any time during the Hellenic ascendancy that the state existed only for the benefit of the individual citizen would have been a proposition more startling and more certainly fatal to him who made it than were any of the vague heretical allusions



SCHOOL OF ATHENS.—From the painting by Raphael.

organic power and asserted himself against them.

Such was the tremendous force of the Greek race that this resistance of the man against the despotism of the state was frequent and fatal. The great Greek could not help the conflict which his own nature demanded, but the end was death. All of this began, as we have said, at the birth of the child, was maintained in the theory of discipline,

for which the bowl of hemlock was offered to Socrates.

In history, technically so called, we look outward at the objective activities of men or rather the *results* of those activities. It is a narrative of the forms, aspects, and relations of the works of men rather than of the men themselves; but in ethnic history we look backward at the actors. It is the life and growth of the human race which

Insubordination
to the state
fatal to the
man.

In what sense
institutions are
regarded in
ethnic history.

we here consider; not the deeds done by men, but the men, whom we fix our gaze upon and describe. It is an account of the evolution of mankind; but this account necessarily involves the physical apparatus by which the evolution is accomplished. Even the vines which grow on the surface of the earth have a *vehicle*, a means unto an end, the end being their support and development. So there is a vehicle of human growth, an extended apparatus by which the several races of men have successively been aided, as with a staff in the hand, to leap from point to point.

Among the Greeks development was, as we have said, primarily a physical fact; secondarily, an intellectual and moral fact. The means unto the end of physical training was the gymnasium. While it is not fitting in an ethnic history to describe the details of Greek gymnastics considered as a fact, it is entirely proper to examine the same as a system peculiar to the evolution of the Greek character. The gymnasia were a part of the public and private life of the Greeks. The class of exercises having as their primary object the development of the physical life of the people stood between the youth and the state; and they continued to stand between the man and the state.

The principle was of universal application. No Greek youth could reach citizenship except by the way of the gymnasium. The object of the culture to be thus attained was the man himself, his bodily development, his strength, his activity, his beauty. The remoter reference was to the duties of citizenship. It was intended that the man should be fitted for his duties in life by means of the gymnasia; and to this extent they

were public institutions; but the bottom idea was that of individual development and perfection, the symmetrical and perfect evolution of the human body to its highest degree of excellence and strength.

In the primitive life of the Greek tribes the gymnasia were simply open spaces where the youth were congregated and trained in exercises by their masters.

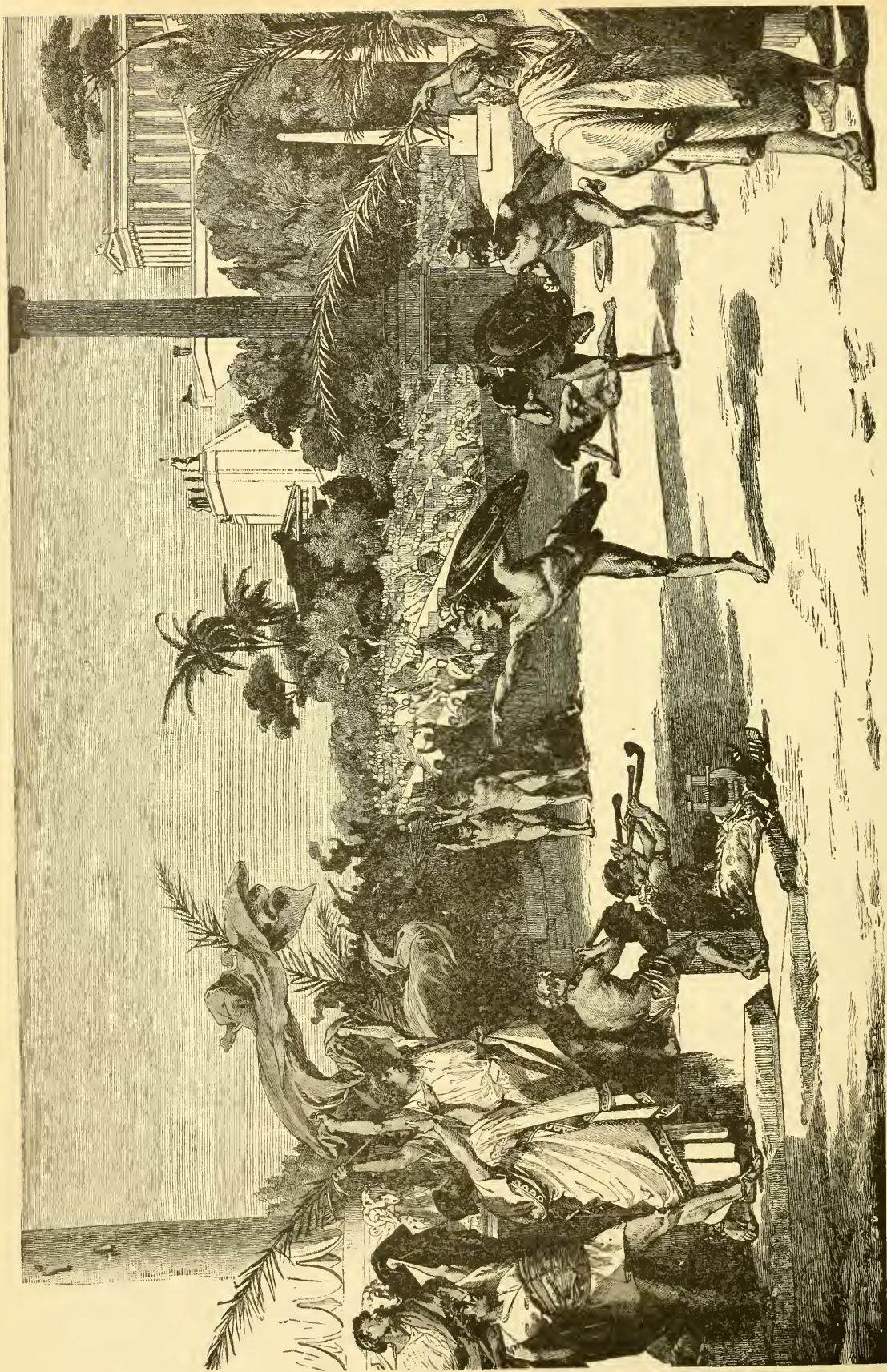
Evolution and character of the Greek gymnasia.

From the first a wide space, much room, was required for the exertions which, beginning in sport, ended in discipline. The sport itself was a part of the discipline. A large and free exercise of the bodily organs can not be effected in a confined space. The limbs can not be stretched except on the race course and by running and leaping free and far. Soon the gymnastic resorts in the open space were converted into gymnasia proper. Every city had them. In Athens there were three great institutions of the sort. A shady grove suitable for a resort and promenade was generally selected. Within the inclosure there were areas for wrestling; others, for casting the quoit; others, for hurling the javelin; and others still for the extended race. Attached to the gymnasia were buildings where the gymnasts might bathe, anoint their bodies, rub themselves with sand, or apply the scraper in developing and cleansing the skin. In one point porticoes were set apart for games, for conversation, for promenade, and social amusement. Others still were apportioned to the spectators who had themselves passed through the exercises in their youth. Within the arena were altars dedicated to the gods, ornamented with statues, garlanded with flowers.

The gymnastic apparatus of the Greeks was exceedingly simple as compared with the ingenious contrivances of modern times. The youth was projected

Greek development first physical, afterwards intellectual.

Citizenship to be attained only by way of the gymnasium.



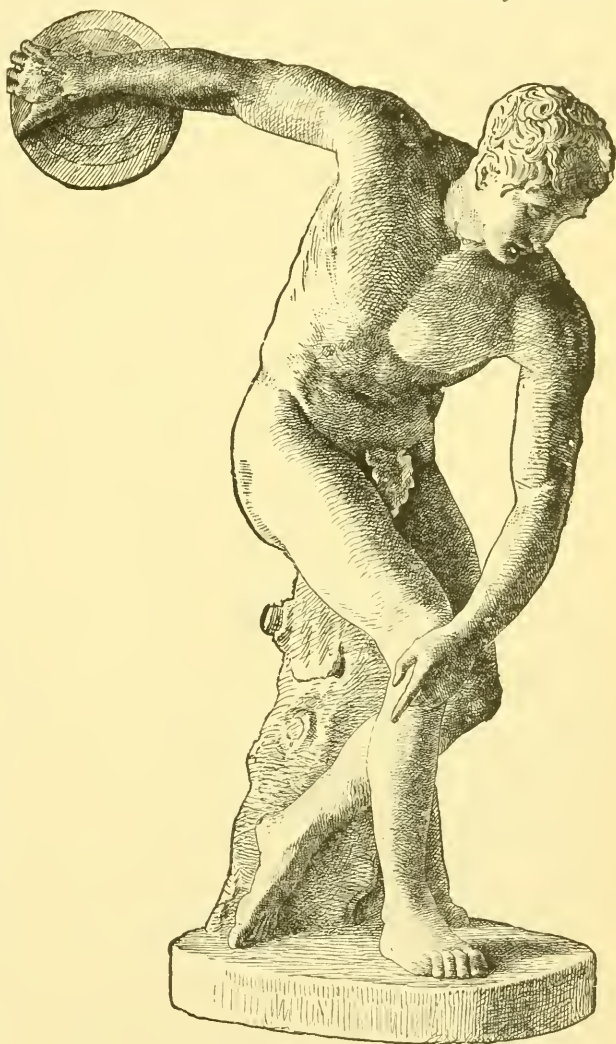
OLYMPIC GAMES.—Drawn by O. Kuitte

into his sports and training much as any young animal might be flung into the water to learn to swim. The exercises themselves were the natural actions of the human body, rarely artificial. First of all the boy, the young man, even the middle-aged, contestant, must run. An extended course was prepared for this purpose. As a rule, the bottom was of loose, dry sand. It was not intended to furnish the feet with a solid vantage from which to bound, but rather to impede the progress of the runner by the uncertainty of his footing. In the advanced stages of the exercise the runner was weighted with armor, sometimes complete, sometimes only a shield and helmet. Naked was he who bounded through the deep sand, like the splendid young animal that he was, straining for the goal.

Of all the Greek gymnastic sports the race was the favorite. The runners attained a marvelous speed. Some of them were swifter than horses; and their endurance as they came in, after the long race, where the judges sat and the garland was waiting—came in with distended nostrils and uplifted arms and flashing eyes—was sublime.

Next came leaping. There was the high leap and the distant leap. No artificial aid was permitted. It was the natural spring of the muscles or nothing. In some stages of the leaping exercise and contest weights were taken in the hands and flung behind for momentum as the leaper rose in the air; but some such simple contrivance to give momentum was all that was allowed. In this case the muscular force of the arms was

added to the power of the legs for the sudden exertion. Then came the throwing of the javelin. The shaft of the implement must be wound with a thong and hurled with a rotary motion from the hand. In this contest accuracy of aim



DISCOBOLUS MAKING THE CAST.

Drawn by H. Volz, from the original in the Palazzo Massini.

and distance of the target were the two desiderata.

The well-informed mind may readily perceive how great is the superiority of this rational, and we might almost say scientific, exertion of the body as a means unto an end when compared with

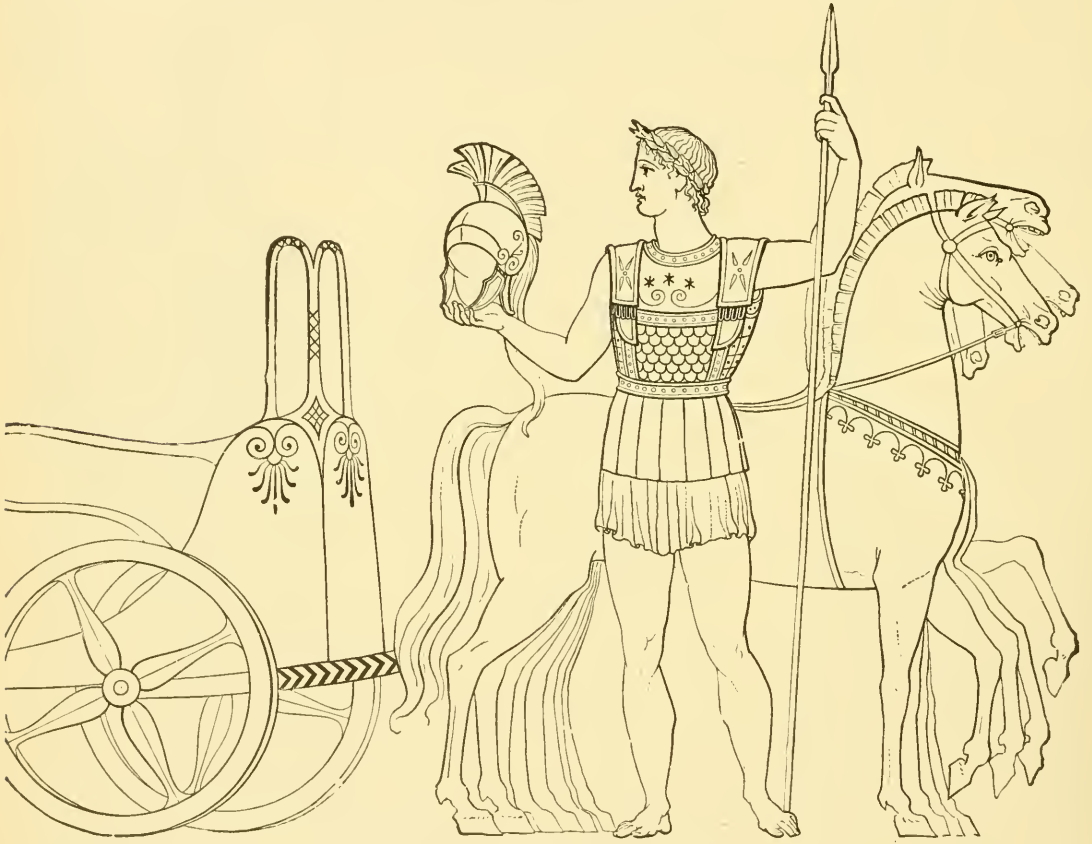
Superiority of
rational to bar-
baric training.

Simplicity of the
gymnastic ap-
paratus and
method.

Particular forms
of the disciplin-
ary exercises.

the results and methods attained by the blow-guns and bows of savages. The native of the Upper Amazon is able, through his blow-gun with a small arrow, to take the life of a monkey in a distant tree-top; but how unlike is such activity, half-empirical and half-savage, to that truly skillful action of the Greek as he sent his spear a-flying into the eye

great force to a mark as far removed as might possibly be reached. The Greeks were a right-handed people. Before the discus was flung it was carried in the left hand, so that the right might reserve its strength for the throwing. These facts entered into Greek art, and the famous statues called *discoboli* show us the attitudes of the throwers.



GREEK CHARIOT.—From a vase painting.

of the distant target! The one is the adroitness of the *implement*, the other the skill of the *man*.

Throwing the discus was a Homeric sport. The heroes, in their recreation from war, took heavy circular plates of bronze or iron, perhaps eight inches

Throwing the discus; the discoboli.

in diameter, and holding the quoit in the hand, swinging it by the side with a stooping posture, sent it whirling with

It were vain to enumerate all the methods of gymnastic training which the Greeks practiced in the development of their bodies. This skillful and persistent exercise was one of the leading elements in the product of that wonderfully elastic body which the son of Hellen carried with him in peace and war. And it must be said to the everlasting praise of the Greeks, that notwithstand-

Greek gymnasia never degenerated into cruelty.

ing the purely physical character of this development, notwithstanding the fact that they were a people to whom the heartfelt sympathies of life were comparatively unknown, the Greek gymnasia never degenerated into cruelty, torture, butchery. The idea of the beautiful remained in the ascendent to the last. The horrid struggle of man and beast, and of maddened prisoners of war turned loose with swords in the arena, never disgraced the Greek race or stained even its dying twilight with the tinge of blood.

It is probable that in the latter days the Greek gymnastic contest ceased to have respect to the development of the man, and became a spectacle; but it was always beautiful. The æsthetic spirit

The Greek hippodrome; splendor of the chariot racing.

of the race never permitted the public games to sink below the old ideal standard. Chariots and horses were at length brought upon the race course, and the most magnificent driving ever seen in the dust of the poor world was that exhibited in the circus of the Greeks. With four tremendous steeds abreast, the standing driver, with reins gathered up and fiery eye and serpent whip that split the shining air, stinging like a hornet as it fell on the foaming flanks of the coursers, screamed his defiance at his rival and urged madly forward to the goal; but there was no blood, no brutality; only the struggle of strength with strength and skill with skill in the mightiest personal contests which were ever witnessed by an excited and shouting populace.

CHAPTER XLIX.—THE HELLENIC TONGUE.



UCH were the methods and processes by which Greek life was brought to maturity. It was intended to be a maturity of action and beauty—beauty as its

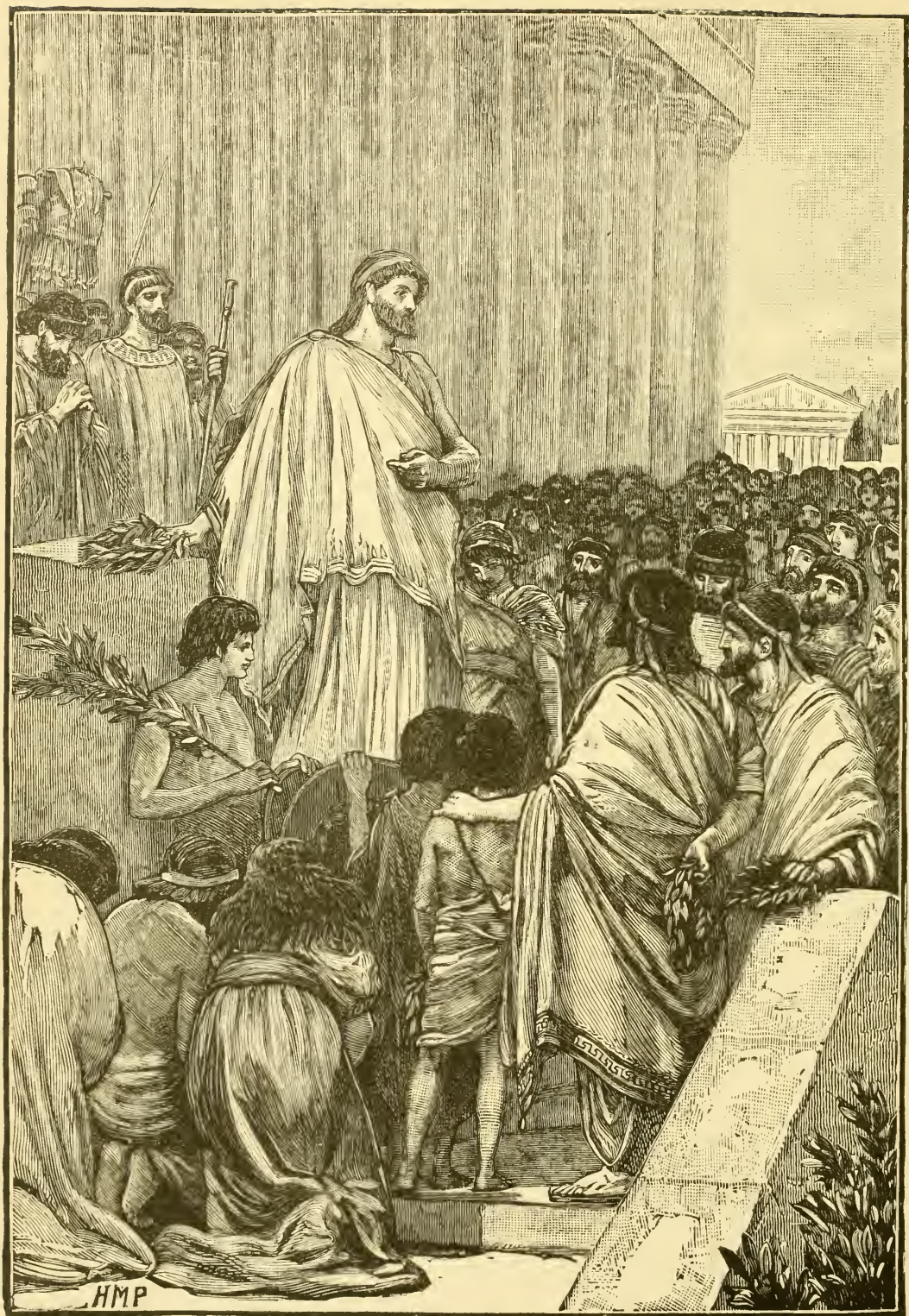
subjective, and action as its objective, expression. It is impossible now to enter into the thought of a Greek father and determine precisely to what extent, as he submitted his boy to the gymnasium, he looked upon physical culture as a means of developing the youth himself and to what extent he looked beyond to his usefulness in the state. Both ideas were present. Both influenced his conduct and determined his motives; and if we pass from private to public opinion, we shall find that that also looked first

Ideas underlying the discipline of the Greeks.

to the beautiful, the strong, in the youth himself and afterwards in the man, but also contemplated the usefulness and fitness of the man as a block in the state.

But there was also a gymnastic for the tongue and the brain. While the body was brought to perfection through the agency of physical training, the tongue was led into rational and beautiful action by the vehicle of the most excellent speech yet devised by man. The Greek language may be regarded in the light of a mental gymnastic. It was the apparatus for the expression of mental activities which were as vehement in their kind as were the restless energies of the body. We are here to regard the language in the light of an apparatus by which Greek thought found expression and the Greek mind was perfected.

A gymnastic for the brain as well as the body.



PERICLES PRONOUNCING THE FUNERAL ORATION OF THE ATHENIAN SOLDIERS.

It is the part of philosophy rather than of history to determine the relations of

Consideration of the relations of thought and speech.

brain action, of thought, to oral speech, to language. It is perhaps not yet determined precisely to what extent the one is dependent on the other for its existence, to what extent all thought stands waiting for the word which is to be its vehicle of revelation. We may regard the word as the avatar of the idea. The spoken form is the corporate tangible fact necessary for the expression of the incorporate, intangible essence. It may be fitting to say that ideality in its abstract form may exist in the human mind, or, to use the tangible agent, in the human brain, without the concomitant of words; but that ideality can only be coined into thought through the agency of language. As ideality is resolved into ideas, notions, thoughts, propositions, it passes from the intangible or spiritual condition into the tangible expression and definition of language.

However this question may be resolved, there can be no doubt that there was a strict correlation between the prodigious energies and beautiful evolutions of the Greek mind and that wonderful language on which the thought of the race was sent abroad into the world. The one was no more varied, excursive, and grand than the other was copious, elastic, and powerful. It is only a truism to say that even the caprices of the Greek mind found satisfactory vent through the caprices of the language. Hellenic thought either found a way of expression or made one. It was almost as easy to make as to find. So vital and new were the Greek tongues in the times of the rapid evolution of the race that all new moods and tenses of the Hellenic

mind flowed out on the ever-branching stems of the equivalent speech.

Something has already been said of the dialectical divergencies of Greek as illustrative of the ethnic divisions of the family. We shall now again call up the

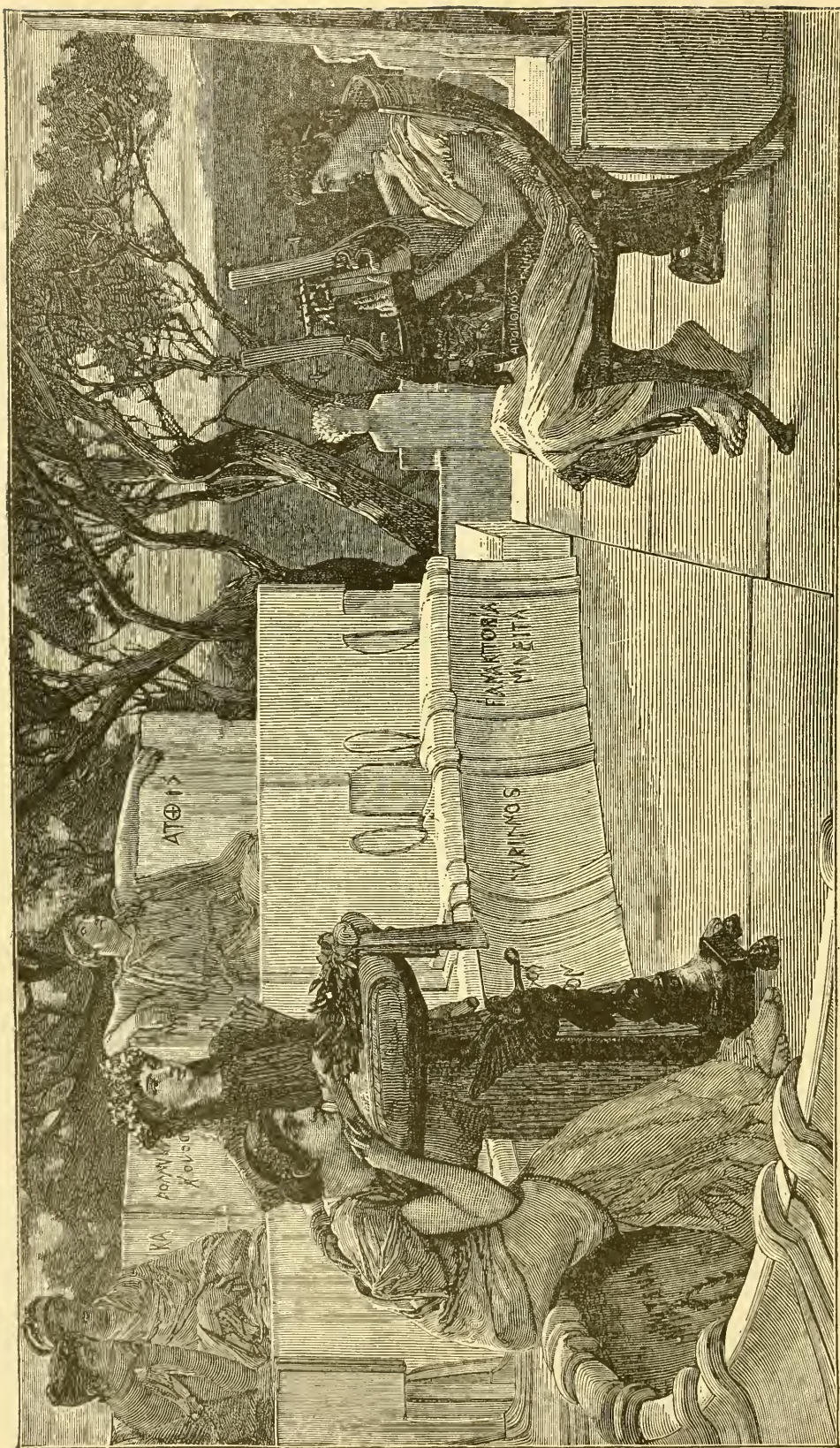
Rise of the Greek dialects; Æolic the oldest form.

Hellenic dialects and view them as the means unto the end of development among the different branches of the people. On the incoming of the Hellenes into European Greece the language was still in the growing stage. Much of its structure had been already determined during the ages of migration, but much still remained for expansion and growth before the tongue should reach its perfection in the hands of the Attic historians, poets, and orators.

The oldest form, then, in which the Greek language became fixed and determinate was Æolic. It is in evidence that this dialect was spoken by the migrating tribes before the departure of the Hellenes and the Italians. A critical examination of the primitive Latin tongues shows that they still retained in the west many forms and features so nearly identical with Æolic as to demonstrate the original community of the dialects. This identity extends even to the vowels and diphthongs, which are the most shifting and uncertain parts of speech. The poverty of Latin in diphthongs, as compared with Ionic and Doric Greek, has an exact analogy in Æolic; and the sameness in consonantal structure in the two tongues still further strengthens the argument. From Æolic Greek, therefore, we may regard all the other Hellenic dialects as departures and developments.

Close kinship of the Æolic and Old Latin.

Æolic was spoken in four principal dialects. The first was *Lesbian*, which is most characteristic of all, limited to



SAPPHO.—After the painting by Alma Tadema, Royal Academy, 1881.

the island of Lesbos, and strongly indicative of the Asiatic origin of the Greeks.

Principal dialectical divergencies of Æolic.

The second variety was *Thessalian*, and doubtfully *Macedonian*, though the latter

tongue has never been critically determined in its relations with the languages of the south. The third dialect was *Bœotian*, and the fourth *Elæan* and *Arcadian*, the latter belonging to the Peloponnesus. Modern critics have found that the dialects of Elis and Arcadia are rather Doric Greek than Æolic, though the latter may have been the original root. In Lesbos are several inscriptions which still preserve the ancient forms of the language; and the extant fragments of the poems of Alcæus and Sappho furnish literary examples of the same.

One of the striking features of the language as illustrated in these works is

Low tone and other peculiarities of this form of Greek.

the absence of ultimate or final accent. Words which in Ionic and Doric Greek

are accented on the last syllable throw back the accent in Æolic, just as in Latin. Another striking peculiarity is the heavy, or baritone, quality of the vowels. What may be called the *high tone* of the Ionic vowels is wanting in Æolic. Another feature is the absence of the rough breathing which was so common in Ionic and Doric words. The digamma, or *vav*, which, on account of its heavy character, dropped out of classical Greek, was retained in Æolic, especially in the Bœotian dialect—another example of the strong affinity of Æolic and Latin. The short *e* and the short *o* of Greek were originally represented by *a* in Æolic, furnishing a good example of what is called the “dulling” of vowel sounds. The vowel *alpha* also appeared in many words where long *e* (*η*) took its place in Ionic. In short, it is evident that Æolic Greek had *alpha* for its pri-

mary vowel sound, the evolution not having proceeded far enough to include the wide range of vocalic utterance exhibited in the South Greek dialects.

The language of the Bœotians is but little known, and that only from inscriptions. The few specimens that have been preserved are also inflected with

Characteristics of the Bœotian tongue.

Ionic words and constructions. Though it is clear that the Bœotian language was deduced from the Æolic stem, it nevertheless had much in common with Ionic Greek. The accent was not thrown back as in Æolic. The Bœotians, instead of rejecting the rough breathing, had a fondness for its use. They also sympathized with the southern forms of speech in preserving the ancient *tau* (*τ*) instead of employing *sigma* (*σ*), as did the Æolians. In other peculiarities also it is evident that the transformation toward the Ionic forms of speech was going on among the Bœotian tribes. In an age of free growth it could but happen that the neighboring clans would assimilate each from the other the forms of speech which they used in intercourse. All the dialects in Greece were shaded off at the margin into the tongues of the adjacent peoples.

As already said, the original languages of Elis and Arcadia have been much discussed as to their stem connections. In this country the intermingling of

Elæan and Arcadian dialects of Æolic.

forms was between Æolic and Doric dialects. Some modern scholars have been of the opinion that the languages of these two Peloponnesian states are essentially Dorian, and that the notion hitherto existing of an Æolian origin is to be wholly rejected. This change of view would extend also to the Greek tongue of Cyprus. It is certain that the colonists of this island were

ETRUSCAN.		GREEK.		COPTIC.		ARABIC.		ETHIOPIIC AND AMHARIC.	
AAA	a	A a	a	Ⲁ ⲁ	a	ا	a	ሀ	h
B	b	B β	b	Ⲃ ⲃ	b, v	ب	b	ለ	l
CKK	k, g	Γ γ	g	Ⲅ ⲅ	g	ت	t	ሐ	lh
TT	t, d	Δ δ	d	Ⲇ ⲇ	d	ث	thín	መ	m
EE	e	E ε	ē	Ⲉ ⲉ	ē	ج	dj	ሠ	s
8	f			Ⲋ ⲋ	f	ح	h	ረ	r
↑↑		Z ζ	z	Ⲍ ⲍ	z	خ	kh	ሰ	s
⊖	h	H η	ē	Ⲏ ⲏ	ei	د	d	ሸ	sh
		Θ θ	th	Ⲑ ⲑ	th	ذ	then	ቀ	k
I	i	Ι ι	i	Ⲓ ⲓ	i	ر	r	ባ	b
		K κ	ke	Ⲕ ⲕ	k	ز	z	ተ	th
↓	l	Λ λ	l	Ⲗ ⲗ	l	س	s	ተ	tj
MMMM	m	M μ	m	Ⲙ ⲙ	m	ش	sh	ሓ	kh
1NHN	n	N ν	n	Ⲛ ⲛ	n	ص	sq	ከ	n
‡	s	Ξ ξ	x	Ⲝ ⲝ	x	ض	dd	ከ	gn
⊙	o	O ο	ō	ⲟ Ⲡ	ō	ط	t	ለ	a
111	p, b	Π π	p	ⲡ Ⲣ	p, b	ظ	tz	ከ	k
						ع	...	ከ	ch
DDQ	r	P ρ	r	P p	r	غ	gh	⊙	v
2	s	Σ σ s	s	Ϛ ϛ C c	s	ف	f	⊙	a
		T τ	t	T ϥ ϧ	t, ti, d	ق	k	⊙	z
V Y	u, v	Υ υ	u	Ⲙ ⲙ	i, y, ū	ك	lh	⊙	j
		Φ φ	ph	Ⲙ ⲙ	ph	ل	l	⊙	y
		X χ	ch	Ⲙ ⲙ	ch	م	m	⊙	d
		Ψ ψ	ps	Ⲙ ⲙ	ps	ن	n	⊙	dj
		Ω ω	ō	Ⲙ ⲙ	ō	و	w	⊙	g
				Ⲙ ⲙ	g	ي	y	⊙	t
				Ⲙ ⲙ	sk			⊙	tsch
				Ⲙ ⲙ	sh			⊙	p
				Ⲙ ⲙ	h			⊙	tz
				Ⲙ ⲙ	kh			⊙	z
				Ⲙ ⲙ				⊙	f
				Ⲙ ⲙ				⊙	p

The characters which belong only to the Amharic alphabet are marked with an asterisk.

in part Arcadians. The fact that the inscriptions of Cyprus are not written in the Greek alphabet has greatly embarrassed antiquarian research, and made a decision respecting the Cyprian language exceedingly difficult. On the whole, the dialects of Æolic, or the language itself considered in its entirety, must be regarded as the least important of all varieties of Greek.

The second general branch of the Hellenic languages was Doric. It has

Ethnic and geographical limits of Doric Greek.

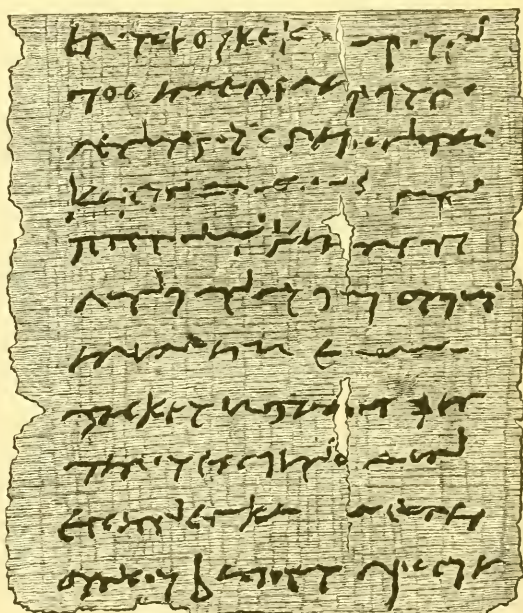
two aspects, an older and a more recent form. The first sympathizes with Æolic in its construction and vocabulary, and the second with Ionic Greek. The older form covers the original tongues of Laconia, Crete, Cyrene, and the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. The more recent Doric embraces the languages of Argolis, Messenia, and Megara, of the Dorian countries in Northern Greece, and of the colonies belonging to the Greek race in Asia Minor and Sicily. The fundamental difference between the older and the more recent variety of Doric is the use in the former of *omega* (ω) and *eta* (η) instead of the softened diphthongs *ou* (ου) and *ei* (ει) in the milder dialect. There were also other vocalic differences between the two forms of speech and some consonantal discrepancies.

The ancient language of the *Laconians*, or Spartans, is known to us from inscriptions and from fragments of

Fragments of Laconian preserved in treaties.

the folk speech preserved in the comedies of Aristophanes. Thucydides gives a single treaty recorded in the Spartan dialect. The sculptured tablets of Heraclea, found at Tarentum, in Southern Italy, and preserved in the museum of Naples, also present specimens of the old Laconian language. Other inscriptions have been recovered from the island of Crete,

embracing certain ancient treaties between the towns of the island. At Olympia a helmet and several inscriptions have been found containing the old *Argolic* dialect. Some interesting tablets from Messenia have been recovered on which were carved the doctrine of certain of the gods; but in these inscriptions the language is found to be of a later date (about 90 B. C.). The dialect spoken in Corinth has been recovered in part from inscriptions at Cor-



FACSIMILE OF ANCIENT GREEK MANUSCRIPT.
From Lord Strangford's papyri, British Museum.

cyra and Syracuse; and a few examples of the Locrian language, also Doric in its origin, have been obtained from a bronze tablet on which are written the terms of an ancient treaty.

The Doric language as distinguished from Ionic was a slow, emphatic form of speech, more suitable for the brief conversation of warriors than for the discourse of philosophers, the measures of poets, or orations from the bema. It was a serious language, having little of the lightness and airy structure of the

Distinctions between Doric and Ionic forms of speech.

Ionic in its later developments. It might be called the Anglo-Saxon stage of Attic Greek. It must not be understood, however, that the difference between the brief and severe forms of Doric and the elegant and easy inflec-



HOMER.

Drawn by E. von Liphart.

tions of Ionic were differences in age of development more than a difference in the genius of the two dialects. All of the roughness, the laconic demeanor, the austerity, and uncurbed force of the mountaineers of Lacedæmon are reflected in the dialect which they spoke. The one is as the other—the tone of the language is a reflection of the character of the people.

There were several specific features of Doric Greek by which the tongue was discriminated in practice from Ionic. The language was much more *oxytone*,

to use the grammatical term, than was the speech of the Ionians; that is, the Doric accents were lifted from grave to acute and thrust forward to the

Oxytone character and archaic forms of Doric.

more advanced syllables of the words, thus giving a sort of sharpness, almost a shriek, to the utterance of the language—a peculiarity which the Ionians in their speech sought to avoid. In addition to this, the Dorians retained the old, heavy digamma, or *vav* (*F*), long after it had disappeared from the politer forms of Greek. In the old Lacedæmonian, Argolian, and Corinthian inscriptions the *vav* appears in nearly every case in which we find a *v* in the corresponding Latin words. Besides this, the Dorians were fond of doubling their consonants in cases where the Ionians used only a single letter; for example, *hessos* (*ἥσσος*) for *hesos* (*ἥσος*); *messos* (*μέσσος*) for *mesos* (*μέσος*), etc. This peculiarity put strength and energy into the middle of the word instead of lightness and activity. Still again, it was the Dorian usage to employ the ancient guttural *koppa* (*Q*) in preference to the recent and delicate *kappa* (*κ*) or any other smooth equivalent. Thus in Doric we have *Qorinthoi* instead of *Corinthoi*, etc. The foregoing peculiarities were sufficient to make a strong contrast between the languages of the Spartans and the Athenians even to the time when the shadow of Rome impended over both.

The great language of the Greeks was the Ionic, in its several stages of growth. The Old Ionic was the dialect of the epic poets, the language of Homer and the Cyclic bards. The New Ionic was the second stage of literary development, and is represented in the pages of Herodotus and Hippocrates;

Historical development of Ionic Greek.

while the third evolution, or Attic, gave to the world the great literary productions of classical Greece. The Attic dialect was itself subdivided into three stages of growth, the Old, the Middle, and the New. It was in the New Attic that the Greek language reached its final leafage and efflorescence in the graceful forms and delicate peculiarities which were cultivated at the high noon of Athenian splendor.

We must bear in mind, however, that here again exact lines of division hinder as much as they help a clear understanding of the actual growth of the Greek language from its pre-Homeric origin to its post-Attic decline. This is to say that the progress from the old, or epic, tongue into the language of Herodotus was *gradual*. In the pages of Homer there are many forms of expression which the bard had gathered from the archaic and extinct forms of speech; and there are also hints of the new forms which the Father of History was afterwards to reduce to system and regularity. So also in the transformation of Herodotean Greek into Attic—there was never a break; but at certain times slight modifications grew into serious changes. Old forms were abandoned and new forms adopted until, quite unawares—though after the lapse of some generations—a dialect distinct from the preceding had arisen. All the way down the process is one of gradual transformation and growth, involving the substitution of more elegant and highly inflected forms of expression for the archaisms of the older poets.

It is not our purpose to enter into a review of the language of Homer or Herodotus or Thucydides or any other Greek author representative of a stage in linguistic development. We here

look upon the language simply in process of transformation, and as a vehicle and instrument of the race evolution of the Greeks. One thing must be understood before the reader may apprehend the peculiar effect of their speech upon the Hellenes themselves. Of all men, only the Greek has been *conscious* of his language. It is the most striking feature of the linguistic history of mankind. The son of Hellen was all the time conscious of the form in which his speech was given forth, and was in the last degree particular as to the accuracy and beauty of his expression. In this respect he differs from every type of man who has simply given forth his utterance unconsciously.

As a rule, the mind is confused with the double process of thinking and speaking if both be consciously performed; but the Greek not only carried forward both processes at once—the subjective union of concepts and the objective forms of utterance—but at the same time he hung about every part of his speech the flowers and leafage of his imagination. We here speak of Ionic Greek, of the perfected Attic language as it was spoken and written in the days of its splendor.

Of his native tongue the Greek was as proud as he was of his descent from Hellen or even from the gods. His language was the one fundamental distinction between him and the barbarians. He called them *Barbaroi* because of their jargon—because they *jabbered* and could not speak, at least with Hellenic elegance. He sought perfection in his words, in his manner of utterance, and in every detail of expression. Dissonnance was avoided as something odious; and to misplace an accent was a greater

Peculiar consciousness of the Greeks respecting language.

Stages from the pre-Homeric to the post-Attic speech.

Pride of the Greeks in attaining perfection of speech.

crime than to violate a treaty. Not only did the scholars, the learned, and élite of the Ionians thus cultivate the delicacies and perfections of their language; but the very rabble, the democracy, the shopkeepers, the marketers, and *vulgus profanum* of the agora emulated the dialectical purity of their superiors, and spoke Greek even as they. It is narrated that when a great oration was spoken

more exact than we should find in the language of any modern people. The quality of the vowels was very musical. In a certain sense the language was *chanted*. The sharp and piping sound of Latin, traceable to the large use of the vowels *i* and *u*, was avoided in Greek. The prevalent vocalic elements were alpha (*a*), omicron (*o*), epsilon (*e*).

Regularity and purity of the language.

The assimilation of the consonants gave euphony and ease of utterance; and the freedom of syntactical disposition enabled the speaker or writer to arrange his period or verse with reference to the highest harmony. The variety of diphthongs gave a pleasing vicissitude of vowel sound (*ou, av, ai, ei, vi*), while the careful observation of the quantity of the vowels made the language as rhythmic and billowy as a chant.

The Greek vocabulary was extremely copious. It was not so much an abundance of roots — though in

this respect the Greek tongue was richer than any cognate dialect — but rather in the multiplicity of inflections. The words grew into many forms expressive of the diverse ideas which hovered about a given notion or thought. The law of growth was so free and the evolution of new forms so natural and varied that the vocabulary expanded as freely as the thought of the people. Herodian is said

Copiousness of the Greek vocabulary; the accents.

προς θεσσαλον α

ὍΤΙ ΤΑΛΛΥΤΑἘ ΠΑΘΕΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΥΜΕΙΣ
ΥΠΟ ΤΩΝ ΗΓΙΣΤΩΝ
ΣΥΝΦΥΛΑΙΤΩΝ
ΚΑΘΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΙ

Α Δ ΤΕΣΣΑΡΟΝ.

QUIA ELDEM PASSIES ESETUOS
LUESTRIS
CUM TRIBUBUS
QUOMODO ET IPSI

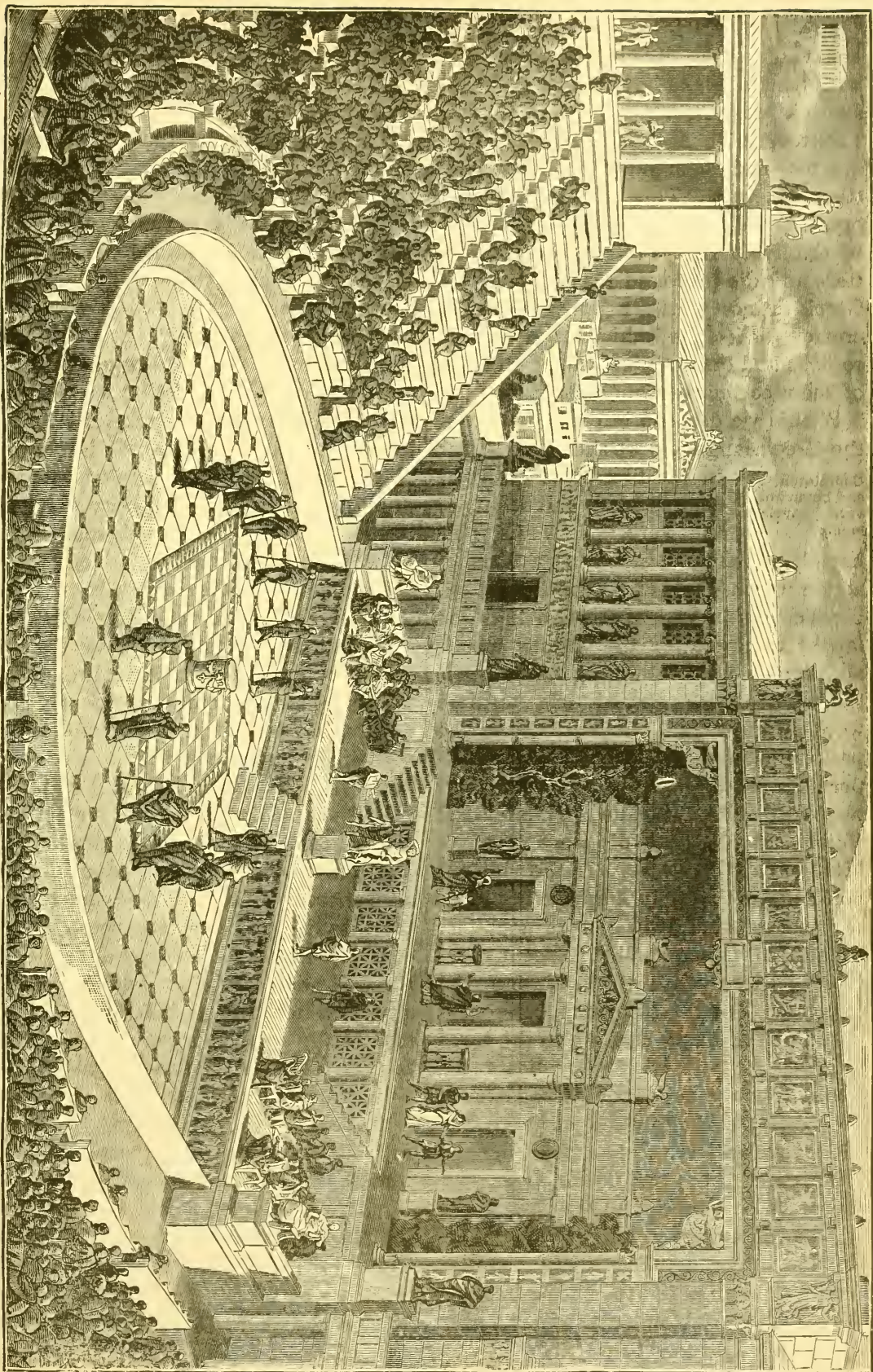
προς θεσσαλον α

ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπάθετε καὶ ὑμεῖς
ἀπὸ τῶν ἡγίων
συνφυλαϊτῶν
καθὼς καὶ αὐτοὶ

SPECIMENS OF OLD AND LATER GREEK.

from the pnyx, the very fishwomen would cry out in derision if the orator mispronounced or misaccented a single word. It was a linguistic pride, a parallel for which we should seek in vain among the characteristics of any other people.

The Greek language was perfected in all of its parts. The orthography was reduced to regularity. The accentuation and intonation were far purer and



THEATER OF DIONYSUS, AT ATHENS.—Drawn by J. Ruhlmann, after recent excavations
To the left, seats for spectators and part of the colonnade; in foreground, orchestra, proscenium, stage.

to have fixed the accents in accordance with the linguistic law and usage of his age on sixty thousand Greek words, this, too, in an age when no technical science had demanded its additional stock of terms. This vast verbal development had been produced exclusively by the lively fancy, the vivid imagination, and the profound reasoning of the Greek mind, which happily found or created for itself a vehicle of speech as copious and ornamental as the thought of the race was vast and efflorescent.

Should we descend into the details of the Greek language, we should be struck in the first place with the completeness and beauty of the verb. It would perhaps be difficult to invent any form of action which was not susceptible of expression by the verb of the Greek. The law of formation for the various moods and tenses was wellnigh perfect in its kind. The three general divisions of time were carefully discriminated; and in the past the distinction between Aorist, Imperfect, and Perfect was precisely marked. The so-called grammatical Voice had all three divisions, Active, Middle, and Passive. If the Middle voice was not so fully employed in practice as the other two, it was doubtless equal to all demands for the peculiar reflective action which it was designed to express. The three persons blossomed out in full endings, as did also the three numbers, in both cases to indicate the relations of the action to the character of the subject. If the old dual number of the primitive Aryan speech had almost disappeared from the Greek, it was because the discerning experiences of the race had shown the inutility of such a distinction. Through the whole development of a given verb, through all of its augments, reduplications, changing

stems, and waving terminations, the vital root idea rose and expanded as if it were the heart of a branching tree, in whose boughs sat all the winged creatures of thought.

It was the peculiarity of Greek that it was able to express the most refined and delicate modifications in the ideas and thought of the sentence. To this end the so-called *modifiers*, particularly the adjectives, had an expansion altogether in excess of that presented by any other European language, ancient or modern. The adjective took its station by the side of the noun, assumed its terminations, sought its likeness, and conformed to its methods of development; but it far outblossomed any mere noun. It sprang out into three numbers, three genders, five cases, and three degrees of comparison, each marked by its own variation in adjectival structure. The whole organism presented no fewer than one hundred and thirty-five inflections—a thing marvelous in the history of human speech. Even the stoical and inert adverb shared in the common leafage and put out terminations like a thing of life. Verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, all rejoiced in growth and expansion, the outputting of branches, the evolution of living leaves. Through all this the breezes blew, and the whole organic structure trembled as the thing thought rose vitally into the tree of speech and became visible in the flowers and foliage. Even the remotest twigs of this vital and beautiful organic whole quivered with the life which was common to all. The Greek particles, those infinitesimal toyships of language which have been the puzzle and provocation of all translators in all countries—hung up, as it were, at the tip ends and on the finest filaments of Greek thought—swayed to

Completeness
and beauty of
verbal develop-
ment.

Delicacy of the
modifying ele-
ments; the par-
ticles.

and fro under the stress of expression, and performed their pleasing part in unison with the more magisterial organs of the language.

The perspicacity of Greek was as marked a feature of the language as its delicacy of expression. Perspicacity of Greek; difficulties of perfect expression. Whoever has much handled the implement of human

speech and has observed with care the difficulties and perplexities with which the exact expression of thought by means of words and constructions is embarrassed, will have discovered that perfect precision, perfect correlation between the thought and the verbal form, is unattainable in any living language. How great are the imperfections of speech in this respect will not be readily apprehended by any who have not striven for exactitude in the use of language; for strive as we may, perfect precision can never be attained.

The vehicle of the comparatively grammarless tongues in use by the modern nations is not sufficiently elastic to conform perfectly to the details and niceties of thought. As a result, there is in the best books of modern literature a prodigious amount of blundering in the language. The insufficiency of every modern tongue to express with perfection the conceptions of great or even middle minds is painful to one whose sensibilities on this subject have not been dulled by the poverty and rudeness of his own language.

In Greek all of this evil disappears. It is really marvelous to note the exact and perfect transcript of

Blundering in Attic Greek well-nigh impossible.

thought which may be effected in the better forms of Greek. In pure Attic, for instance, all blundering or departure from the accurate delineation of the thinker's ideas is not only inexcusable, but is superficially

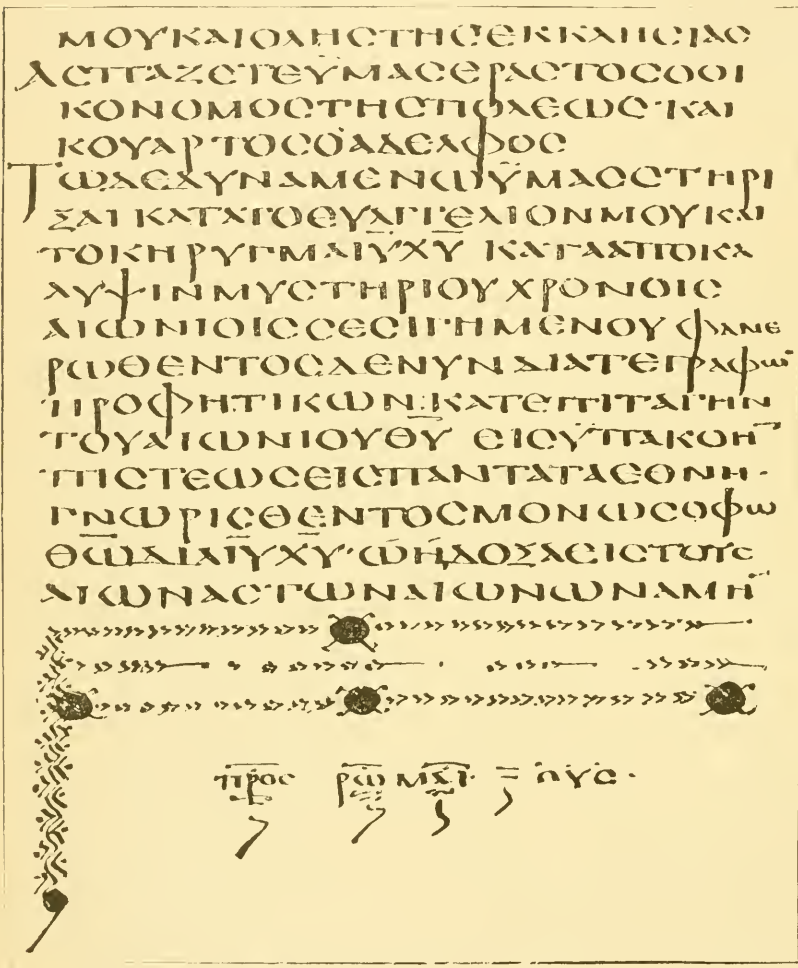
manifested in the language itself. Any blunder or want of perfect accord is immediately shown by a flaw in the construction as manifest to the eye as would be a scar from a hatchet on a piece of cabinet work. The language *fits* in all its parts, and the surface, though it palpitates and heaves under the living impulses within, is as smooth as well adjusted plumage or the fur of a seal.

A ruffle on the exterior of Greek is a mistake, a wound. The language is incapable of hiding an error. All error revealed in the form of the expression. All that unconscious ambiguity and unintentional equivocation which so abound in

the best modern literature disappear from Greek like impurities from quicksilver. They are squeezed out of the living fluid which shines and sparkles and is clean and perfect even in the dirt. In the best days of Greek the language had risen to an organic and spiritual purity which it was impossible to defile. The details of the language, even its smallest particles, stood like sentinels to prevent the intrusion of obscurity, the touch and pollution even of the small dust of corruption. The Greek articles were so adjusted as to compel the perspicuity of every phrase and clause. "The doors of the houses are closed," says our sturdy English speech, and the meaning is clear; but if echo takes up the last three words, saying "houses are closed," the meaning of the original sentence is falsified with the final words of its own utterance. "The sons of the dead veterans we saw marching," says our own strong tongue, and echo cries out "dead veterans we saw marching," as if we had beheld their ghosts. But such mockeries out of echoland can never arise from Greek. Greek says, "The of the houses doors are closed;" and echo repeats "doors are closed,"

thus verifying instead of contradicting our utterance. Greek says, "The of the dead veterans sons we saw marching," and echo repeats "sons we saw marching." The ghosts have disappeared; for in Greek no ghost, no shadow, no

trary, the Greek sentence is plastic. It may be worked like wax, and still the integrity of thought be preserved. It may be attenuated—drawn out until its clauses are anatomically displaced and almost disjointed—until only the thin



FACSIMILE OF ANCIENT GREEK MANUSCRIPT.

ligaments of sentimental structure hold together the displaced and tortured organs. Still it lives; still it is the same; still the thought is as whole and unmistakable in form and feature as it was before the sentence was stretched upon the wheel. If a bit of Greek thus tortured into fantastic form be translated into another language, and the syntactical shape of the original be followed or imitated, the translation will be a monster in linguistic physiology. "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample

bantering of a double sense was possible.

Here was a compactness of structure for which we should look in vain in any other speech. Let us not think, however, that the unmistakable sense so admirably woven into these words of the Hellenes depended for its perfection upon mere compactness. On the con-

Capacity of Greek for attenuation and displacement.

them under their feet, and turn again and rend you." Thus saith the English rendering, but what saith the Greek? Which beasts are to turn and rend you? Is it the *swine* or the *dogs*? Which of them trample the pearls under their feet? In Greek, the italic clause, though so far detached, answers the dogs, *only*, turn again and rend you; the swine, *only*, trample the

pearls under their feet. There is no confusion expressed and none possible, no ambiguity or hint of equivocation. So long as the parts of the sentence hang together, even by the finest filament, the integrity of the whole is preserved.

The intensity of the Greek language was another peculiarity for which we find no parallel. Many ideas slightly variant were expressed by words derived from a common stem, and this common element, echoing through the sentence, intensified the thought to the close. The suggestion of the first word was accented in the second, emphasized in the third, and sent reverberating through all the remainder. The very thing which is so studiously avoided in modern languages, namely, the tautology of sound, was carefully cultivated in Greek. There it was not tautology, but an increasing stress laid upon the thought in the process of its development.

To the ear only slightly attuned to the harmonies of Greek, an echo is ever present of the idea at first suggested in the subject of the sentence; and of this echo the resonance remains to the close of the paragraph; and as the mind follows the evolution from page to page, there is still a distant murmur caught far off from the horizon of the first suggestion of the theme. "Hō *thēreutēs ta thēria thēreuei*," says the Greek, which our diversified language renders thus: "The hunter pursues the wild beasts." But the fine tautological original runs thus: "The wildbeaster wildbeasts the wildbeasts."¹ Mark the echo. Again the Greek: "Hō *poiētēs tēn poiēsin poiēi*;" that is, in English, "The bard creates poesy;" but in Greek, "The maker makes the mak-

ing;" or, "The poet poets the poesy," or, "The singer sings the singing." In the thirty-second chapter of the *Gorgias* one of the answers of Socrates to Polos is as follows: *Toiouton tmēma tēnnētai tō tēnnómēnon hōion tō tēnnon tēnnei*; that is, in an English imitation: "The thing cut is cut such-a-cut-as the thing cutting cuts;" or, "That which is cut is cut such a cut as that which cuts, cuts." Or, as we should say in plain idiom, "The gash in a thing is the shape of the blade that cuts it." Nor is there the slightest sign that Socrates is playing with his words. Polos answers seriously, *Phaiuctai*, "so it appears." The big brain of the master is simply refining upon a thought, and his speech bears him naturally, inevitably, into the repetition of the root idea expressed in the syllable *tēm*. Echo will have it so. It were not elegant Greek unless the creative thought expressed in the first root should roll along the sentence, swelling in intensity to the final cadence.

What may be called the expansibility of Greek was another noted feature. While on the one hand the language was capable of indefinite compression until even a single small word, by its suggestion, could wellnigh contain an epic, on the other hand a word might be evolved of intolerable length, whose meaning would be summarized—but not expressed—in a modern language by a mere monosyllable.

The Greeks, especially the Dorians, were fond of employing compressed and abbreviated expressions, merely suggestive of the thought or thoughts which they wished to utter. Words and mottoes were frequently engraved on porches, over the entrance to oracles, and in other significant places, so brief as to be enigmatical, but still pregnant

Intensity of
Greek secured
by repeating
root words.

Examples and
significance of
syllable tau-
tology.

Power of con-
densation and
expansion illus-
trated.

¹ Literally: The *deerman* *deers* the *deers*.

with the weightiest suggestions. One of the words thus frequently employed was the Greek for *if* (*ei*). The variety of senses that might be extracted from this potent hypothetical particle illustrated at once a disposition of the people and a capacity in their language. The ambassadors of Philip came down into Peloponnesus to the stubborn Spartans, threatening destruction for their contumacy. "*If* the Lacedemonians did not immediately submit to Philip; if they did not cease to deal doubly with him; if they did not at once send the usual tokens of earth and water as evidences of their submission, Philip would send an army against them, overwhelm them with his power, and blot the city from existence." The Spartan ephors sat upon this important message, and returned the following answer:

‘*Ei—if!*

Such was the spirit which gave to the term *Laconic* its peculiar significance. On the other hand, we see the Attic Aristophanes, uproarious in his satire, coining with entire freedom and in perfect accordance with Greek composition a single word to express all the articles of fish, flesh, and fowl which were served on the tables of the Greeks. Nor was there anything linguistically absurd in his ponderous term, *Lepadotemachoselachogaleokraniroleipsanodrimypotrimatosilphioparaomelitokatakechymenokichlepiakossyphophattoperisteralektryonoptengkephalokingklopeleiolagoosiraiobaphetraganopterygon—Hash!*

Still another beauty of Greek was its harmony. Without doubt, it was one of the most musical tongues ever employed by men. This is not said merely of its limpid and vocalic sweetness. The music of Greek was not the music of Italian. The harmony of the vowel

sounds, tender almost as the notes of an Æolian harp, was built upon a harmony of consonantal structure which became stronger and stronger at the base. It was the music of Wagner or of Liszt, as powerful in its lower parts as it was sweet in its highest register.

Of course the different dialects varied in the quality of harmony, Æolic being the roughest of all and Ionic the most melodious. It has been thought that the Greek spoken in the islands of the Ægean was the softest of all, having a preponderance of vowels, and being less wind-shaken with consonantal stridor than were the mountain dialects of the interior. Sometimes the Greek word was wrought out like a sigh, having both its terminations in the softest vowel elements. Thus the Ionic word meaning “forever” was *acikaiai*. On the other hand, the Greek consonants when heaped together, as they many times were, gave to the opposite extreme of the language all the force and vehemence of German. *Phthismos*, as it well might be, was a “wheezing sound;” and *Chronou phthongos* was the “voice of Saturn.” There was thus from right to left and from left to right of the great Greek diapason of speech an extent and variety far exceeding that presented on the keyboard of any other linguistic instrument ever invented by man.

Even in the earliest ages of Greek literature the harmonious quality of the language came out in full force. Homer knew it as the day knows the clouds and the landscape. Never was such another vehicle of musical rhythm invented in this poor sphere as the old bard’s billowy hexameters. It is not the place to illustrate in a scholastic way the harmony and pulse beat of the Homeric verse.

Vocalic sweetness combined with consonantal strength.

Harmonious utterance and structure of Greek.

Beauty and resonance of the Homeric hexameters.

It has in it all of the sounds and music of the natural world, its mirth and its sorrow, its whisper and its outcry, its sympathy and its dolor. To the end of time and to the remotest corners of the earth the ear of youth will quicken with delight with those immortal endings down which the cadence of the hexameters falls into silence—*hos mala polla; epeita thea glaucopis Athena; polyphlois-boia thalassēs*.

The Greek nomenclature was picturesque in the last degree. The common-

est of common nouns were in a sense poetical. The

animals of the hills and plains were all named out of some quick conceit of their leading attributes. The Greek mind discovered the most striking feature of everything alive, and with the discovery named the object according to this feature. The huge bear of the Pindus gorges was called *ho arctos*, "the bow," for his back was bent up like a bow!

And whoever is curious in such things may here discover the beginnings of that process by which the constellations of heaven were given the names of animals. The supposition that the groups of stars have resemblance to the creatures for which they are named is a mere conceit. It was a freak of language which transferred the animals of the earth to the arch of heaven. The Greek, with his quick discovery of analogies, called the bend of the Great Dipper, *ho arctos*, "the bow." He also called the huge beast with the bent-up back "the bow," *ho arctos*. In after times when it was found that the Dipper was called *arctos*, the undiscerning thought of the discoverer concluded that it meant *the bear*! Presto, *ursus* was translated from earth to heaven! As a matter of fact, the name *arctos* had been twice con-

ferred by the quick Greek mind, once on an earthly and once on a heavenly object, and the duller mind of posterity could not discover the double reference! Hence we have no constellation of the Bow, and Ursa Major still growls at the North Star. Our little gray squirrel is the mediæval *sciurella*, from the Greek *scioura*; that is, "the little shadetail," from *scios*, "a shadow;" *oura*, "a tail," and *ella*, the Italic diminutive. He was the little fellow who used his tail for a sunshade!

Rising into the realm of proper names, the picturesqueness of the language becomes still more striking. The names of men and women were all

Significance and poetry of the Greek proper names.

highly significant. Never would a Greek have given to one of his children a merely senseless epithet to discriminate him from the rest, as if he were a piece of merchandise and his name *a tag*. On the contrary, some vivid picture arose of the circumstances of birth, of the hope and expectancy of father or mother, of promise or possible unpromise in the child himself; and out of these circumstances a poem of one word was composed and given to him for life.

Every Greek was as to his name a living poem. Whenever he was addressed the poem was repeated, and even in the clangor and fury of the agora we may hear the perpetual rhythm of the poetical names by which the Greeks were known. Homeros is the Blind; Alexandros is the Mandefender; Andromache is the Manbattle, and Penelope the Woofmaker. All the way up, from the names of insects to the names of gods, from the names of grass blades and flowers to the names of the eternal stars, the same vivid and poetical concepts and creative abundance of the Greek mind and tongue are exhibited.

Thus far nothing has been said of the introduction of the Greek alphabet and the development of literary expression. As a general fact, the history of writing has its further extremity in shadow and doubt. It is not probable that the actual beginning of the art of writing as it has been practiced by any people, ancient or modern, can ever be discovered. The art begins in obscurity, and is brought up to regularity and effectiveness at the same time that the nation is becoming conscious. The first efforts at writing take place in the unconscious infancy of peoples, into which the light of memory can never reach.

The story of the introduction of the Greek alphabet by Cadmus is now remanded to its place among the other

myths and legends of the dawn. It is not likely that the knowledge of writing was brought in from Phœnicia or from any other foreign land. Nations do not thus export and import their arts. Cadmus in all probability was himself a primitive Greek. His name means *order*, and he belongs to that mythical period when the chaotic elements of tribal life were giving place to the settled conditions of nationality. He may have been a great leader in the work of reducing the language of the primitive Hellenic tribes to regularity and a written form; but it was many ages before the rude methods of the beginning gave place to the elegant pictorial transcript of Greek thought which the Attic poets and historians were able to produce.

CHAPTER L.—ARTS OF THE GREEKS.



HERE then we are in the morning twilight of the rising arts. Having considered the means which were employed for the development and perfection of

Greek life, we may now consider some of its primary manifestations in the production of artistic forms. Doubtless the earliest endeavor of man after he has emerged from barbarism and built for himself a house lies in the direction of adorning his abode. The first addition to the mere structure which houses him from the elements is the token and promise of the whole architectural evolution.

Here may be drawn the line between the necessitous and the æsthetic development of the race. At the first the work is unconsciously done. Perhaps the

birds and beasts never use ornamentation. They rise to the level of artisans, but not to the level of artists. A single step beyond, the building powers of the animals would enter the domain of fancy and proceed to ornamentation. Man does, before he is fully conscious, enter the imaginative stage of creation. The forms which he henceforth produces are partly real and partly ideal; and as he progresses toward the light the ideality of his work becomes more and more dominant over the reality until it reaches the limit of pure art.

In the shadowy pre-Homeric age Greece had already become great in building.

We have had occasion in a former book to speak of the massive ruins left behind by the Pelasgians in South-

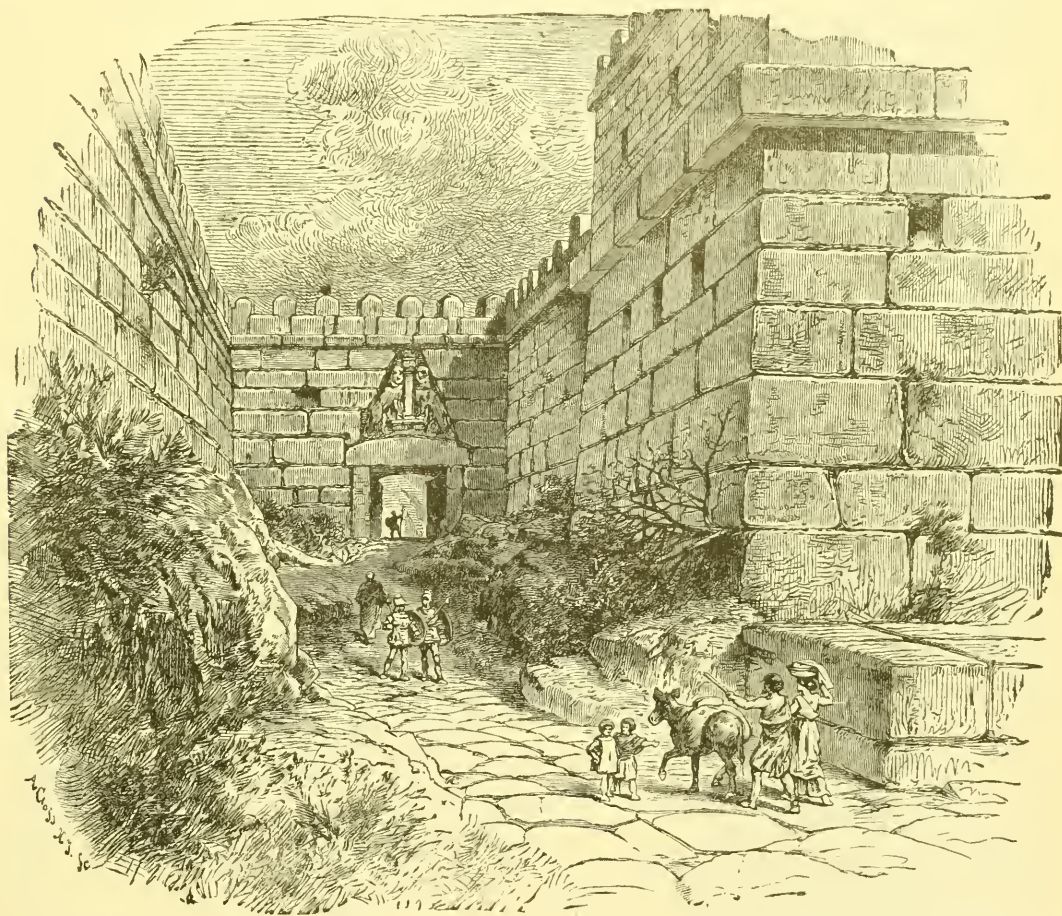
Desire for the ornamentation of structure limited to man.

Greek architecture of the legendary age.

ern Greece. These remains belong to a legendary age of which the Greeks of Homer knew nothing except by tradition. Nor are we able to discover in the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns or in the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ even the preliminary aspects of Greek art such as it became in the times of Athenian

We may safely assert that this old first art of the Greek race—if indeed the Pelasgians were Greeks—fell into disuse and decadence during the heroic convulsions of the Trojan Wars. It is evident that whatever may have been the impulse which carried the Greeks back into

Artistic gap between Homeric age and the Persian wars.



BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE.—GATE OF THE LIONS, AT MYCENÆ, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Hoffman.

glory; but the Pelasgic Aryans were not really a primitive people, and their art was not a primitive art. They belonged evidently to an age of power and progress. However dimly seen that age may be, it nevertheless existed; and it is no matter of wonder that the Greeks looked with admiration and astonishment upon the relics of what to them, as well as to us, was a prehistoric epoch.

Asia on hostile excursions, it drew away from both Peloponnesus and Northern Hellas the energies of the rising states, and for a while paralyzed the artistic as well as the industrial progress of the race. There is a great break between the Homeric age and the real rise of that artistic spirit which prevailed during the classical ages. We may assume that the genius of the people was now

ripe for an æsthetic development, and that the mighty shock of the Persian wars was the exciting cause of that ar-



KARYATID OF A GREEK TEMPLE.

Drawn by L. Otto

tistic display which has made the age memorable through all time.

Never was a small land so pressed with the shoulders of a coming avalanche as was Greece under the impact of the Persian invasion. Never was such

excitement aroused, such vigor displayed in defense. The situation was of a kind to revive all the old superstitions and portents which had been accepted in the primitive ages. Out of the shadows of the past the forms of helmeted gods were seen again as in the days of the Trojan War. The powers on high coöperated with the powers below, and when the torrent of destruction was stayed—when the foe was rolled back from Marathon, Plataea, and Salamis—the heart of the Greeks broke out in joy and thankfulness.

Effects of the Persian invasion and the deliverance of Hellas.

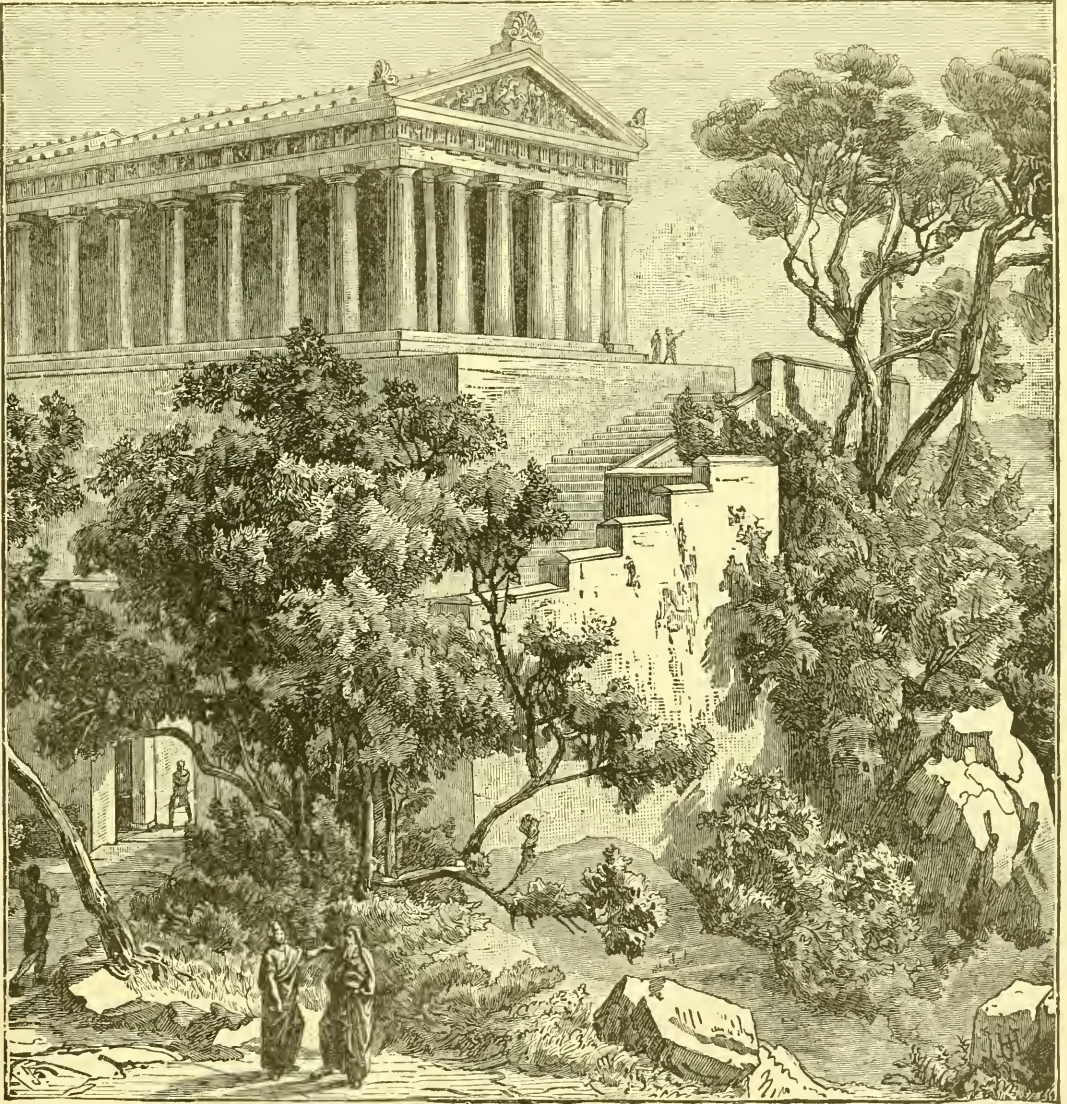
It was a religious revival as well as a baptism of patriotic fire. Here we may find the origin of the temple-building age. The gods must be honored as well

Temple-building age ensued; evolution of the temple.

as the heroes, and more than the heroes; for the gods were great and immortal. The first splendid forthshowing of Greek architectural genius was therefore in the temples. It is not purposed in this connection to give any elaborate account of the great structures reared by the Greek artists and builders to the glory of their race. It is not known through what primary stages of development the temple passed before taking its final form. The fundamental idea was that of an abode for a given deity, a place where a statue of a god might stand and be admired or worshiped as the visible image of deity. The place within where the statue stood was called the *cella*, and consisted at first of four simple walls and a roof. From this nucleus all the rest of the structure was expanded. About the *cella* space was made at first for festal processions and for such ceremonies as were fitting for the peculiar worship. The walls were expanded into a parallelogram, having the sides in proportions to the ends as three to two, or

two to one, or sometimes two and one quarter to one. Supporting columns were added, and finally the exterior of the whole structure became a colonnade with a frieze and metope and cornice decorated in the highest styles of art.

blended somewhat with that of the Dorians and Ionians, finding its expression rather in modifications of their works than in any distinct accomplishment of its own. Of the other two races, Dorian and Ionian, the former stands first in an-



SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON, AT CALAURIA (DEATHPLACE OF DEMOSTHENES).—Drawn by J. Hoffman.

The old Æolian Greeks were the least artistic in their development. It is not known certainly that any remnants of their works survive. Perhaps, in the course of time, the Æolian genius

Dorian architecture affected by prehistoric influences.

It is in the Doric architecture that we find most frequent traces of the archaic rudeness of the past. Here also we note that massive solidity, that severity which always characterizes the art of a people on its first emergence

from the age of mere building. It is easy to see in the remains which the Dorian race has left behind the hints of the heavy Cyclopean walls and immovable bastions of the Pelasgic architecture.

The artistic building of the Dorians found its best expression in three great

Centers of architectural achievements of the Dorians.

centers. Sparta, Corinth, and Southern Italy. We

have already said something incidentally about the character of the buildings clustered around the market place of Sparta. Its peculiarity was the absence of those elaborate ornaments with which some future developments of Greek art were so elegantly and profusely adorned. In Corinth the building genius of the Dorian race reached its climax. Doubtless many influences derived from the Ionians had here entered into union with the native genius of the Dorian builders and sculptors. It is thought, moreover, that Corinth was at the first an Æolian city; but if so, it was at an age anterior to the artistic development of the Greeks.

Pausanias has left on record an account of the condition of the city when

Corinth the flower of Dorian genius in building.

he visited it in the second century of our era. At that time Corinth had for three

hundred and fifty years been under the dominion of the Romans, and its splendor was in a large measure traceable to the profuse but vulgar patronage of that great race. Still the architecture and the art were essentially Greek, and may be said at that epoch to have been the flower of the Dorian genius. In the port of Lechæum stood the great temple of Poseidon, with its brazen statue of that god—greatest single monument of Doric architecture. At the harbor of Cenchreæ was the temple of Aphrodite, of almost equal grandeur. The whole

agora was surrounded with temples and columns. Here stood the statues of Bacchus and of Diana of the Ephesians. Here was the temple of Fortuna; here was the magnificent Pantheon, with its fountain, and another Poseidon of bronze.

It is needless to enumerate in detail the vast artistic display in statuary and temples and porches which the city at this time presented. It suffices to call attention to the fact that everything under the influence of the lively genius of the Corinthians had become ornate; that even the old majestic columns of the Dorians had blossomed into that elegance and elaboration of the capital which has given to all civilized countries the name *Corinthian* as descriptive of the very efflorescence of art.

We have mentioned Southern Italy as another seat of Dorian architecture.

The ancient city of Pæstum

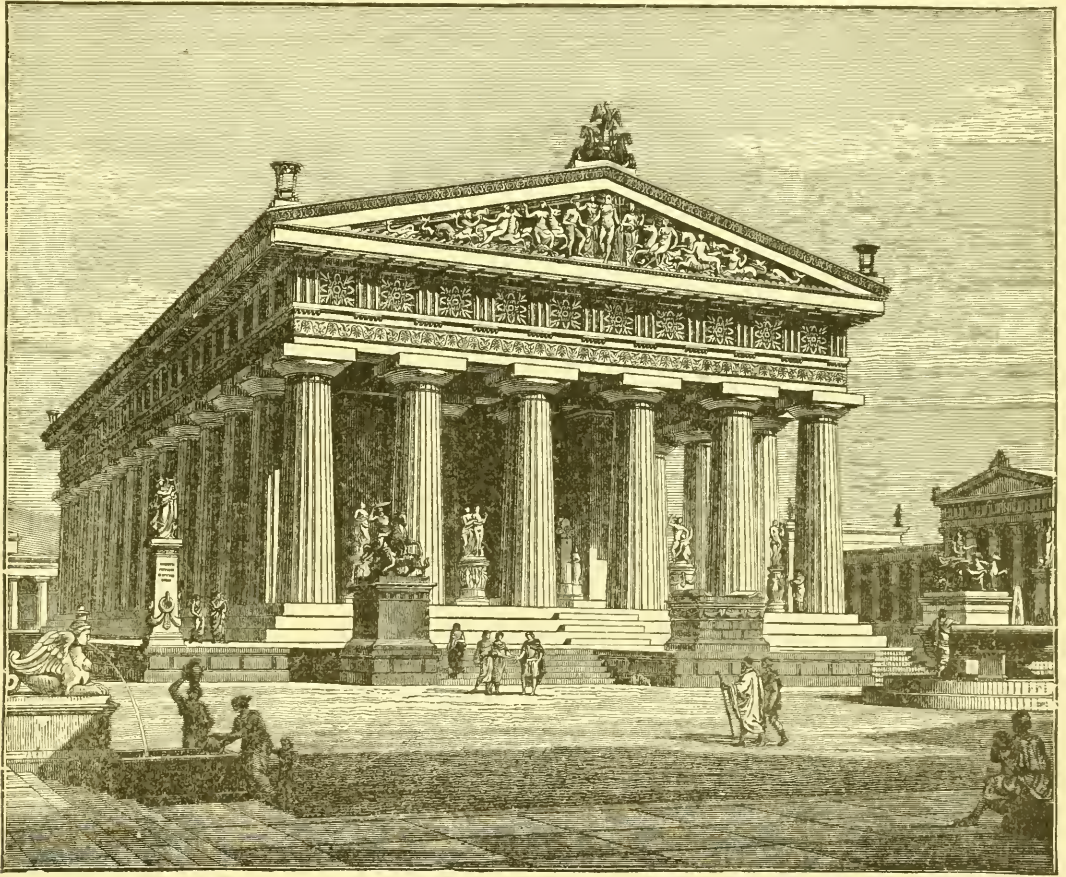
at the mouth of the Silarus, ^{Temples of Poseidon and Ceres at Pæstum.} on the Tyrrhenian sea,

contains the best preserved ruins which time and war have spared to us of the Dorian temples. The remains of two vast structures, magnificent even in desolation, cover the plain by the sea-shore. The older and grander of the two is—or was—the temple of Poseidon. Only the sky is now above it; only the stillness of the Italian landscape around it; only some peasants or quiet cattle in the foreground of the tremendous ruin. The ground plan is one hundred and eighty feet in length by eighty feet in width. The old Doric columns are nearly all in their entirety, unshaken from the place where they stood in their ancient splendor. On the top of the colonnade the architrave still holds its place; and in the crevices wild flowers and vines have found a footing and are spreading green and beautiful in the balm of the Italian air.

The other temple is that of Ceres, or Vesta—for it is not known to which of the divinities it was originally dedicated. The structure is one hundred and seventy feet in length by forty-eight feet in width. The outer walls which formerly inclosed these magnificent edifices were a sort of pentagon in shape, having a perimeter of about three miles.

may be said of all peoples, with certain limitations and exceptions. There is an inner and an outer life of man, and that the latter should reflect the former is natural, inevitable. In no part of the work of the race has this principle been more strikingly and happily illustrated than in the two styles of Greek architecture

Greek architecture the reflection of Greek life and genius.



TEMPLE OF POSEIDON, AT PÆSTUM, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

The places of the old gates and archways are still plainly discoverable in the line of the wall, and the traveler can see with his mind's eye the outline of what was once, next to the temple of Corinth, the finest structure built by the Dorian race.

The Greek life wrought itself outward. The forms which it took in structure were transcripts of itself. Perhaps this

known as Doric and Ionic. The impressive grandeur of the one and the airy elegance of the other were but the tangible shadows of the character and genius of the two peoples. We have already dwelt upon these ethnic characteristics. It is sufficient to note that the Ionic architecture brought out in perfect relief and full expression the subjective qualities of that remarkably ideal and

beauty-loving people by whom it was created.

In the earlier ages of Greek art the heavier and coarser varieties of stone were used for architectural purposes. In order to give exterior finish and beauty to the column and architrave, as well as to the ceilings and porches and walls within, the surface of the stone was covered with stucco, thus giving a more elegant finish. It was not until the fifth century B. C. that marble was generally substituted for the coarser stone of the primitive architecture. From that time forth Hellas became a land of marble. Especially in those cities where the highest activities of the race were displayed was the use of marble carried to the greatest extent. The carving of marble became a universal art; and the number of artists who were able to produce elegant work could not be paralleled in the modern world, even in Florence.

The Greek mind sought and attained the highest degree of effectiveness in its work. This was reached through the use of the two great facts, *form* and *color*.

Here the judgment of the modern world has departed from the Greek standard in disassociating the one from the other. Modern art uses form for sculpture and color for painting, but never combines the two. It is against the canons of recent criticism to *paint* a statue or a column. This was precisely what the art of Greece insisted on doing. When the sculptor's work was completed, the painter's art began. Whether it was the instinctive judgment of the race that the highest end and aim of art could thus be best attained, or whether the Hellenes had brought the tradition of painting their architecture and sculpture from the

Eastern countries, we cannot well determine; but it is certain that the Greek temples were painted before they were regarded as perfect.

The rule was universal. One might well believe that Parian marble, gleaming white in the Grecian sunshine, glinting from its carefully carved surface, might have satisfied with form alone, and that the taste of the Greek might have hesitated before covering such a surface with pigment; but not so. From the earliest development of temple building and statue carving color was freely laid on as a means of decoration. Nor was there any abatement in the application of this rule as Greek architecture advanced to perfection, in the age of Pericles. As the elegance of structure increased—as the freedom and skill of the chisel became greater and greater in the hands of the most famous sculptors of the human race—the canon of art still required that the whole should be painted in high colors before perfection could be attained.

To this end the most brilliant pigments were freely employed—blue, red, green, and gold—laid on with a richness and splendor of contrast the like of

which has never been witnessed in the artistic work of any other people. The art of harmonizing colors had been mastered to perfection. The most brilliant hues ever laid on by the painter's brush were thus softened by pleasing juxtapositions with other high colors, until the whole effect was that of a resplendent spectrum blazing in the Grecian atmosphere. After the introduction of marble, instead of the ruder materials of antiquity, the facility for artistic painting on the surface was greatly enhanced. Stucco was no longer

Use of stucco;
Hellas becomes
a land of marble.

Greek theory
that sculptures
should be col-
ored.

Color used to
heighten the
work of the
chisel.

Use of brilliant
pigments; stuc-
co discarded.

employed, and it can not be doubted that the artist's brush found a field on the very surface where the sculptor's chisel had done its finest work for the display of the richest and most profuse coloring ever devised by the genius of man.

Greece was the art crown of the world; Attica was the crown of Greece; Athens was the crown of Attica; the

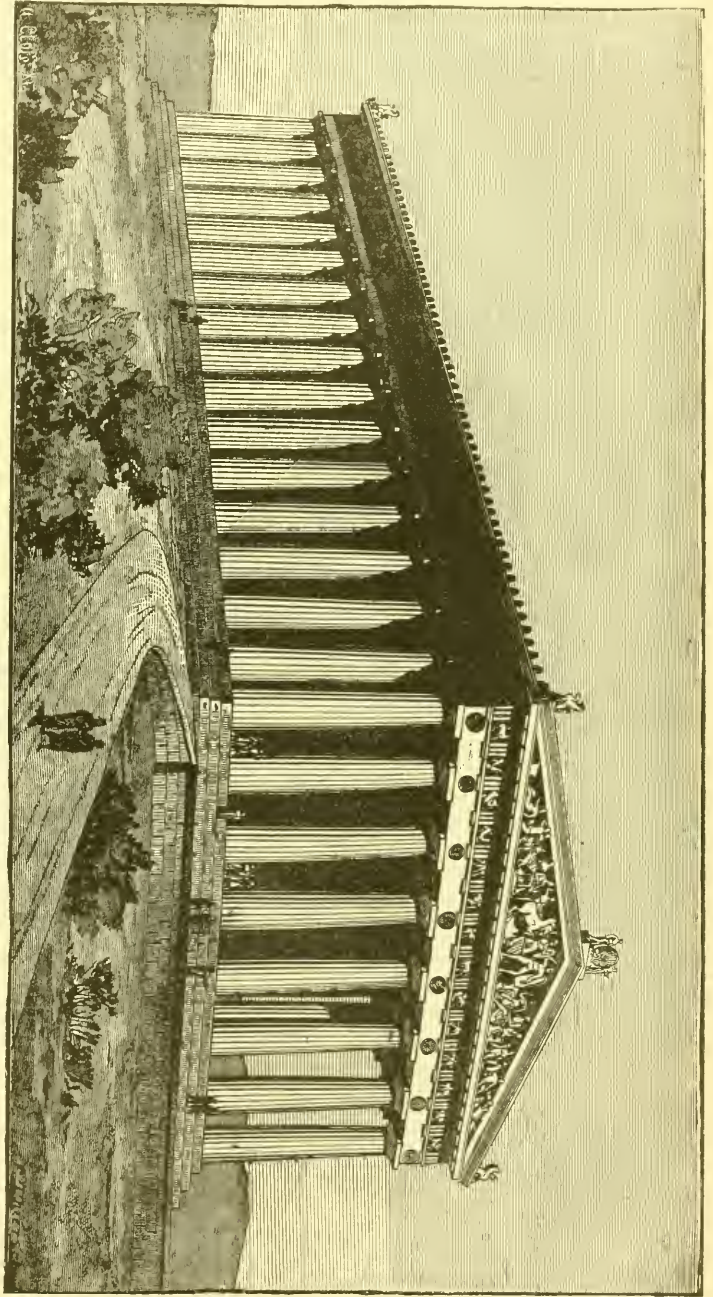
Great age of
Greek art;
splendors of the
Acropolis.

Acropolis
the crown of
Athens; the

Parthenon the crown of the Acropolis. This is to say that, artistically considered, the very blossom of the human mind was in the Parthenon. Darius had gone down into the shadows of the nether world. Xerxes had followed his father. The pale ghosts of the infinite army had risen in backward flight from Plataea's plain and sea-born Salamis. Athens had risen from her ashes. The Acropolis was no longer a fortress. The easier slopes of the almost inaccessible hill were cut down into beautiful flights of steps. At the summit rises the Propylæa. Mnesicles is the architect. The whole hill is solemnly devoted to the guardian deities of the city. The victorious Athena Promachos stands to the left of the great ascent. She overlooks the divine city which bears her

name. On the high level of the native rock rise two temples which may fairly be reckoned the most beautiful and ideal structures ever created

PARTHENON IN TIME OF PERICLES, RESTORED.—Drawn by F. Thiersch.

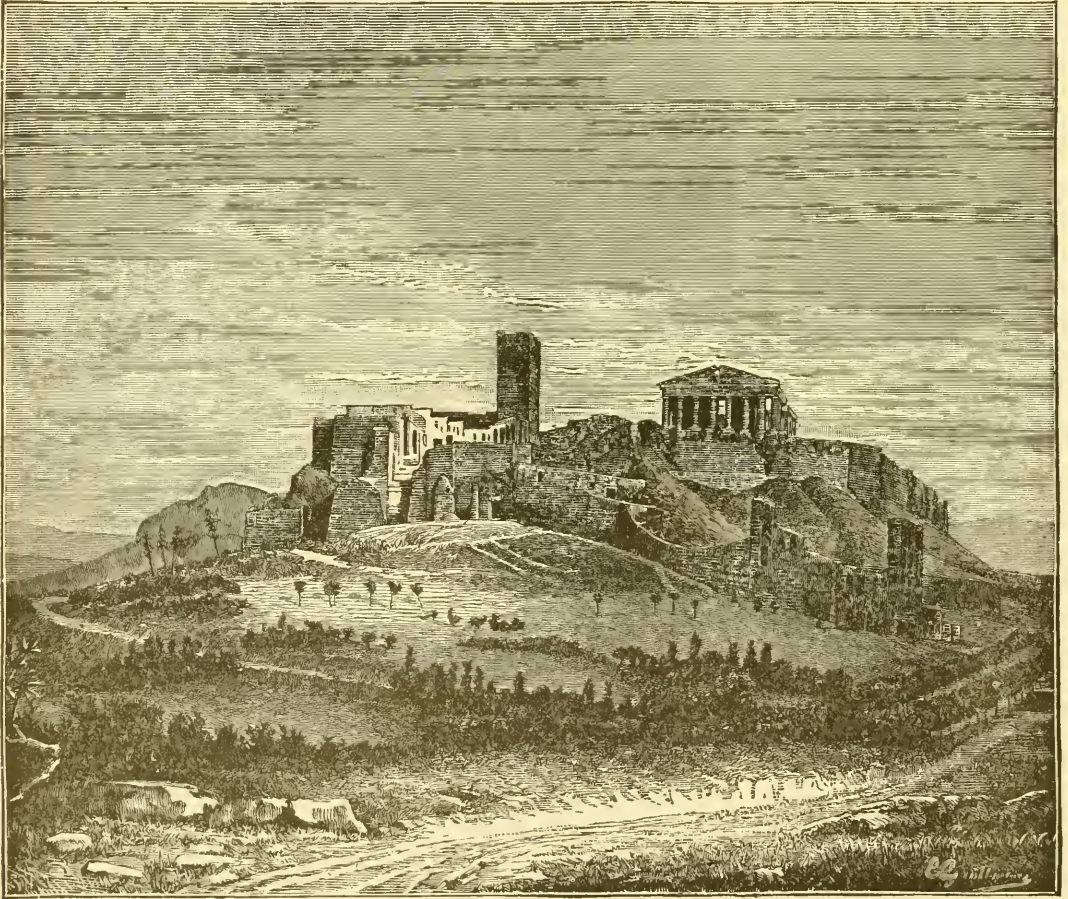


by the artisans and artists of the world. The smaller of the two is the Erechtheum, the great national sanctuary of the Ionian race, shrine of the

common people, temple of Poseidon. In the eldest days Poseidon had stood on this spot. Here he had contended with Athena for the supreme place in the adoration of the primitive Greeks. Here he had set up his trident while the august Athena was planting a laurel. But the trident could not call up the

splendid Karyatids, or woman figures, bearing baskets on their heads. Around the frieze was a succession of scenes in relief from the Panathenaic festival, and in like style in the metope were illustrations from the myths and legends of Greece.

But greater, vaster, more beautiful



THE ACROPOLIS.—Drawn by E. Guillaume, from a photograph.

ocean to the top of the hill, and the laurel flourished. Athena was victorious from the first.

The Erechtheum was in the Ionic style. The porticoes were supported by elegant columns of that type. On one side of the principal temple was the Hall of the Maidens, in which the super-structure was upheld by a series of

Artistic features
of the Erech-
theum and the
Parthenon.

than the Erechtheum was the Parthenon. The name is from the Greek word *par-thena*, meaning "a virgin"—epithet of Athena. The style was Doric, but the columns and entablatures were much lighter and more elegant than the corresponding parts of the massive temples of Southern Italy and Sicily. The ground plan was two hundred and twenty-six feet in length by one hundred feet in

breadth—a parallelogram. Within were two rows of columns dividing the interior into three naves. Other colonnades divided the space transversely, and the imposts of the interior work bore secondary colonnades above. There were two principal spaces, the one in the rear being the treasury of the Athenians where the moneys and many of the memorials and trophies of the state were deposited. It was the interior Acropolis or stronghold of the Ionic race, no longer defended merely by its inaccessibility, no longer a simple fortress on a precipice, but surrounded in the days of glory and triumph with the panoply of all the Greeks.

But it was in the anterior space of the Parthenon, the *Promos*, next the entrance

The supreme art
glories of the
Promos.

from the Propylæa, that the maximum triumph of the genius of Hellas had been achieved. This is said of the tangible expression in forms of marble and ivory and gold of those sublime concepts of beauty for which the Greeks were unrivaled in their own age, and indeed in all the world. In no other spot on the earth was there ever such an apocalypse of art as in the front space of the Parthenon. Here stood the great chryselephantine statue of Athena by Phidias. In her left hand she held her spear, and in her right a Winged Victory. By her side was the sun-broad shield, on her head the majestic helmet, and on her bosom the panoply. Before her and at the left were smoking altars, and around her in the spaces of the colonnades a collection of statues by the greatest sculptors of the greatest people. In the vast interior were ninety of the masterpieces of Phidias.

The subjects of the sculptures of the Parthenon were mythological—Grecian. Here was wrought out the contention of

Poseidon with Athena for the possession of Attica. Yonder was the legend of the birth of the goddess from the head of Zeus, and in the metopes were the combats with the Centaurs. The

Subjects of the
Acropolitan
sculptures.



THE APHRODITE OF MELOS.

Drawn by H. Volz, from the original in the Louvre.

frieze, four hundred feet in length, was filled with a transcript in marble relief of the Panathenaïc festival. Here were mounted the young Athenian horsemen in the great procession—perhaps the

most ideal and beautiful heads ever done in stone. Here were the great refractory bulls led to the sacrifice, and well-wreathed rams ready to be offered, the whole constituting a scene which in the existing mutilated fragments of the work still shines forth on the wondering gaze of travelers and artists in the museums of foreign lands.

The prime quality in the art work of the Greeks was ideality. Nature and man were idealized. It was in this respect that the Greek genius rose to its easy preëminence over the mind and achievement of other races. The vividness of the inner concept flashed forth into form and figure. The vision grew in brightness as the chisel and brush played through the radiance and shadows of the studio or along the architrave of the temple. All natural objects were idealized. They took from the mind of the artist a beauty and brilliancy more than their own. Especially were all living forms thus lifted into ideal majesty and perfection. The Greek mind was not greatly inspired with the inanimate outlines of the natural world. It does not appear that the artists of the race "communed with nature" in the sense in which that phrase is understood by modern poets. Motion and life, as exhibited in living forms, were necessary to rouse the sympathies and enthusiasm of the Greek.

We see these qualities exhibited in the heroic poems. They are the epics of life and action. Description of the natural world is employed only incidentally and as a circumstance of the action. The reader of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must be surprised to note the mere passing and half-trivial references to the aspects of nature. It is the song of man.

Ideality the
prime quality
of Greek art.

Motion and life
and humanity
the motifs of the
Greek epics.

In all of Greek art the same thing reappears. It is the art of humanity. The Greek mind grew vivid on the side of all the humanities; but it required *the sense of sight* to bring forth its supreme activities.

It is surprising to mark the feebleness of the achievement of the Greeks in the art of music. Only a narrow gamut of four poor notes bearing the monotonous cadences of the chant, or the pibroch-like pæan of battle could find expression in the meager scheme of musical notation. But under the inspiration of the sight of life the Hellenic hand was marvelous. It carved and idealized all living forms, but especially the form of man, of woman. Statuary rose above architecture. Sculpture proper, the portrayal in marble or bronze or ivory, of the idealized figures of mortals and immortals provoked the highest genius of the race. Greece became the land of statuary. The work multiplied in variety and extent beyond the limits of description. The cities were full of statues, and sculptors were like merchants for number. Nor was the work merely a trade. On the contrary, it rose everywhere to perfection. Not only were the statues of the gods, the heroes, the Titans, sublime, but even the busts of common Athenian democrats were great in art, and the very *Hermæ* that marked the corners of the streets were masterpieces.

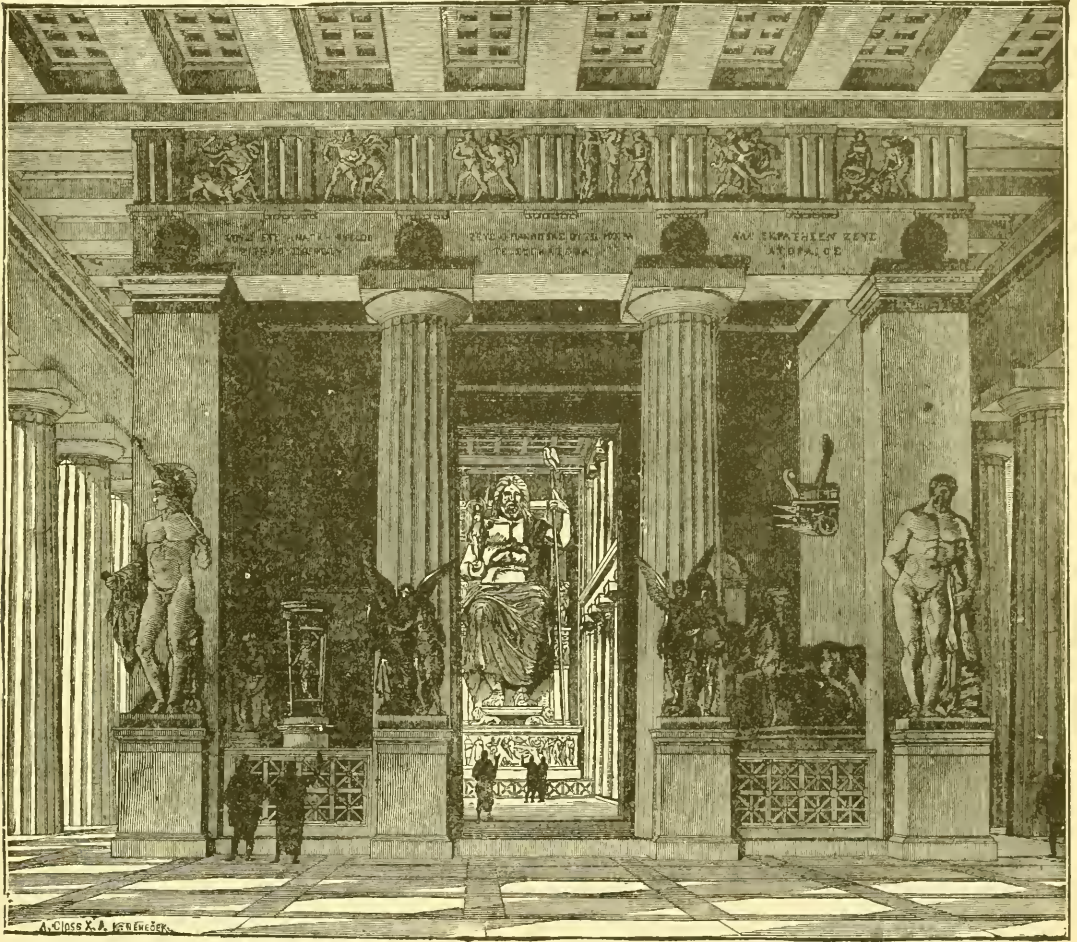
Absence of musical genius; the Greek statuary.

Climax of sculpture in the age of Phidias.

The sculpture of the Greeks reached its climax about the middle of the fifth century B. C. It was at this period that Phidias, Colotes, and Alcamenes flourished. Much of their work was done under the patronage of the state, and after the fall of Pericles they, in common with the other friends of that

statesman, suffered at the hands of the reactionary party. But during the period of their ascendancy they flourished as no other artists of the world have ever flourished. The extent of their work is incredible. Attica, with her tremendous artistic development, could not contain and trammel up the activities of her

form of Greek religion. It had already become one of the most beautiful cities in all Hellas. The temple of the Olympian Zeus here situated was regarded as a marvel in a marvelous age. It was to execute a statue of the god for this magnificent temple that Phidias was drawn from his work in Athens. For four



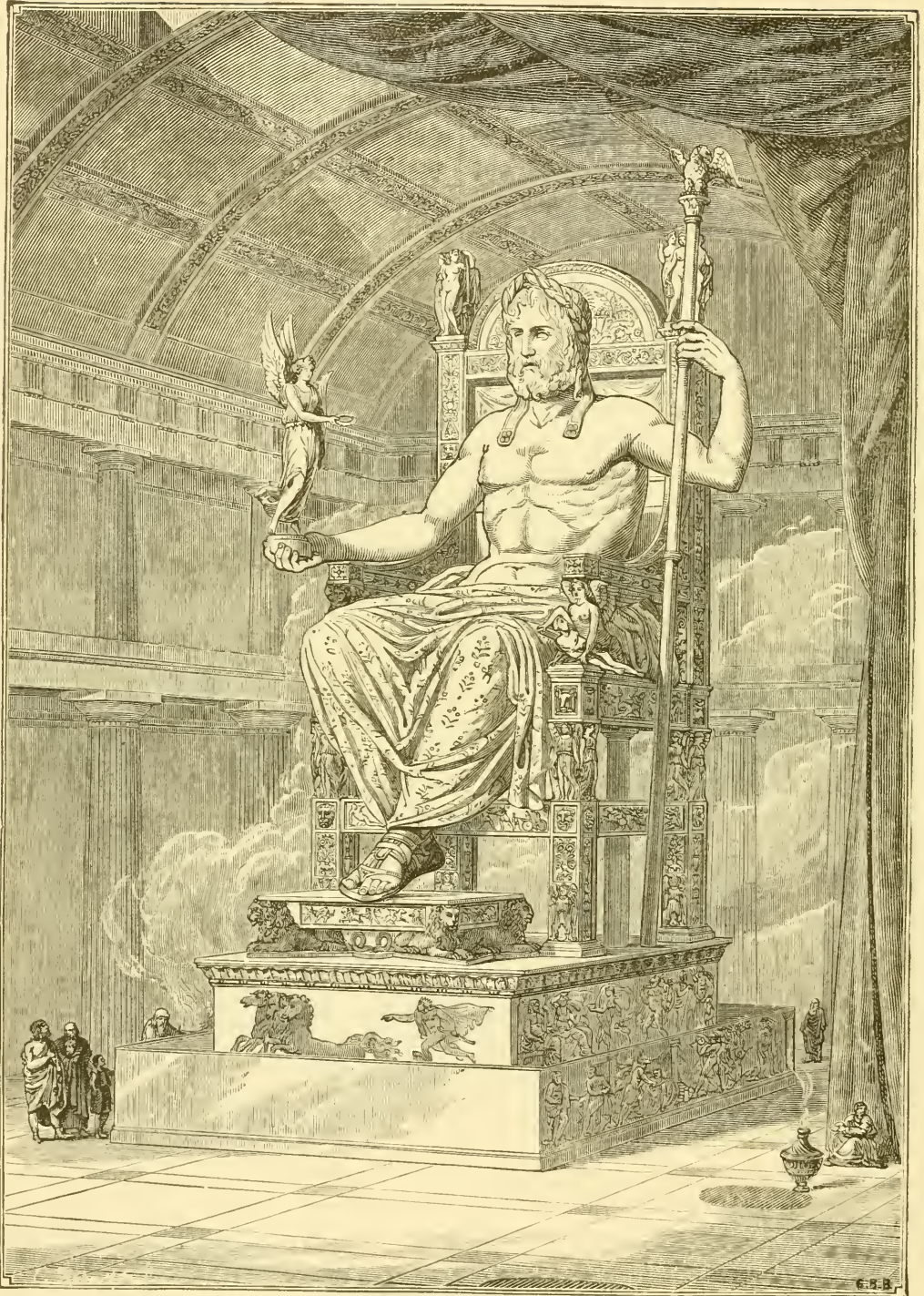
INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

geniuses. Distant cities called for them, and through all Greece the sublime work of their chisels was seen.

About 437 B. C., Phidias was called to Olympia, in Western Peloponnesus, to aid in glorifying that remarkable city of art. Olympia was the place of the great national games and the center of one

years he wrought at the task. The art evolution in Greece had now proceeded from the coarser forms of stone, by way of marble, to that form of statuary called chryselephantine; that is, gold-and-ivory. Bronze had already been a long time employed coincidentally with marble. The tremendous statue of Athena Promachos, standing on the Acropolis,

The Phidian mission at Olympia.



CHRYSELEPHANTINE STATUE OF ZEUS OLYMPIOS, RESTORED.—From *Magazine of Art*.

looking out to sea, was of bronze, from the immortal hands of Phidias. This great work was about fifty-five

feet in height. Statuary had become epical, heroic, colossal.

In the execution of the magnificent

statue of Athena for the Promos of the Parthenon, Phidias was ordered by the city to spare no expense that might add to the richness and costliness of the work. He accordingly chose ivory and gold as the principal constituent materials. The body of the statue and most of the parts indicating the actual outline of the goddess were of ivory, while the ornamental parts, such as the helmet and the panoply of the bosom, were of solid gold. Perhaps no effect ever attained by any other means in art was comparable with the splendor which was imparted by the chryselephantine composition.

On going to Olympia, Phidias chose the same materials for the statue of Zeus



ARES.

From the original, in Villa Ludovisi, Rome.

hand he placed a Winged Victory, and in the other the scepter. Whatever may have been the ambitions of the artist, the result rose easily to the climax. It was conceded by antiquity that the Olympian statue was the masterpiece of Phidias, and, indeed, the masterpiece of art. The colossal effigy was sixty feet in height, and was doubtless the sublimest representation of divine things in human form ever conceived by the brain or executed by the hand of men. The statue was reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world,¹ and during the classical ages drew to itself the admiring gaze of travelers and artists from every quarter of the earth.



APHRODITE.

From the original, in the Capitol at Rome.

We have already remarked upon the bright apprehension of the Greek mind with respect to beauty of form. The ability of the race to idealize and express

Preëminence of the Greek sculptors over all other artists.

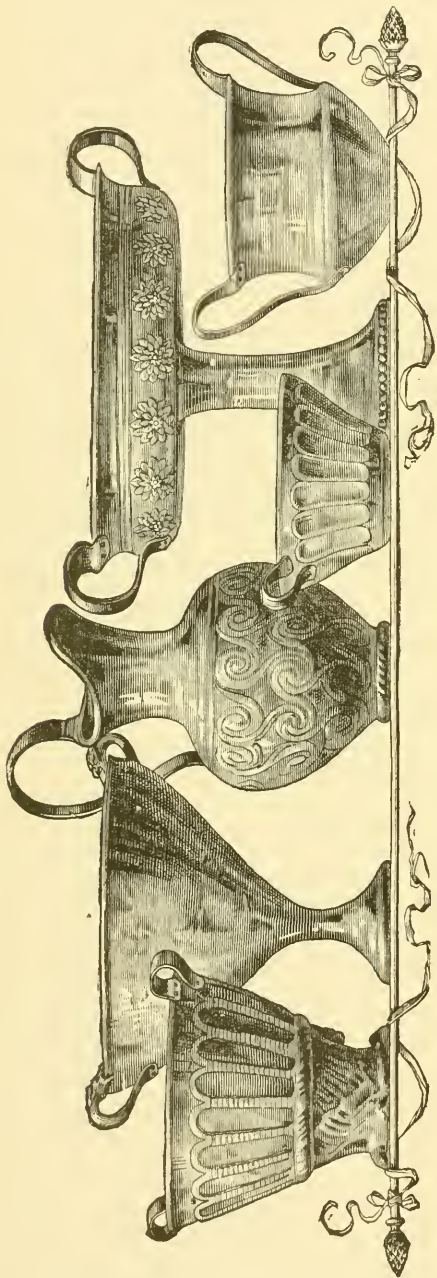
¹ The other six wonders of the ancient world were the Pyramids of Egypt; the Pharos, or lighthouse, of Alexandria; the Colossus of Rhodes; the Walls and Hanging Gardens of Babylon; the Tomb of King Mausolus; and the Temple of Diana of the Ephesians. It will be noted that the other six are all *architectural* in their character. Regarded as a purely artistic concept and expression of the human genius, the Olympian statue of Zeus may be placed at the head of all.

Olympios. It is likely that he sought from the first in this work to surpass all of his previous efforts. He chose for the god the sitting posture. In one

in physical images the outline and features of men and deities was equal to the brilliancy of the concept. It was for these reasons that the Greek sculptors

We are here, however, to consider not so much the achievement itself as its reëctionary effect upon the Greek mind and its influence in developing the tastes and dispositions of the people. It can not be doubted that the multifarious work of the Greek artists reëcted in a marvelous manner on the common people and tended to their refinement. Before the end of the Hellenic ascendancy in ancient history taste had become a passion with the Greeks, to the extent that the untasteful thing was reckoned the maximum of wickedness. The presence in visible form—on the friezes of all public buildings, in the *cellæ* of the temples, in the streets and market places of the cities—of the tangible expression of the legend, the tradition, the history, and the glory of the Greek race, acted as an inspiration even to the bottom of society, and the whole people became judges of art and subjects of its refining influences.

It is the relics of these art works of Greeks that now enrich the museums of the civilized nations. This is that classical art beyond which no other has reached, to which no other has attained. Greece in the latter ages of her ascendancy became a treasury out of which the works of genius were gathered and exported to other lands. Sometimes it was the work and sometimes it was the artist himself that went by exportation. Mistress Rome allured hundreds of the great Greek sculptors and painters to the west to find shelter under her coarse but mighty wing. Afterward she became a spoiler. Shiploads of Greek art, the finest ever produced by mortal chisel, were borne away. The Greek cities were robbed, the Greek temples spoliated, the Greek shrines emptied of



GOLDEN VESSELS OF THE PRE-CLASSICAL AGE.—Drawn by C. Reiss, for the *Mycenæ* of Schliemann.

became preëminent over all rivals in all lands. Neither behind them in antiquity, nor before them in future ages, did any arise who could fairly compete for the palm in sculpture.

Reëctionary effects of Greek art upon the people.

Diffusion of the Hellenic sculptures and sculptors.

their treasures, in order that the parvenu nabobs of Rome might possess what they could not create.

The process of duplicating the great works of Hellas was taken up and carried forward for centuries.

Fate of the artistic treasures of the Greeks.

At length the barbarians

burst the barriers of the

Alps, and the treasures of ages sunk into the earth. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of marbles—most elegant, most beautiful, most sublime were buried in cellars and gardens, and other thousands were knocked from their niches and broken into fragments by the avenging races of the north. Subsequently the tide of art treasure set toward Constantinople. A large part of what had been spared to Greece by Western Rome was carried to Eastern Rome. It was to Constantinople that Phidias's statue of the Olympian Zeus was taken, in the reign of Theodosius I, and there that immortal work perished by fire in A. D. 475.

In recent times there has been a revival of the quest for the art treasures of

Abundance of such works in foreign museums.

the Greeks. Out of the earth of Italy, out of the streets of her cities, out of

her forums and gardens and basements, out of Sicily, out of Cyprus and Crete, out of the Ionian coast, out of the archipelago, thousands upon thousands of busts and statues and groups, some in tolerable perfection, others eaten by earth-acids and time, others mutilated by violence, have been exhumed and

transported to foreign lands. One must needs walk through the long aisles of a great museum to be struck with wonder at the relics of that marvelous age in which the chisels of the Greeks carved their wonders for the admiration of posterity.

It was, then, the intellect of the Greeks that became the master force, first in Eastern Europe, and afterwards in the world. It was an intellect of vast reason, of keen perceptions, and of artistic tastes—a creative intellect, that wrought out the greatest poems and the finest statuary and painting which have ever been achieved by man. The activity of this Greek mind was through the senses, especially the sense of sight, which took in with keenest admiration all living forms and suggested their reproduction in images of marble and bronze. The development of the race was æsthetic, creative, philosophical. Within this range the activities of the Greeks were prodigious to a degree that no modern people have been able to imitate or even to understand. If the development had been uniform, symmetrical in all directions—if the social and political evolution had kept pace with the purely intellectual and artistic expansion of the Greek race—the wonder of mankind would doubtless have been intensified with the spectacle of the most complete and enduring civilization which the growth of the human race has thus far presented.

Æsthetic development of the Greeks through the senses.

CHAPTER LI.—CIVIL SOCIETY.



WE turn, in the next place, to the consideration of the political forms of the Hellenic people, estimated with respect to the influence of the same on the destinies of this branch of mankind. Here again we are confronted with peculiarities in the Greek character which we should not have expected. The enormous activities of the people would have led to the deduction of a large and substantial political growth. We should have expected that the institutional forms of the Greeks would present developments and perfections correlative with the other achievements of the race; but it was by no means so. The Greek mind blazed up in a conflagration of unexampled brilliancy, but its work in social structure was weak and evanescent. The construction and maintenance of political institutions is by no means the highest, or even one of the highest, forms of human activity. On the contrary, it is one of the lower functional works of the mind—a coarser and less rational process than that which is conversant with letters and art.

The Greeks were never in any sense politically great. There was much in the structure of their society which may well be looked on with amusement by the publicists and statesmen of modern times. There was never any broad political foundation laid in Greece, never any largely considered institutional form as an expression of national life. On the contrary, everything was local and

peculiar. If we consider the history of Greece as a whole, we shall see that for some reason every movement in the direction of what we should call political unity or nationality was checked and paralyzed by countervailing tendencies too strong to be overcome. The resulting segregation, division, and consequent political weakness of the Greeks, even in the times of their greatness, has been the subject of a thousand melancholy reflections on the part of those to whom the development of political grandeur has appeared to be the chief aim of the human race.

There is, however, another and totally different view to be taken of this matter. The progress of humanity has not yet been sufficiently forward to allow a final generalization on the subject of government. It can not be denied on the one hand that there have been instances in history in which the genius of the race has seemingly wasted itself for the want of the restraints and conservative influence of stable political institutions; but it is still more easy to cite examples of the opposite condition. We have seen many instances of overgrown political structure under which the genius, the individual energies, and the really sublime powers of man have been crushed as under Juggernaut. Instances of the too great institutional growth of human society are far more frequent than instances of too feeble growth. The question is profoundly philosophical. What is government for? Does it exist for itself? Is it a means unto an end or itself an end? Is it, on the whole, desirable that a great political image shall be

Expectation of high institutional forms among the Greeks.

Philosophical relations of man to government considered.

Weakness of social and civil evolution of the race.

constantly before the minds of a people? or does it not rather stand in the way of the expansion, the growth, and the genius of a given race? How much government, and in what form, is necessary that the best results of the human evolution may be reached? These are among the profoundest questions with which modern societies have to deal; and it may be frankly confessed that, according to the deepest penetration of many of the ablest men of the passing age, the world has, on the whole, been *too much governed* for its own best interests. That is, the political structures of which men in various ages and countries have availed themselves have been too

stood at this extreme of society. They neither sought for nor obtained a large political structure. On the contrary, they preferred that all civil provisions and bonds should rest upon them lightly. They were as little disposed to have society clad with a ponderous and gorgeous drapery as they were to clothe themselves with the weight of inconvenient and heavy garments.

This nonpolitical disposition among the Greeks was common to all branches of the race. The Dorians as well as the Ionians had an antipathy for elaborate civil government. Their institutions were in a high degree empirical.



MILITARY COSTUMES OF GREEKS AND GREEK COLONISTS.

heavy, too rigid, and much too splendid for the best interests of human kind. It may still be determined by the wisdom of the future that only so much political form is valuable to men as is absolutely needed for the expression of their will and the promotion of their purposes.

Among the ancient peoples the Greeks

They were created according to the exigency of circumstances, and were not extended beyond the limits of actual usefulness. There never was among the Greeks any considerable attempt to construct what would be called a logical system of government. It does not appear to have occurred to the Greek lawmakers and statesmen that a system of civil polity

All the Greeks
desired light-
ness of political
structure.

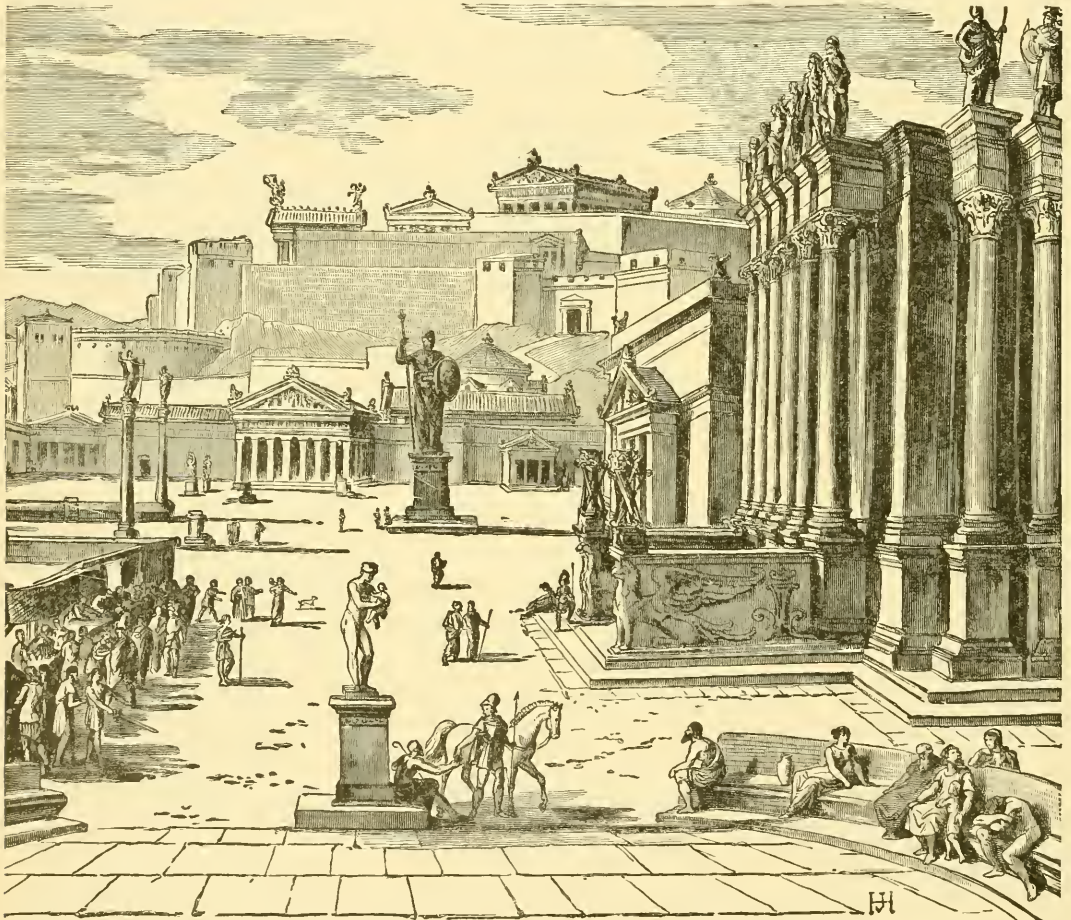
could be created *à priori* in which mankind in general, as much as the Greeks in particular, should be considered.

The science of government did not exist. It is not certain that it would not have appeared ridiculous to Greek statesmen to propose a scheme wider than the particular circumstances before

Political order
by expediency
and government
by trial.

expediency. If we could fathom the concepts of the greatest civilians among the Greeks, it is likely that we should find neither desire nor purpose on their part to look at government in any light other than that of immediate adaptation to the wants of a particular community.

It is from this point of view that we must consider the formal legislation of



MARKET OF SPARTA—MEETING PLACE OF THE EPHORS.

In the background, the citadel; in foreground, statue of Hermes with infant Bacchus; in middle distance, statue of Spartan people and temple of the Moirai; on the right, the Persian Hall adorned with spoils of the Persian wars.

them. In all the revolutions—and their name was legion—which burst out and ran an explosive course in the democratic states of Greece, there was never an effort to look at the question of political institutions from a wider point of view than that of local and temporary

the Greeks. Most writers have chosen to regard Lycurgus and Solon as great political logicians, skillful in the craft of creating institutional forms. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were men of expediency, quick to dis-

Philosophy of
the Lycurgian
laws.

cern the existing condition of affairs among their respective peoples. They simply expressed the rules of political action which were requisite for the maintenance of the current order. There was nothing in the legislation of either to regenerate society. There was nothing to lay for society a broader foundation—nothing to indicate the existence of enlarged views or statesmanlike proclivities in either the Spartan or the Athenian.

Lycurgus found among the Dorians the dominant fact of aristocracy. That

Social and political aristocracy of the Spartans.

fact had already been evolved in the natural progress of the Dorian people.

The Heraclidæ, the old mythical leaders of the race out of the north, had become the natural progenitors of a breed of aristocrats calling themselves freemen. These were the real conquerors of Laconia. They founded the Spartan commonwealth. Their pride led to non-intercourse. Their austerity prevented the growth of refinements. The subject classes feared them, hated them. It was under such conditions that Lycurgus, himself one of the aristocracy, a traveler in Crete and a Spartan of the Spartans, laid his hand to the work of legislation; but he created nothing, and reformed little. The whole purpose of his work was to maintain and fortify the existing order. His statutes simply tended to confirm and make permanent a state of affairs which the genius of the Spartan race had already produced.

At the head of Spartan society Lycurgus found a royal family, the alleged

Relations of the Heraclid kings and the Gerousia.

descendants of the sons of Hercules. To these he gave the supreme place in the

state. Two of them were denominated kings. To them was assigned the command of the Spartans in war and, to a

certain extent, the enforcement of civil authority in peace. But while the kings were thus set at the head, they were also included in the principal legislative body called the *Gerousia*, or Senate. This was composed of thirty members, twenty-eight besides the kings. The latter presided over the deliberations of the body. The members were elected by the vote of the Spartan freemen. Any one of the electors might in turn be eligible to membership in the *Gerousia*; but he must first be sixty years of age. This body was not only the supreme legislative authority of Sparta, but also the supreme court. Its functions were double. The *Gerousia* first made the law and then interpreted it. The power of the kings was restricted by the authority of the body to which they belonged. Such was the essential constitution of the primitive Spartan commonwealth.

It will be noted that this kind of government was an oligarchy of the purest type. It was the domination of the few. Essential oligarchy of the system; the ephors. All experience shows how

natural and inevitable, indeed, is the movement of such a body toward the severest forms of tyranny. In Sparta a necessary provision against this tendency was found in the creation of a body of more popular officers, called the *ephors*. These were the only break on the iron wheel of the *Gerousia*. The ephors were elected by the people at large—that is, the Spartans at large—and stood as their representatives, like the better known tribunes of the people in the Roman system of government. The ephors had a check, or veto, upon the actions of the *Gerousia*; but they could originate nothing, enforce nothing. They stood for that function of government which in modern states is called the veto power.

It is not needed in this connection to enter into any detailed account of the characteristics of the Lycurgian system. Such discussion belongs rather to formal history than to an account of the ethnic development of mankind. In so far as the legislation of Lycurgus may be said to have had any definite object, any rational end to be attained, it looked to the creation of a citizen soldiery. All the energies of the state were bent to the one purpose of making soldiers. This is said particularly of the free Spartans. The middle class,

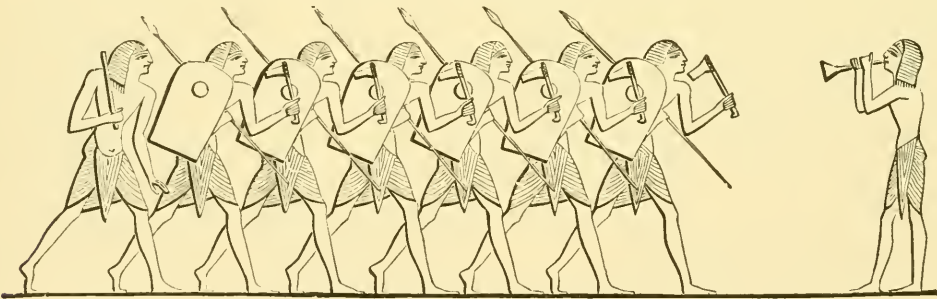
Military intent and office of the constitution.

activities. The end was that he might serve the state as a warrior. The girls were subjected to virtually the same discipline. As a result, there was a tremendous vigor in the Spartan women which some have called masculinity. They were openly taught from childhood that their business in the world was to bear soldiers and rear them. After

the juvenile age the Lycurgian statute took the matter in hand, and from that time forth the discipline of the youth was almost wholly military. Further on he was taught tactics. The Spartan system of organizing and



MILITARY COSTUMES OF SPARTANS



AND EGYPTIANS COMPARED.

called the *Periæci*, were also of a military development, but the principal thing was to make every free Spartan into a heavy armed soldier—a *hoplite*, in the phraseology of Greek.

The means unto this end were partly social and partly political. We have already seen how strenuous were the exertions, by means of the Spartan gymnasium, to bring up the boy to the full development of his physical powers and

Means adopted to make all Spartans soldiers.

directing an army in the field was admirable for an unscientific age. It is likely that the ancient world did not furnish a parallel to the resisting power and aggressive force of the Spartan phalanx in battle. Thucydides has recorded his wonder at the celerity and precision of the Spartan military movements, and especially at the ease with which the general made his commands felt in all parts of the field.

It was a part of the discipline, of the

system, of the theory of this people to be as wary as they were brave; not to press an advantage to the extent of risking it; not to make a reckless pursuit or to indulge in any wild and visionary military movement. The discipline required that the Spartans should stand up in the shock of battle, receive the onset, and repel it at whatever cost; that they should advance courageously against the enemy, however overwhelming his numbers, and should coolly meet all the perils of the struggle without even the consideration—much less the regard—of danger. Such was the perfection of the training that the same stoical manner and total indifference to results which characterized the Spartans in the agora and at the communal tables where they banqueted at home, was carried into battle and maintained in the midst of carnage, even to the utter extinction of the last man of the phalanx.

Lycurgus has had the reputation of having determined, if he did not create, the social and industrial condition of the Spartans; but here again the credit is misplaced. It has been said that the division of the lands into thirty-nine thousand equal lots, of which the Spartans proper received nine thousand, while the remainder went to the Pericæci and others, was devised by the Lyncurgian statutes. For this the authority of Plutarch is cited; but more recent investigations have shown that Lycurgus merely adopted the prevailing system of landownership. It is highly probable that the Heraclidæ on their incoming with the Dorians had made an equal division of the lands, and that this fundamental ownership continued to the times of Lycurgus. Nearly all primitive peoples have had a similar communal ar-

range-ment of their real estate, and it is not likely that the matter was carried further in Sparta than in some other countries.

In course of time great inequalities in wealth had come to pass, and it will be conceded that the Lyncurgian statutes were a strong countercheck upon this tendency. It might be truthfully said that the most marked feature of this legislation, considered as a whole, was its antipathy to all of those processes by which men become great through industrial enterprises and the accumulation of wealth. With respect to these things the laws of Lycurgus may be said to have been devised with as much cunning as severity. Everything was skillfully contrived to put a damper on accumulation, to prevent the growth of the commercial spirit, and to forestall the amassing of fortunes. The theory that all Spartan citizens were equals was extended to mean that they *should continue so*. The evolution of individual power, instead of being encouraged as a healthful tendency, was checked, held back, and hampered by the whole force of society and the state. Doubtless in the times of the Spartan ascendancy the natural forces of human life had sufficiently declared themselves to make some rich and others poor; but it was the struggle of nature against the artifice of man, and the inequality was reduced to a minimum.

In one respect, however, all Spartan citizens were equal: they must all alike submit themselves to the rigor of a certain discipline by which they were to be fitted for their place in the state, and particularly for their duties in the field. This part of the theory was so rigorous as to admit of no variation or departure

Ethics of Spartan discipline and battle-making.

Preëxisting system of landownership adopted by Lycurgus.

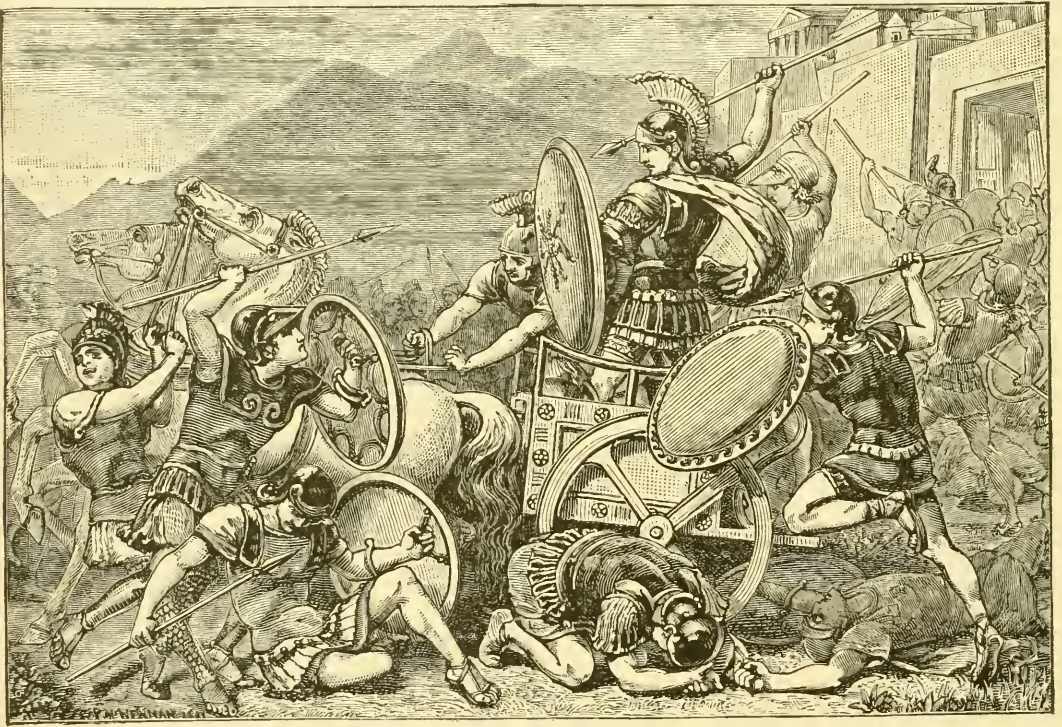
Constitutional opposition to the amassing of wealth.

No democracy except in military training.

from the common standard. The type of character thus produced was sufficiently uniform, but it was by no means a democratic uniformity. The aristocratic principle always asserted itself; and when one Spartan citizen is said to have been equal to another, it must be understood in the sense of an oligarchic equality without a symptom of popularity in it.

When it is said that the Spartans were

any of these things was totally foreign to the genius and the practice of the dominant race. As to the cultivation of the soil, that was attended to by the Perioeci and the Helots. Merchandising, marketing, and the like, were the business of the same classes, or of the few mercenary foreigners whose presence was barely tolerated in the city. So completely were the true Spartans absorbed in their one business of war that



LIFE OF WAR.—ARISTOMENES FIGHTING HIS WAY OUT OF IRA.

a race of soldiers, the expression is sometimes erroneously taken as a figure of speech; but there is here no metaphor at all. Every free Spartan was a soldier. It was his business to be a soldier. The dominant element in Spartan society was simply a warlike force. With the ordinary industrial occupations the Spartan citizens had absolutely nothing to do. They were neither agriculturists, merchants, nor manufacturers. To be

it is a puzzle to the modern inquirer to understand in what way their energies found vent in times of peace. The social dispositions of the people were abridged and held in check by the anti-literary spirit and incommunicative genius of the race. Only the recurrence of the national games and festivals called forth and exercised the disposition of a people to whom refinements were distasteful and by whom polite occupations were totally discredited.

It is not our purpose here to recount the cunning expedients which Lycurgus adopted to prevent foreign intercourse and to smother the commercial spirit at home. The story of his iron money is sufficiently well known. Perhaps if any single feature of his legislation may be called original, that is, if any part of it introduced an actually new feature of social development, it was the institution of the communal table. To this the Greeks gave the name of *Syssitia*. It was a public mess. All Spartan citizens were divided among the various messes. This signified that a certain number should each day sit at the joint tables, which were provided from a common store and according to a uniform bill of fare. It was a part of the Lycurgian system to make the fare as despicable as possible. A sort of coarse black bread and sundry beans and fish constituted the principal meal. Wine and game from the forests were added under certain restrictions.

In determining the group of fifteen persons who should sit at the common table all preferences of friendship and all family ties were put aside. The group was made up by lot, and this circumstance intensified the unsocial character and laconic intercourse of the feast. Only few words were spoken, and they must be to the point. A mere hint was better than an explication. Jocularities and enthusiasm were as foreign to such an assemblage as warmth under the snow or a smile on the face of the sphinx.

For the rest, Lycurgus may be regarded simply as the formulator into statute of the existing usages and tendencies of the Dorian race. It must be remembered, however, that the Spartans

were not in all respects typical of the Dorians, and that their right to represent that people in their institutional forms has been strongly controverted. But the Spartans were the most conspicuous example of Dorian development, and Lycurgus was their lawgiver to the extent of giving his name to those early usages by which the course of the people was politically, and to a certain extent socially, determined.

The system which he established was sufficiently fixed and durable. It was presently used as a criterion by which the practices of the Spartan people were

Permanency of the Lycurgian constitution.

regulated in war and in peace. The Lycurgian laws held their own. The revolutionary and reformatory tendency was but feebly felt at Sparta. While the democratic states of Greece were full of insurrection, tumult, progress, action, and reaction, Sparta held on her course. Her vicissitudes were many, but her changes few. The old impress was retained, the old type upheld, not only during the Spartan ascendancy in Greece, but to the very end of Grecian nationality. The last kings who reigned at Sparta had in them the spirit of the race. The same austerity and haughtiness which had been exemplified in Eunomus and Polydectes was the dominant passion with Agis and Lysander; and the Spartan women at the last were as heroic, as nonchalant, and as silent in grief and joy as they had been in the earliest ages.

The striking differences between the peoples of Northern and Southern Greece were the result of development. We may easily discern in primitive Attica much of the same aristocratic and oligarchic quality that we have found in the Spartans. The first institutions of

Divergence of Spartans and Athenians in development.

Institution of the communal table by Lycurgus.

Intercourse at the Spartan board; the Laconic manner.

To what extent the Spartans represented the Dorian race.

the two countries were not so dissimilar as they afterwards became. It is evident that the Ionian chiefs and warriors, under whose leadership the peoples of several of the northern states were established, were in those countries the natural progenitors of an aristocracy. The difference was not in the beginning but in the growth. In Central Greece



BUST OF AN EPHETES.

certain democratic checks appeared at an early day which prevented the aristocratic evolution and turned the spirits and practices of the people into new channels.

All students of history have taken some note of the institutions of Draco. The bad reputation of this lawgiver with posterity is now shown to have been in

large measure unmerited. The proverbial statement that his laws were written in blood instead of ink has been found to have no other basis than the prejudice of his democratic countrymen and the foolish repetition of posterity. Not a line of the Draconian laws has been preserved in their original form. We are indebted for our knowledge of this code to Plutarch's references to the subject in his sketch of Solon. It may be accepted that the legislation of the older publicist was severe. Plutarch relates that the early usages of the Ionians were immoderate in the punishment of crime. The theft of a cabbage or an apple was visited with death as much as the spoliation of a temple or the murder of a citizen. The theory was that the smallest offense against the law could only be properly vindicated by the death of the offender, and since death was the worst of penalties, the greater crimes could receive no more. Doubtless in this case, also, Draco found the usage and admitted it into his code. He simply formulated the savagery of the age and gave it expression. The Draconian rules, considered by the polite Athenian democrats of later times and by the Roman lawyers of the empire, appeared barbarous and brutal; and Draco gained at the hands of the commentators his bad reputation.

According to the tradition of the times the institutions of the *Ephetai*, a body of fifty-one elders, sitting in four different courts, was the work of Draco. Institution and office of the Athenian Ephetai.

Among these courts the various kinds of crime were divided out for trial in the primitive practice of Attica. The fact that these courts from the earliest epoch appear to have discriminated between murder and the less criminal grades of

homicide down to accidental killing is of itself sufficient to destroy the belief in the absolutely bloody character of the Draconian laws.

Draco belonged to the afterpart of the seventh century B. C., perhaps two

Philosophy and parallels of the legislation of Draco.

hundred years after the age of Lycurgus. The efforts of both these law-givers, one Dorian and the other Ionian, are to be classed with those primitive movements which we see in almost every tribe of men emerging from the barbarous condition. The giving of the Ten Commandments by Moses and the setting up of the Twelve Tables in ancient Rome were events exactly analogous to the institution of the Draconian code in Athens. Myth and tradition have been busy with Draco's name and fame. It was said anciently that he was called Draco; that is, *Dragon*, because of the barbarous severity of his legislation. Another legend records the manner of his death. In old age, after completing his laws, he was greatly admired by his countrymen. At the last, as he was sitting in the theater at Ægina, in an outburst of enthusiasm, the audience, especially the women, threw upon him their chitons, caps, and cloaks until the sage was smothered to death.

In course of time the Ionian political development demanded a reform in the severe order which had been established by the Draconian code. At the beginning of the sixth century B. C. we are able to discover in Ionian Greece a hard struggle on the part of the old aristocratic families to maintain themselves against a growing democracy. In Athens the revolutionary tendency had led to the expulsion of several noble households. Among these the Alcæonids were conspicuous.

It was in connection with this popular attempt to overthrow the aristocratic families that Solon came to the front. He was himself of noble extraction, a native of Salamis. Through his efforts the island was restored from the domination of the Magarians to its old Athenian allegiance. In 594 B. C., Solon was elected Archon, and while holding this office he was called upon by his colleagues and the common voice to undertake a reform of the existing Attic constitution. The circumstances which provoked this movement related to the industrial condition of the country. The ancient noble families had become wealthy at the expense of the producing classes. Though there was nominally a system of free landownership, the benefits thereof had been destroyed by the extortions of the large landlords. A system of oppressive renting had taken the place of fee simple ownership, and the common people groaned under the exactions of the times. Attica was virtually bankrupt as to her producing classes. It was to alleviate this condition of affairs and to institute a more liberal order that the Solonian reforms were undertaken.

Nature and application of the Solonian legislation.

The reforms in question were all in the direction of the popular interest as against the claims of the money-lenders and landlords. Two methods of relieving the country from the burden of debt were adopted. The first was the cancellation of all land mortgages by which the farms, orchards, and gardens of the people were set free in the hands of the true owners. The other method of relief was the scaling of debts. This was accomplished by debasing the currency. A new scale was adopted by which the existing money was depreci-

Progress of the Ionians demands constitutional revision.

Methods of relieving the people of the hardships of debt.

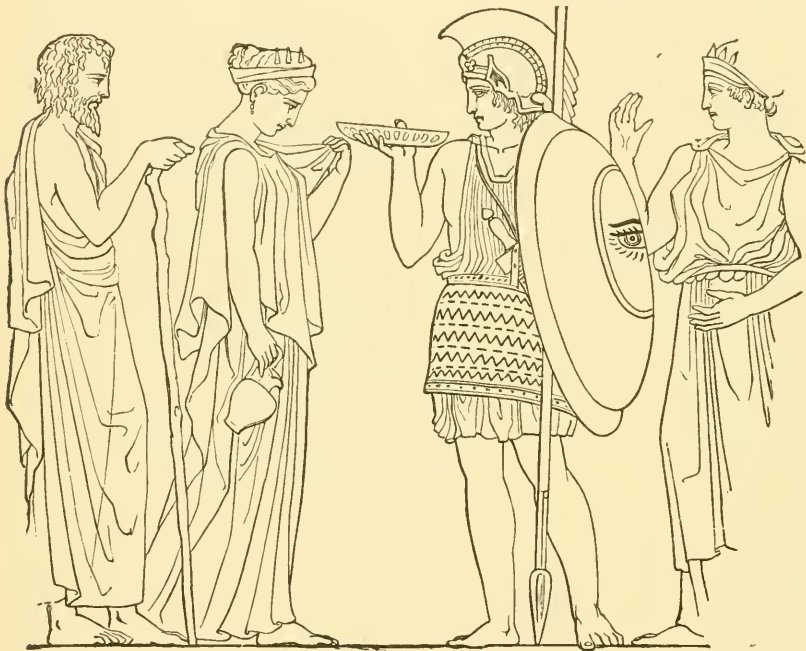
ated by about twenty-seven per cent of its metallic value. The actual legislation on the subject was the enactment that the coin should, after the date of the law, have a debt-paying power above its nominal value. According to the exact standards of modern times these measures were sufficiently revolutionary and communistic; but the event showed that they were not more radical than salutary. The land was set free, and the

establishment of a complete democracy; but in determining the new order Solon provided that *property* instead of *tribal descent* should determine the power of each citizen in the state.

Under the old system the Eupatrids, or noble families, had monopolized all the rights and prerogatives of citizenship. They held the offices of the state

Taxation adjusted according to wealth and class.

and made and interpreted the laws at their will. The Solonian system abolished the hereditary scheme of rights, and substituted therefor a new classification of the people. A graduated scale of property was established. All citizens were divided into four classes, according to their tax schedule. The actual administration of the government was confined to citizens of the first, or wealthiest, class; but as a compensating circumstance



RECEIVING THE GUEST.
Drawn by C. Reiss, from a vase.

small cultivators of the soil had a new lease of life.

It will thus be seen that the Solonian statutes reached down into industrial and social conditions beyond the limits

Democracy substitutes property for tribal descent.

which would be fixed for modern legislation. In the other direction the new

laws went on to the extent of a political revolution. The whole political system was remodeled with a view to giving every Attic citizen a share in the government. The reform did not by any means extend, at the beginning, to the

this class had to bear the greatest burden of taxation. The second division of citizens were the knights, or horsemen. The distinction was made on the ability of each person of this class to keep a war horse at his own expense for the service of the state.

Citizens of the second class paid three fifths of the amount assessed against the first class in taxation. The third class also had respect to the military service.

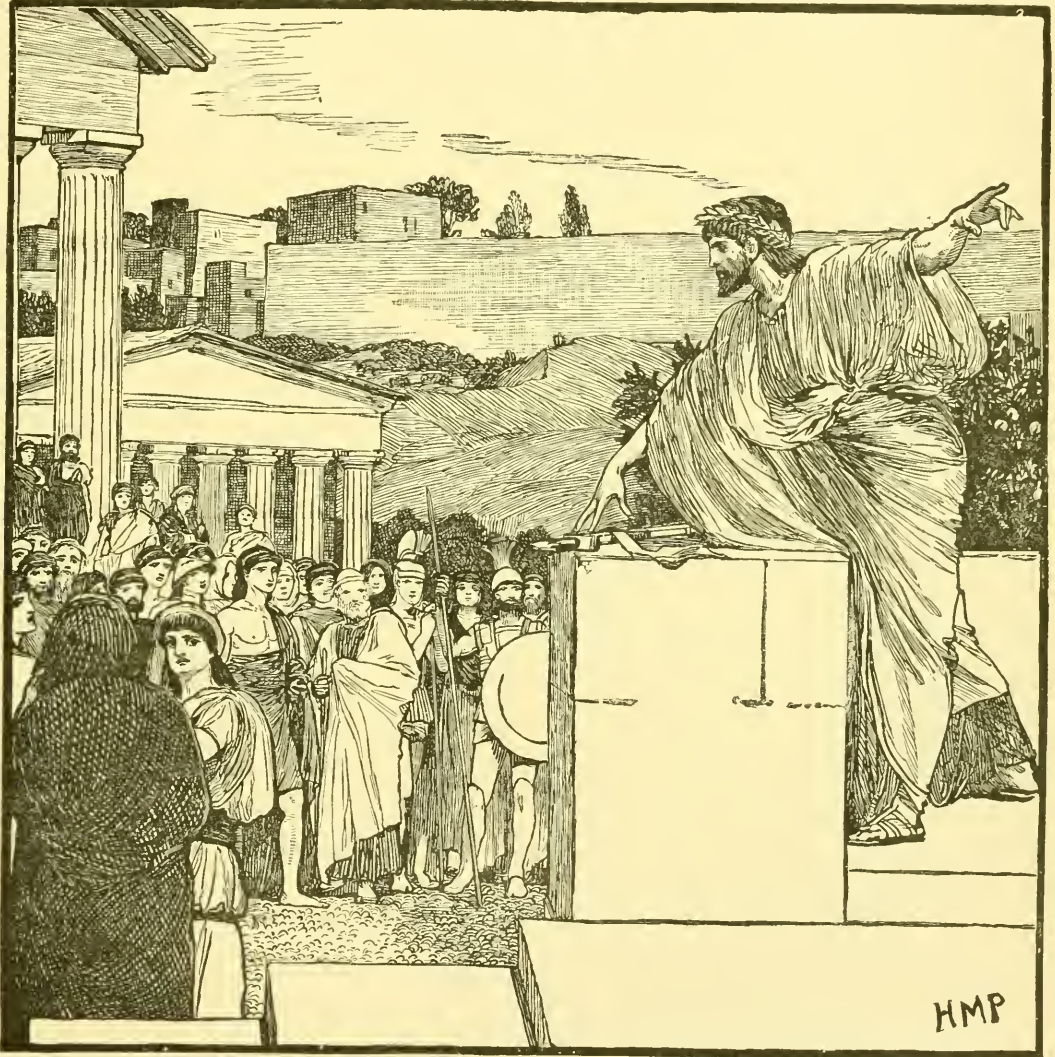
Duties and burdens of citizens of the under classes.

The men of this division were the heavy infantry of the Attic army.

Their taxes were lighter in proportion as their responsibilities were fewer and more easily borne. Citizens of the fourth class were exempt from direct taxation, and as to military service were employed only as light troops or sailors

Thus the theory of the Solonian legislation had respect to property, taxation, and responsibility in the state. The three were correlated. They were all in direct ratio. The greater the property,

Correlation of property, taxation, and responsibility.



THE GREEK ASSEMBLY.—ORATION OF DEMOSTHENES.

for the fleet. The poorest and humblest of the Attic people belonged to this order. As to political rights, they were members of the popular assembly; and as this body had the prerogative of choosing the magistrates of the state, the power of the common people was felt in all things.

the higher the taxation and the heavier the responsibility. The less the responsibility, the lower the taxation and the smaller the amount of property. This feature of the work of the Athenian lawgiver has been much commented on by publicists of other ages and countries. It has been regarded as one of the admir-

able features of the Athenian laws that the responsibilities, burdens, and wealth of the citizens were held as correlatives, and that the one was not permitted to be in excess of the legal ratio for the other two.

If the laws of Solon can be said to have originated anything, it was the fourth estate of the people. He found the great

The assembly and free right of democracy due to Solon's laws.

court of Areopagus, and retained it. He found the archonship, and retained it.

He found the usage of voting as a means of determining the public will; but the popular assembly may be said to have been his work. In this body citizens of all classes convened; but since the poor far outnumbered the rich, since the fourth estate was the bottom section of the pyramid, the votes in the assembly would represent the real democracy. To this was added the right of public speech. Each citizen must vote by a show of the hand, but the voter might also speak in defense of his ballot. Here we may place the beginning of that free right which the Athenians in after times so greatly cultivated, and of which they were so justly proud. Here was the true foundation of that future democracy which in its development, in the palmy days of Greece, furnished so strong a contrast to the oligarchy of Sparta.

We may here note for the first time, perhaps, in the history of the human

Ascendency of the Assembly and the *Heliæa*.

race the organization of a political society from below upwards—from the people

to their rulers. The Athenian popular Assembly became the origin of power and authority. Out of the whole body were annually chosen by lot a division of six thousand citizens, called the *Heliæa*, who were the jurors and judges of the Athenian people. The *Heliæa* was in its turn divided into sections of manage-

able size; and these sat by turns deciding all matters submitted, both as to law and fact. The only qualification was that the juror should be thirty years of age and an Attic citizen.

In practice this court was much busied with political offenses, in which the Athenian commonwealth

so greatly abounded. In course of time the *Helicæa* became the seat and scene of gross abuses, but it ever subserved the purpose of jealous guardianship over the rights and privileges of the Athenians. So powerful was the popular assembly and this secondary body of six thousand, derived directly therefrom, that the whole political development of Attica—and if of Attica, of the Ionian race—became democratic to an extent which it would be perhaps impossible to parallel in the annals of mankind.

Democratic domination of the Ionian race.

In almost every regard the Athenian commonwealth and the civil polity which prevailed therein were strongly contrasted with the Dorian development in

Strong contrasts of Athenian and Spartan governments.

Sparta. We have already remarked upon the exclusiveness of the Lyscurgian laws—how they discouraged enterprise, dampened industry, prevented commercial intercourse, and hindered the accumulation of wealth. The Solonian statutes led in exactly the opposite direction. They gave encouragement to commerce. As we have shown above, they strongly stimulated the producing forces of the state. They went so far even as to impair existing contracts, scale debts, and reduce the purchasing power of money in order to stimulate the energies of the producing classes.

The constitution prepared by Solon also led to the evolution of citizenship. It gave great encouragement to the intercourse of the streets and shops as

well as to the higher intercourse of the agora and the pnyx. Instead of warding off the citizens of other states and countries, the laws of Solon almost invited immigration. As a matter of fact, great numbers of foreign settlers found residence in Athens and became citizens of the commonwealth on the easy condition of paying the tax and assuming the common responsibilities of the class with which they were incorporated. These foreigners presently constituted something of a division of themselves. They were known as *Meteci*, that is, Metics, or Settlers. The discrimination against them was very slight. Many of them by following the mercantile pursuit became rich, and the conditions of life in Athens were so kindly and tolerant that the foreigner was unhampered in his intercourse and but slightly prejudiced in his relations.

Similar praise may be given to the Solonian laws for the humane spirit which characterized the code as a whole. Punishments were light and much more rational than those of the Spartans. Though criminals were still visited with severe penalties, there was little of that barbarity which marked the administration of law in the south. In general, the restraints put upon the free action of the Athenian people were as few and as easy as could be expected even in an enlightened age. In so far as a government may be regarded as an instrument

of human happiness, as a means unto an end, the end being the enlargement of the individual, the extension and protection of his rights and privileges, it might well be said that the constitution of Solon was as wise and efficacious as the fundamental law of any other state, ancient or modern.

As we have said and repeated, the early Hellenic lawgivers wrought for



MANNERS AND COSTUMES.—GREEKS CONVERSING.

From Hope's *Costumes of the Ancients*.

Humane elements in the Solonian code.

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the most part with material already furnished to their hands. There is a sense in which all law is in its last analysis common law—the result of custom falling first into usage and then into statutory form. No doubt in the more advanced stages of nationality men do create out of right reason and from a philosophical basis such statutes as *ought* to be adapted to a somewhat idealized form of human society. To such law

Common law and civil code join in Athenian constitution.

the name civil is generally given to discriminate it from the law which has its origin in experience and usage.

The common opinion of mankind has ascribed altogether too much force to the Lyeurgian and Solonian laws in Greece. It is a part of that general mistake which assigns to individual men the power of creating new forms of society. Such power has very seldom been the possession of any man or of any men. Especially in the matter of jurisprudence have the so-called lawgivers been simply the formulators of existing rules of conduct, with such slight enlargement as would be suggested in the process of formal legislation. Lyeurgus and Draco and Solon were men of this class. They did something by the force of their genius to divert the currents of Greek life into new channels of civil and political action; but the channels were already prepared, and if no such men had ever appeared—that is, if those particular men had not appeared—the course of events would doubtless have been the same.

It is true, however, that the formal work of creating a constitution for an active and vigorous people marks an epoch in their development, and that the reactionary effect of such work is very marked. When the rules of political society have been once definitely determined, they constitute the criteria by which all individual action is thenceforth judged; and if the people themselves have participated in the expression of the new rules of civil conduct, the counter effect upon themselves will be considerable, and in some cases great. It proved to be so with the Greeks. Particularly among the Ionians—most strikingly among the Athenians—where

Course of events not greatly changed by legislators.

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the democratic principle was boldly advanced and adhered to, were the reactions of the governmental polity upon the people strong and enduring. Athens presently displayed in her public life a degree of popular energy surpassing that of any other ancient state. The character of the institutions strongly stimulated the already energetic political temper of the people, and the display of civil ability became great, marvelous. The Athenian democracy in the grand days of the commonwealth, after the Persians had been beaten back to their own place, after the eloquence of Pericles and the chisel of Phidias had coöperated to make the city splendid, was chargeable with all the faults of action peculiar to its kind. Aye, more, it was guilty of all the crimes against the rights of the individual citizen—which rights were in their last analysis the very essence of the state—wherewith the enemies of democracy in ancient and modern times have charged that illustrious citizenship; but it can not be denied that in its best days the Athenian assembly was the grandest field for the display of the greatest talents which, the public life of mankind has ever exhibited.

Vices and virtues of the Athenian democracy.

We must not suppose, however, that the democratic evolution at Athens was at once accomplished under the influences and tendencies of the Solonian statutes. The old rival families of the Alcmaeonidæ and the Pisistratidæ still contended with the democracy for the mastery of the state and with each other for leadership; but the whole political tide set toward the free people of Attica. In course of time Clisthenes appeared and, backed by the Delphic oracle, carried forward the democratic impulse of the people into still more

Strong reaction of governmental system upon the people.

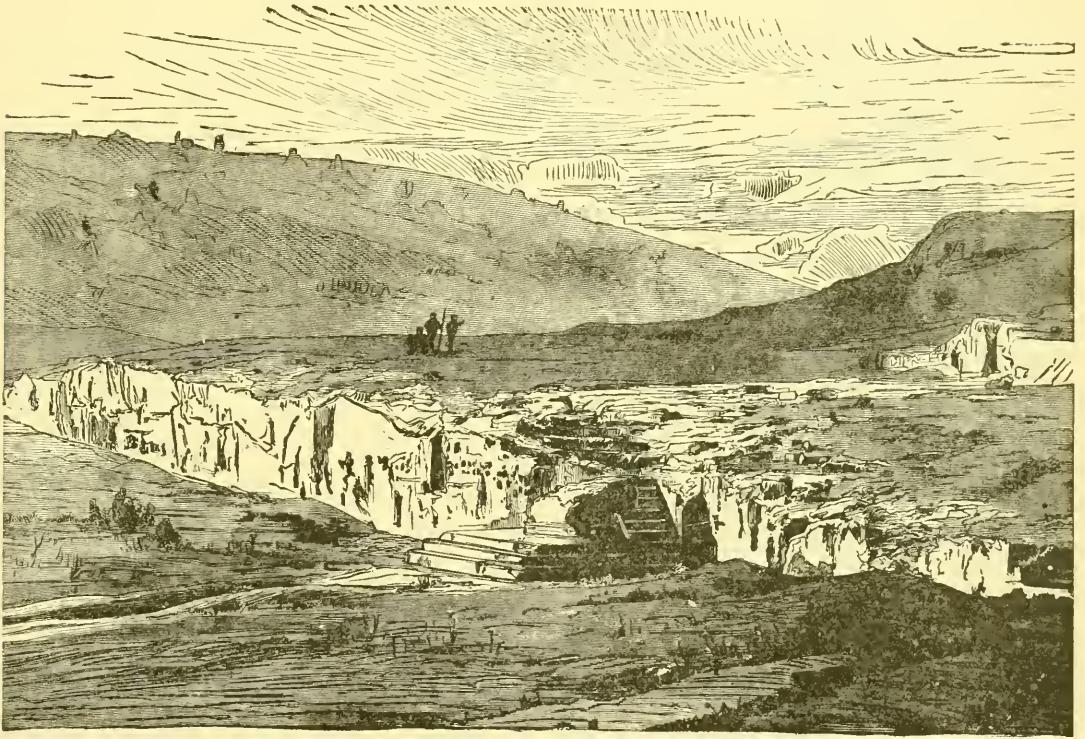
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reactionary effect of such work is very marked. When the rules of political society have been once definitely determined, they constitute the criteria by which all individual action is thenceforth judged; and if the people themselves have participated in the expression of the new rules of civil conduct, the counter effect upon themselves will be considerable, and in some cases great. It proved to be so with the Greeks. Particularly among the Ionians—most strikingly among the Athenians—where

Solon's legislation supplemented by that of Clisthenes.

perfect organs of expression. The four *Demoi* into which the Athenians had been divided according to the laws of Solon were extended to ten. These corresponded with the *Tribes* which constituted the fundamental political division of the Roman people. To each *demos* was assigned by the law of Clis-thenes fifty senators, increasing the whole number of the senate from four hundred to five hundred. Each *demos*

bottom motive in the creation of such an institution was to inspire a wholesome dread on the part of ambitious demagogues. The abuse of ostracism lay in the fact that it could be capriciously and vindictively turned—as it many times was turned—against the best citizens of the state. The reader must bear in mind, however, that to be ostracised, as ostracism went at Athens, was little more than to be voted down at any other



THE PNYX IN ITS PRESENT APPEARANCE.—Drawn by H. Nestel.

was put under the headship of a demarch, who stood as the representative of his particular tribe.

At the same time, and as a means of curbing the ambition of demagogues, the *ostracism* was instituted. This institution has been judged and misjudged

Uses and abuses
of the Athenian
ostracism.

by modern writers. It was undoubtedly the vehicle of many and great abuses; but it was also in many respects a salutary part of the public system. The

democratic election. The hardship of the case was the circumstance of banishment or exile, which was added to the adverse decision of the people.

The reader who has attentively followed this evolution of Greek society from its beginnings up to its full aspect in the times of the Athenian ascendancy

Public interest
absorbs the pri-
vate life of the
Greeks.

will be prepared to understand how it was that the domestic life of the people gave place to the public life. No other

people, whether ancient or modern, lived so much in public as did the Greeks. Everything seemed to conspire to draw the energies of the race into the whirl and excitement of citizenship. All the institutions which had been evolved by sages and statesmen at different epochs reacted upon the national spirit and intensified the natural instincts of the race. The people came to take delight in the affairs of state. The crowd surged along the streets and into the agora and pnyx. There was a hum of perpetual excitement. The condition of foreign and domestic affairs did not always furnish material for actual statesmanship. In the piping times of peace the Athenians must find vent for their pent-up politics in the discussion of factitious and trivial issues. In such times the bickerings of sophists were substituted for the debates of sages, and the howl of the demagogue was heard in place of the statesman's peroration.

Not only did the Greeks busy themselves to an unusual degree in the discussion and enactment of their laws, but they also took great interest in all legal proceedings. They were the most litigious race of men. A great lawsuit was their delight. Little did it matter whose cause was just, but it greatly mattered whose argument was fallacious. As we have already remarked, the Greeks were not greatly influenced by the fundamental right or wrong of anything; but the processes of determining the same were to them a perpetual delight. The exercise of the reasoning faculties was to the average Athenian as exhilarating and healthful to his mind as his physical gymnastic was to the body; but the end to be attained by argument—the final rectification of a cause according to the immutabilities of justice—were to

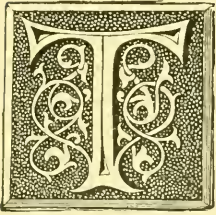
the Greek little more than his quoits, his turning-pole, and his trapeze. He quarreled and contended for the sake of contention. The racket of debate, the complication and uproar of contending voices sufficed for the excitement where-with his daily life was heated for action. To sue and to be sued in the courts furnished a basis for that perpetual talk and strife without which the life of the Athenian Greek would have soon pined away into weakness and stupor.

In process of time the disposition of the Athenians became more light, inattentive to serious business, more prone to avoid the responsibilities of citizenship. It would appear that the last estate of absolute democracy is not so inspiring as the first estate. It was one of the peculiarities of Athenian life in the latter stages of the commonwealth that the duties of citizenship were avoided rather than sought for. The better people became willing that any blatant demagogue should take the lead, and that the judges should be made up from lists of citizens who had nothing else to do. The situation with respect to the courts became similar to that which we have seen in American cities. The wise and thrifty citizen, absorbed in affairs and personal responsibilities, avoided the court and its business; and the jury bench was packed with imbecile professionals who sought the place for the fee. One of the striking spectacles in Athens was the stretching of ropes across the streets and around the crowds of people in the market, by which they might be dragged into the pnyx to participate in an election or to submit themselves to the lot in the choice of jurors and judges. By such means were the important offices of the state filled with ignorant and unworthy occupants.

Litigious disposition of the people; passion for debate.

Last bad estate of the Attic democracy.

CHAPTER LII.—OLYMPUS AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.



THE thoughtful reader will have observed that the present discussion of the growth and character of the Greek people has proceeded from the merely physical

basis to the higher and more ideal aspects of life. This method has been adopted for the reason that it seems to conform to the actual facts in the case of the Greeks. As we have said, the race began its career from a material point of departure. We have seen that even the education of the Greeks partook of the common movement. One may easily discern in the poetry and art of this remarkably intellectual race the outlines of physical conditions and sympathies.

Humanity rises to Olympus and sits on the summit.

A pure and natural humanity was in it all. Even the powerful influences of

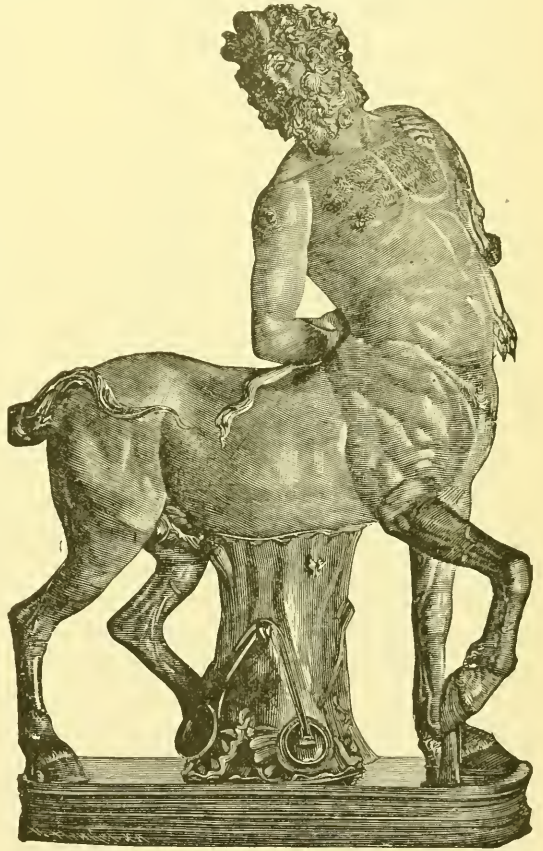
Egypt and the East could hardly introduce into Greek life any other than human elements. All the gods of the Greeks are human. They are never creatures with double heads and multiple arms. The winged and mythological monsters of the East were hardly accepted by the Greeks. One may discern in the latter days of Greek art a total abandonment of the monstrous and unnatural element. The Centaur, the Minotaur, and all manner of dragons disappear, while a pure humanity rises and sits even on the summit of Olympus. What should be thought if Phidias had given wings to his Pallas Athena, or four arms to his statue of Zeus Olympios?

Even the religion of the Greeks—which we come now briefly to consider—was a species of natural philosophy.

It may well be doubted whether the term “religious” is not misapplied when it is used in definition of any of the practices or beliefs of the Greeks.

Greek religion a species of natural philosophy.

No race of men has existed without a certain ethical constitution; but this



THE CENTAUR.

does not extend to what the languages of the West call religion. The latter implies the recognition of a god or gods, makers and givers of life and of all benefits, to whom the race of man is bound (*religio*, a binding) by certain ties of morality, duty, and affection. Natural ethics has to do with the duties and obligations of man to man.

The Greeks, in common with the other divisions of the Aryan race, had a fund of theology. It is claimed by a certain group of modern scholars that the primitive religious views of the Aryans were based upon the recognition

Absence of spirituality in the Greek theology.



APOLLO.

of a single heaven-father, with whom were associated other divine and spiritual powers in the administration of nature and of man. There are intimations, derivable mostly from philology, that this theory of the old-time religion of our race is founded in fact. But if so, the theory descended in the horizon of the Greeks to the level of earth. One might seek in vain in the literature of the Greeks for the presence of a belief that their gods were spiritual beings at all. Of course they were living beings, and were immortal; but the Greek

thought of his god as a material entity, a physical organic being even as himself—only greater, mightier, more sublime. Beyond this the mind of the Greek refused to go. It took no cognizance of spiritual entities outside of living forms.

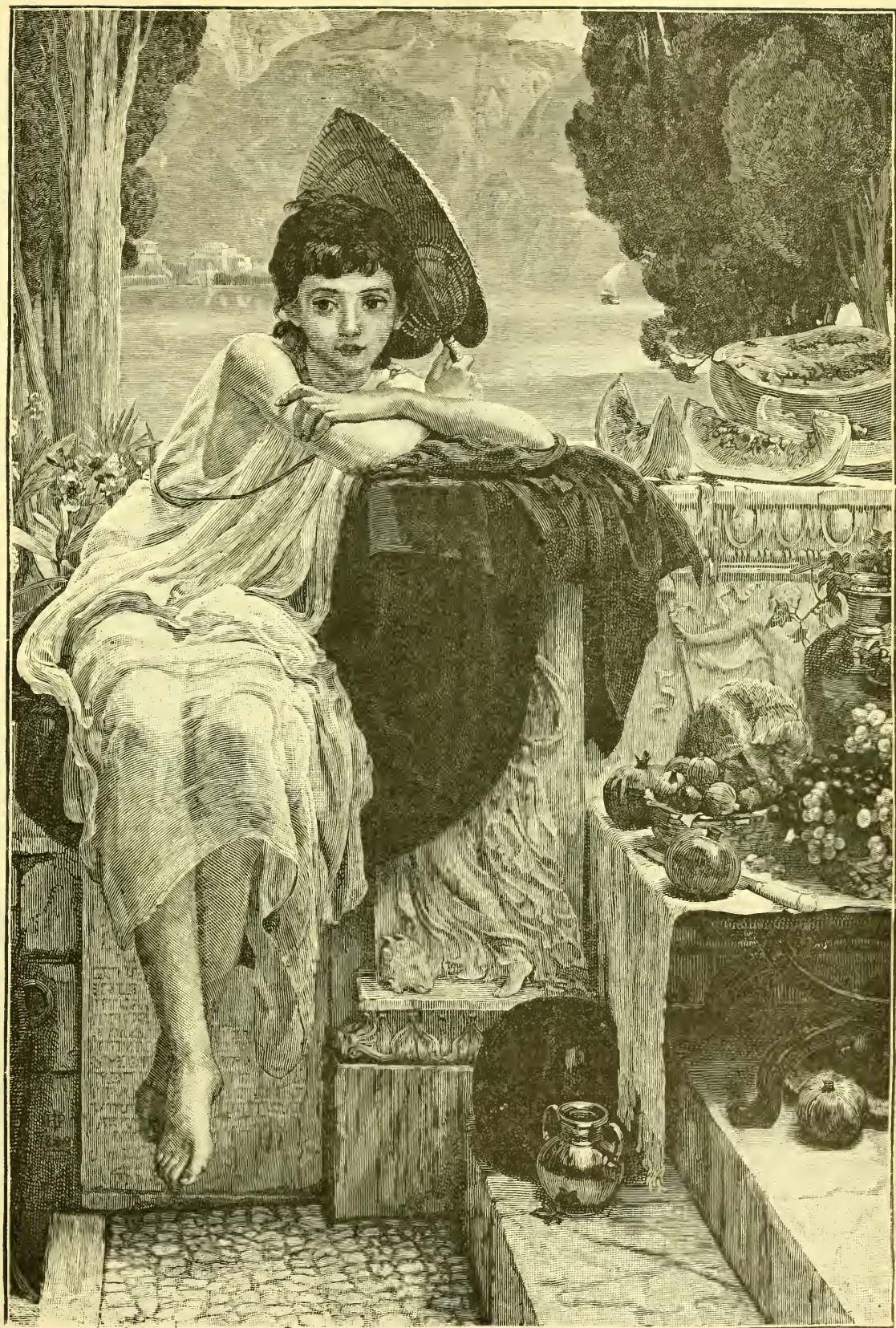
One must needs be surprised to note how completely the intellectual and spiritual life, the moral qualities and dispositions, the moods and passions of the Greek were by him projected into his gods. In nowise was the god better than the man—only stronger and immortal. We might look in vain among the whole Olympian hierarchy for a single moral attribute above the level

The Greek transferred himself to his deities.



ARTEMIS.

of the average human concepts of the people who lived below. Even as far back as the days of Homer, this humanization had been complete—if indeed it had ever been anything better. Whenever the epic bard speaks of the gods,



RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.—ON THE TEMPLE STEPS.—From the painting by Poynter.

he does so in a tone of gentle mockery—mere description, such as a skeptic of modern times might use in describing the beings of mythology. In no single element of his theology was there a divine order, a heavenly government in anywise above the level of the average morality of the Greek.

All was on the level of human nature and frailty. Take the case of

The gods of Olympus are even as men and women.

Zeus. That almighty potentate had *perfumed locks*.

He was guilty of all manner of unlawful loves; but to the Greek the guilt was no more heinous than average mortal eccentricity. The comic poet might mock at the inconstancy and infidelities of Jove, but never thought of denouncing them as sins. Hera was as jealous of her mighty lord as any Athenian beauty might be of an inconstant husband. Aphrodite was as false as she was fair. Hermes was a common liar. Hephæstus was *lame*. Poseidon was consumed with enmity and revenge. Dionysus was a drunkard, and Heracles a glutton from infancy. All the passions and vices of the earth and the cloud-land were mixed together; and as to morality, men were even as the gods. Heaven was as full of quarrels, of bickerings, and perfidy as the earth was full of uproar, falsehood, and treason.

Yet the gods were mighty. They were, moreover, deeply interested in the affairs of earth. They concerned themselves con-

The deities are great but fated like mortals.

stantly with the doings of men, and drew with vindictive precision the lines of good and evil. Indeed, it was impossible that they should do otherwise. They themselves were held, in common with men, under the inexorable tyranny of Fate. This fate was the highest concept of the Greek race.

Fate was the absolute. Under the scepter of fate the gods performed their part in the universal scheme. It was their part to reward and punish—reward for the thing called virtue, and punish for the thing called vice.

This distinction the nature of man must always recognize. However shifting and uncertain may be the lines which bound the theological landscape, however vacillating the definitions which are found in the mortal vocabulary for certain specific acts, the deep-down bottom difference between right and wrong stands fast and will not be moved. This difference the Greeks recognized. So also did the gods above them. Men must conform, therefore, to the moral law such as it was. Did they not, the wrath of the immortals was kindled against them. Did they not, the Eumenides, those sharp avengers of evil doing, were ever at the gate; aye, they were ever at the threshold, even at the elbow of mortal life, ready to inflict the penalty for all misdeeds. True, they were very patient. They were not in haste. The immortals had no need to be in haste. The visitation for crime might well wait until a convenient season. *Then* the punishment would come. Then the swift and avenging bolt would fall upon the offender.

It thus happened that the Greeks found a place for a scheme of morality.

There was a belief among the people in the laws of right and wrong and in the fidelity of the gods to reward virtue and heroism, to punish vice and weakness. Therefore, there was room even for prayer and for sacrifice. He who prayed might influence the gods to hasten their purposes, to come on with their benefits, to restrain their anger. To this end

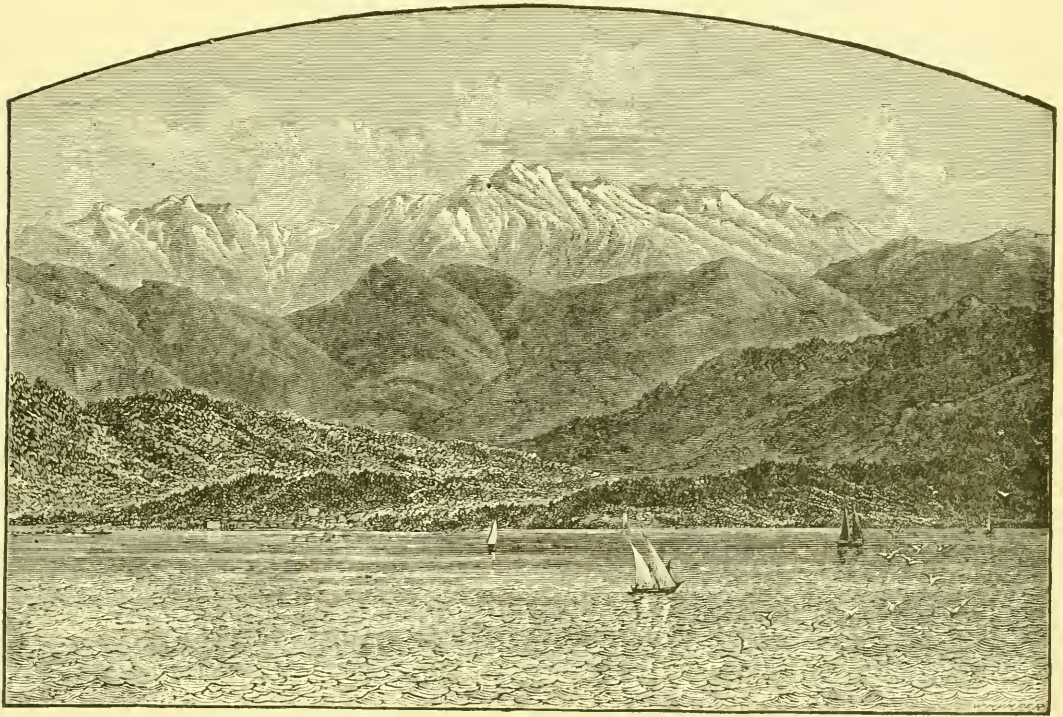
Concept of right and wrong stands fast forever.

Theory of prayer; in early days the gods draw near.

there was an altar, a place of offering, a temple. Such things were beneficial to the individual, to the household, to the state. Thereby the gods were made auspicious. There the chaotic affairs of life were brought to order. Good was brought down from on high, and the evil below was put away.

In the early days the deities were more familiar with men than in after times. At several places in Greece the

not far off and high, but even at the door. While it was not a worship of nature, it was the worship of beings who were in sympathy with nature and sought out natural abodes as their favorite dwelling places. As a result, the religious affections of the Greeks were strongly localized. There were centers of the divine presence in certain parts of the country, and to these the religious beliefs and sympathies of the people



PARNASSUS.—After a sketch of F. E. Blackstone.

gods had haunts and abiding places. At the foot of Parnassus Apollo loved to dwell. There was his Delphic oracle. There, from the rift in the rock, came the inspiring power which made the Pythia drunken with the divine afflatus. A close union existed between the natural and the supernatural fact. The great Zeus loved the gnarled oaks of Dodona, and joined his voice with the solemn voice of the wind moaning among the branches. The gods were

were drawn by as strong bonds as the Greeks were capable of bearing.

Another peculiarity of the Hellenic religious system was still more marked and persistent. This was the absence of a priesthood. Absence of priesthood; officials of the temple. No other people of an

equal degree of development have been so free from the presence and interference of a priestly order. Among the Greeks every man was his own priest. Doubtless this was due in a certain de-

gree to the strong individualism and democracy of the race. It is not meant that there were no Greek priests. About the temples there must needs be a reti-

in the transmission of the artistic or commercial instincts through several generations.

Sometimes the Greek found it convenient to offer his sacrifices and make his prayers by proxy, and in such cases he employed a priest;

System of orthodoxy maintained by popular belief.

but there was never any abdication of his own rights in the premises. Every Greek offered his prayers and sacrifices when and as he would. There was, of course, a national canon, a ritual, a doctrine, which the worshiper must follow; and any departure from the common standard was likely to be visited with severity. Secular society stood guard over the orthodoxy of the people; and any departure from the authorized standards was likely to entail great mischief on the offender. Such things were sure to be buzzed about in the market and agora. A question of the kind, especially if the heretic were a distinguished personage, gave the average Greek demagogue his best hold. In such cases superstition and prejudice were freely invoked, and the consequences were usually disastrous. One of the few melancholy aspects of Greek civilization was to see the greatest minds cowering under the dominion of that common thrall and scourge wherewith all the nations of antiquity and most peoples of modern times as well have been lashed and whipped into silence.

But no other people of antiquity were so free in the observances of their religion as were the Greeks. Religiously speaking, every man's house was his castle. There, before the altar of Vesta, the newborn child was named. It was a religious ceremony. So also was



VICTIMS FOR SACRIFICE.—Drawn by L. Otto, from the original reliefs of the Panathenaic procession, in British Museum.

nue of officials, and these must be conversant with religious rites and doctrines. In some few instances the priestly office was transmitted in families, but it was only such heredity as might be seen



THE DELPHIC PYTHIA ENRAPT.

marriage, and so were the rites of the funeral. It must not be thought that the Greeks were an irreligious race. No people have had a greater multiplicity of gods, and few societies have been more permeated with the details of worship than was that of Attica. Still, the life of nature rose dominant over the life of ceremonial, and the Greek continued as he had been from the first, the product of physical forces rather than the molded offspring of superstitious beliefs.

It is not the place to enter into the details of the Greek ceremonial. Men prayed. They offered sacrifices of fruit and wine and milk and oil and honey and cakes. Sometimes the worshiper stood before the altar fire and threw in handfuls of parched barley. Animals, too, were sacrificed and offered to the hungry deities. The deep sense of beauty here again found expression. The most perfect animal must be selected for the altar. Old Nestor, of the heroic age, was not satisfied with the bullock he brought until the horns were elegantly gilded. Wreaths of leaves and flowers were put about the heads and necks of the victims. Even their slaughter was made as little repulsive as possible. The slain animal was flayed, and the thighs offered on the altar. The remainder of the offering was eaten by the worshipers and the priests under the common ancient notion of sharing the feast with the immortals.

Among most of the ancient races professional prophets had a place. Perhaps no class of officials were more powerful in Semitic communities than were the old foretellers who revealed the future. With the Aryan races the prophetic office was less esteemed, but by no means

Freedom in religious ceremony; nature above tradition.

Prayers and sacrifices; beauty of ceremonial.

neglected. Among the Greeks the business of foreknowing and foretelling things to come took a remarkable development. The wisdom of the future was given forth from oracles; and priests who received from the divinities the mysterious message were never regarded as other than mere transmitters of a knowledge which was as much above themselves as above the inquirers who stood without the temple.

There was among the Greeks a belief in the verity of these revelations. The strangest feature in connection with the oracular method of gaining wisdom was that woman was always employed as the immediate agent of intercourse with the gods. As far back as the heroic age, the Prophetess Cassandra gained an immortal fame at Troy. There, at the Thymbrian shrine of Apollo, she communicated with the god and learned from him the mysteries of the future.

The like office of woman in Greece was illustrated in the Pythia of the Delphic oracle. The acute understanding may perceive in all this a bottom and outline of real reason. The highly wrought nervous organization of woman, her susceptibility to impressions, and the easy excitation of her whole being even to the pitch of frenzy, are facts as universal as the history of the race. The discerning Greeks, therefore, sought by means of this most delicate human instrument to catch, as in the strings of an Æolian harp, the soft, low melodies and mysterious whispers of the invisible world. At the same time they refused to woman the right and ability to interpret the utterances of her own lips, the sighings of her own distracted spirit. The male priests listened with attentive and rational ear to the half-articulate murmurs of the frantic Pythia, and

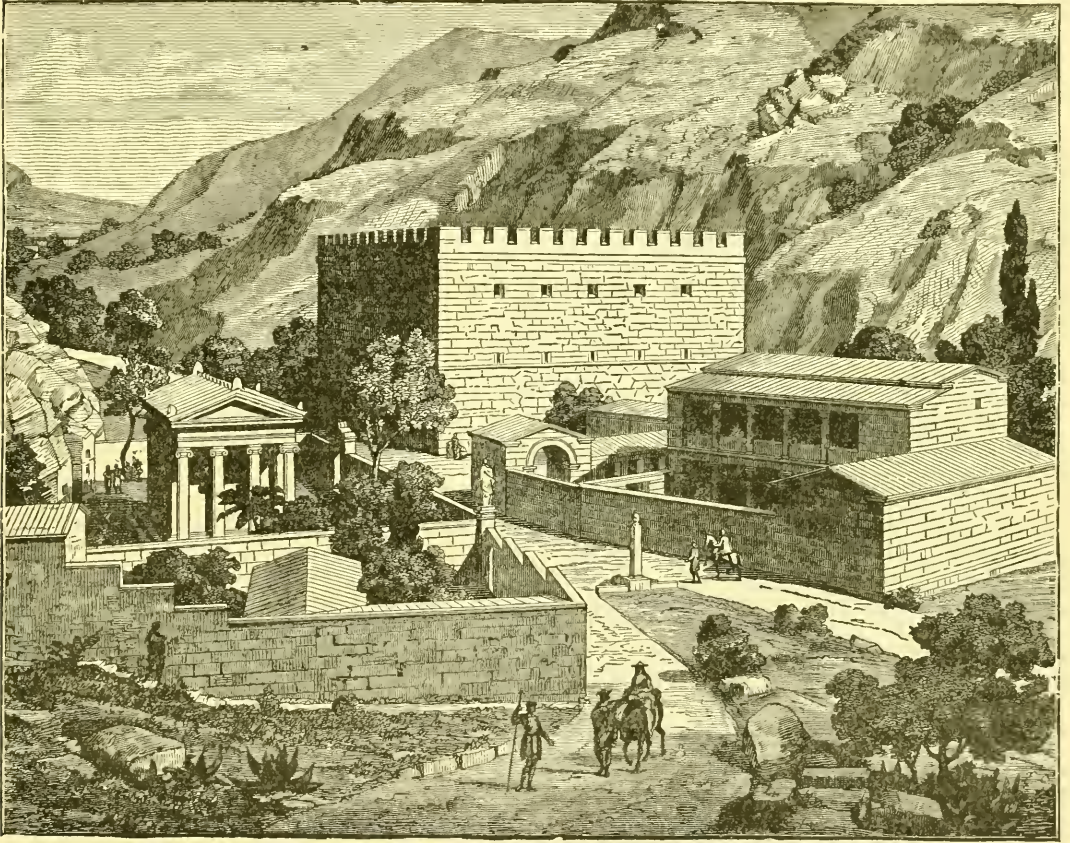
Why women became the medium of inspiration.

themselves gave fitting form—as well as fallacious expression—to the dubious revelations of her lips.

One of the peculiarities of Greek life was the prevalence of satire in all its parts. The Greek mood was one of jocularity, and the disposition found expression in the whole gamut of hilarity

Satirical and
mocking spirit
of the Greeks.

in the presence of the sacrifice. There was nothing in the three worlds upon which the comic poets would not lay their hands in mockery. They mocked at Jove. They mocked at all the gods. They mocked at religious ceremonies. They mocked at the priests. Everything which according to the phraseology of the serious would be called sacred was



THE GREEK MYSTERIES.—ROAD FROM ELEUSIS TO ATHENS—TEMPLE OF APHRODITE TO THE LEFT.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

from the small whiff of fun to the bitterest sarcasm of which the human brain and tongue are capable. Not satisfied with secular affairs, the satirical spirit made its way into the precincts of theology. Sad was the havoc among even the sacred things of religion. The Greek would have his laugh, even at the expense of the gods. It was difficult for him to be serious even at the altar and

held up alive on the barbed spearheads of irony and sarcasm. The other Greeks all laughed at the spectacle. It does not appear that this universal satire, the sacrilege of all holy things, extended to bitterness and hatred, but that it rather satisfied itself with the effervescence of half-innocent laughter. After the mockery was done the ceremonial proceeded. It was not mimicry, not the

holding up to ridicule of the sacred traditions of the race, but skepticism and departure from the established standards of religious belief and practice that

matters of religion. What mystery there was related rather to the inscrutable processes of the natural world than to the profounder entities of the spiritual

universe. With respect to the in-

terpretation of nature —the explication of the physical myster-

Indifference of Greek mind to theoretical religion.

ies of birth and growth and death —the Greek mind was keenly alive, and many forms were devised whereby the better to express the occult phenomena of the material world. Among these were the pageants and spectacles to which the Greeks gave the name of mysteries. No other people have been more keenly sensitive to the force and expressiveness of spectacular representations than were the witty and excitable Greeks.

Two of the mysteries which they instituted are worthy of special note. The feast of Dionysus was celebrated in Attica

The Hellenic mysteries; Dionysus and his rout.

with great eclat. The ceremony was a revel. Dionysus was the god of the vine and the wine cup. He had come from the far East. Doubtless his was another name for that Soma whom the Indic-Aryans worshiped. The myth represented him as a joyful god, bearing the features of a woman for softness, reckless in demeanor, glancing with languishing looks at his worshipers. He was the giver of good cheer, the bringer of inspiration. His power extended over the wild creatures of the hills and jungle. Tigers, lions, and panthers

brought upon the offender the chastisement of popular vengeance.

The Greek mind did not much busy itself with the abstruse and difficult

grew tame under his magical influence. They followed like faithful dogs attending his steps or drew his chariot on the way. Thus he came into Attica. The



BACCHANALS.—From the Borghese vase in the Louvre.

myth gave form to the ceremony. Men dressed themselves in the garb of animals. Pans, Satyrs, and Sileni, clad each after his kind, joined in the procession. The crowds danced as they came. The Mænads and Bacchantes garlanded themselves with vine leaves and ivy. They wrapped their bodies with the skins of fawns, and sang wild songs as they danced about the car of the conquering god.

About twelve miles eastward from Athens was the sacred city of Eleusis.

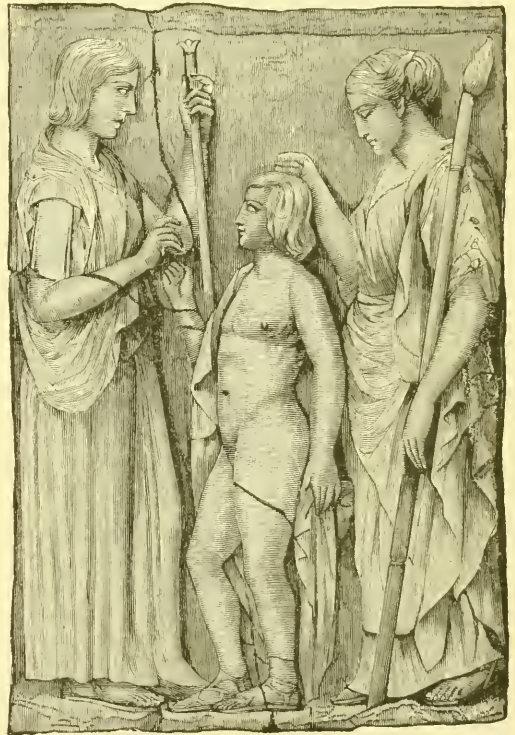
Eleusis and the
Panathenæic
festival.

The mysteries celebrated at this place have been recounted in all lands, yet they have not been well apprehended in their sense and form. At bottom the ceremony was a pageant, to which all of the Greeks were invited. There was a great march, led by musicians and dancers, from Athens to Eleusis; but the procession must not arrive until after nightfall. At the latter city Pericles had caused to be erected a temple suitable for the celebration of the mysteries. There was a great hall, surrounded with a colonnade, large enough to contain the initiates, who only were permitted to witness the secret ceremonies.

These had respect to the legend of the loss and finding of Persephone. She was the daughter of Demeter, the Earth, and was lost from her mother. The latter mourned and sought for her child, who was at last discovered. She had been taken down to Hades, and had been married to that dark god of the underworld. So there was a contest between the loving mother and the gloomy husband—then a compromise, in accordance with which Persephone could remain one half of the year at her old home with Demeter, and the other half in the dolor of her husband's abode deep down.

It was the story of life. Persephone was Life, born out of the Earth, warm and beautiful in springtime, dying and disappearing in autumn, lost in winter, and recovered again with the returning spring. The mysteries illustrated and exemplified the loss and refinding of Persephone. The ceremonies extended beyond the mere natural aspect of the appearance and recession of life in the visible outer world to the profounder

Signification of
the myth of Per-
sephone.



DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE, WITH A YOUTH OF ATHENS.

mysteries of procreation, of birth, of growth, and decay. These occult wonders of nature were only revealed with care and in the deep shadows of night to the few who had risen from initiation to the deeper secrets of the cult. Perhaps a veil would better be drawn over the whole, lest some of the revolting mysteries of the East might be rediscovered in the ceremony of the Greeks.

Here again we see the complete projection of the natural life of the Greek race into the religious beliefs and practices of the people. The gods were even as men. Their habits were the same.

The Greeks and their gods are at one.



GREEK SLAVE GIRLS AT THE FOUNTAIN.
Drawn by E. Klimsch.

They gave way to passion, drunkenness, orgy, just as did their human worshippers. It must ever remain a marvel that any moral force could be imposed by such a system on a people given up by nature to the hilarity and recklessness of freedom. It should be borne in mind, however, that the religious feasts,

with their accompanying abandonment and spells, returned only at intervals. It was a time in which the natural man might be for the nonce turned loose from the restraints under which his everyday life was placed. It is in evidence

that this license was hailed and accepted by all classes of Greeks as a time of deliverance from the tyranny of custom and of return to that wild freedom of nature which was always preferred by the instincts of the race. Men, women, children, the old, the young, even bondmen and servants, looked with delight to the approaching festival, when all alike should resume the liberties and recover the reckless joys of the natural man. It is perhaps true that if at any time the Greeks actually cherished feelings of love and affection for their deities, it was when the day arrived for them to regain by the temporary concession of the immortals the license of the old tribal life, when the unbridled desires of each were his only criterion of action.

We should not expect to find the vices and sins incident to mortal life much curbed by the influences

of such a system as that prevalent among the Greeks. In the first place, the ceremonial of the national religion was in a large degree perfunctory. The Greek did not much believe in his own system. He had no faith. He thought it best, in view of

Slight restraint of religion; a Greek prays.

the dubious conditions of human life, to stand on the safe side and to *admit* the verity of the gods and the justice of their reign; but he did not much *believe* in either. If we could enter the pénétralia of the Greek mind in the times which we are here contemplating and look outward as the Greek himself looked, recognizing with him such duties and obligations as he was able to perceive, and going with him through the formulæ of his religious system, we should perhaps find him worshipping under the influences of the following sentiments: O ye Deities, who live on great Olympus! ye are said to be. Our fathers have believed in you, and therefore we may well believe. Ye are gods, and we are men. Ye are greater than we, and we have cause to fear. Let us be at one with you. Here are our prayers. Here also are our gifts, our offerings, our sacrifices. We make them that ye may be satisfied. We know you to be wise and crafty. Certain it is that ye always triumph in your contests with mortals. It is in vain for man to try to beat the gods. We pray you, therefore, to look upon us as friends. Give us your protection. See that our cause prevails. Keep evil from us. Let all evil fall upon our enemies. We Greeks are your friends and worshipers. Ye are our gods, and have been for a long time. Accept, therefore, our offering. Give us plenty. Make us strong. Keep our houses from burning. Make the olive orchards grow, and save our ships on the deep sea.—Such we may well conceive to have been the thoughts of the Greeks in worship.

We may easily perceive that a people influenced by a religious system such as that of the Greeks would, in their evolution, show many evidences of moral weakness. The fact answers to the inference;

for the Greeks, without being a gross and vulgarly licentious race, were in many respects profoundly immoral in their practices. The thoughtful student may perceive in them an element of heartlessness and of cruelty that causes pain even in the retrospect. The Greeks were slaveholders. Slavery abounded, even in the streets of Athens. The baleful shadow was in the agora and the pnyx and the Bouleterion. Between the long walls leading from the Piræus to the city droves of slaves might be seen all day long, toiling at their tasks, building, delving, bearing merchandise on their shoulders, attending their lordly masters as they went up and down to sell and get gain. Around almost every Greek house was a retinue of slaves. They were bought and sold without compunction. Their condition was like that of horses that might be well kept and fed for the sake of their service.

The slave was the chattel of his master. The slave had no rights and few privileges. He was under close surveillance, and was subject to every abuse and hardship. His very life was his master's. Nor does the latter ever seem to have been morally affected by the pitiable condition of the former. In a thousand other ways the absence of the tender humanities was painfully noticeable in Greek society. There has never been any other human arena in which the natural forces were turned loose with so little restriction, and the cold law of the survival of the fittest left to work out its own moral results with so little hindrance, as in the commonwealth of Attica. It was a purely natural life of man, and the inevitable result of the existing order was to evolve a few leading

Moral weakness of the Greek race; slavery.

Notable absence of humane feelings among the Greeks.

elements of character to the highest degree of perfection at the expense of morality and all the tender affections and hopeful loves of the heart.

We have thus attempted to sketch in outline the general character of the

Résumé of the development of the Greek race.

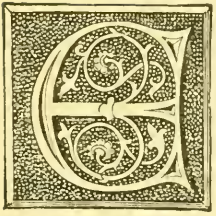
Greek race. We have seen that race emerging from the tribal condition when the forces of life were for a season all engaged in compassing from nature a supply of food. We have seen the reaction of the environment and the extreme vigor of growth exhibited by the people rising into the conscious state. We have noted the heroic epoch, with its accompaniments of battle and song. We have looked into the relation of the sexes as the same was determined among the primitive Greeks, and have watched the evolution of the household with the subjection of woman. We have considered that vast and beautiful instrument, the Greek language, and have noted something of its effects upon the people who employed it in intercourse. We have considered the technology and arts of the Greeks, most wonderful even from their incipency and sublime in their climax. We have endeavored to depict the political systems employed by the several branches of the Greek family. Last of all, we have noted the religious aspects of the people, considering both the subjective concepts and the objective expression of the national faith.

The Greek character, as a whole, resulted from a combination of all these facts and forces. It was unique not only among the nations of the

Descent of the Greek character and genius.

ancient world but in all history. The intellectual pre-eminence of the man of Hellas has been one of the leading facts which historians and philosophers have had to consider. Whatever may have been the antecedent causes of this wonderful intellectual development, the fact remains. The Greek mind is conspicuous and bright above the gloom and chaos of the ancient world. It has reached out with its magical fingers over all subsequent ages and countries, and is likely to remain a constant force in human society even to the end of days. The wit, the insight, the reason, the imagination, the vivid perception of all natural and rational phenomena, the ability to combine existing concepts, and to deduce an infinity of knowledge, were all displayed by the Greek in the beauty and grandeur of power unequalled by the mental activity of any other people. It is not too much to say that the Greeks have dictated the laws of right reason and a large part of the subject-matter of thought to every great race of men, and that their fervid poetry, profound philosophy, and glorious art have furnished the prime examples of excellence, each in its kind, for all subsequent thinkers and doers of the human race. The Greeks still live in the intellect of mankind.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE MODERN GREEKS.



VEN an incidental knowledge of ancient history will have shown the reader how difficult it is to trace the processes by which the races of antiquity were gradually transformed into the races of modern times. From the fifth to the fifteenth century of our era was a period sufficiently gloomy in the general destinies of mankind. In most of its aspects it appeared retrogressive; in most of its events it gave little ground for an optimistic view of human affairs and of their tendencies.

During this period the ethnic and historical features of the ancient world were erased, and a new physiognomy was determined for mankind. It might be said that all Europe was transformed into another mood and tense. The old things disappeared, the old forms of society vanished. The ancient customs—regarded for centuries as the sacred methods of social and political intercourse—gave place to other usages out of the shaggy loins of barbarism. Of all parts of the European continent, the East held out longest. The capital chosen by Constantine, and established by his successors, remained the nucleus of civilization; and, as the outposts fell away, the forces which represented the ancient order were drawn in until the civilized world had for its boundaries the walls of Constantinople.

When the Roman world was divided by Theodosius, Greece and the Greek race fell in the Eastern division and passed to Arcadius as a part of his in-

heritance. Meanwhile the Hellenic race had been through several periods of transformation. Greece had been first a Roman province of the republic from 145 B. C. until the Cæsarion epoch. After that the same rule had continued under the empire down to the days of Constantine, at the beginning of the fourth century. It was from this time that the division between an East and a West, between a Rome and a Constantinople, was recognized. From the reign of Constantine to that of Leo III, a period of four hundred years, Greece remained a province of the East.

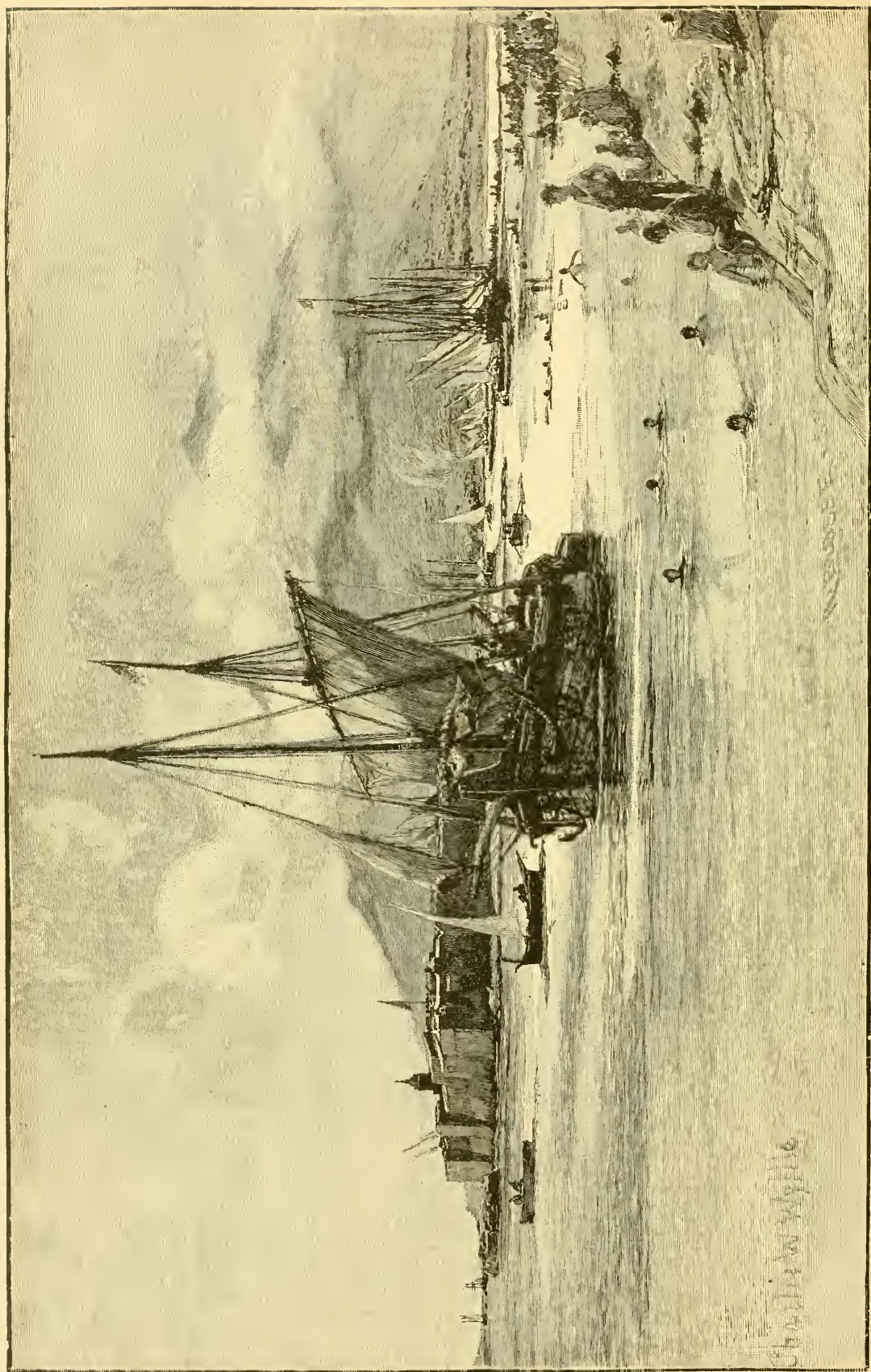
In the meantime the only serious ethnic shock which the Hellenic race had suffered was from the Gothic invasions, at the middle of the third century of our era. The walls of Athens were repaired, and the Isthmus refortified by the Athenians with a vigor which would have done credit to the old Attic race; but the barbarians came in with a flood, and Athens was taken by storm. It was, however, a short-lived triumph. Reinforcements were hurried from Italy, and in 269 A. D. the Goths were utterly overthrown in the battle of Naissus.

It is to this period that we must refer the incoming of Christianity. It is difficult to say precisely by what means the people were evangelized. The spread of the new religion seems to have been gradual and not accompanied with any phenomenal manifestations. It permeated at first the lower orders of society, and gradually worked its way up to the wealthy and philosophical classes. All this preceded the accession of Constan-

Ancient Europe transformed in the Middle Ages.

Historical vicissitudes of Greece and the Greek race.

Effects of Gothic invasion; Christianity prevails.



VIEW IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS.—SANTA MAURA.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

tine the Great. After that event the course of affairs in the Grecian peninsula ran with comparative smoothness until 361, when the country was disturbed by the attempt of Julian to restore paganism. Seventeen years afterwards Christianity was formally proclaimed as the religion of the empire by Theodosius. The Theodosian code was accepted at the close of this century—the fourth—by the Greeks, and may be regarded as the subsequent civil constitution of the Greek people.

The Hellenic race appears to have been peculiarly affected by the Christian religion, and it can not be doubted that no small infusion of new life and energy resulted from the supplanting of paganism. The social system was in large measure renovated. The Roman Christians brought over and enforced monogamy as the law of the state; and the Bosphorus was henceforth for several centuries the western limit of the polygamous practices of Asia.

It was during the period now under consideration, extending from 323 to 716 A. D., that the great barbarian invasions occurred, under the impact of which the Western empire of the Romans went down into night. In the reign of Arcadius, the first emperor of the East, Alaric, at the head of the Goths, set out for the conquest of Europe. But before beginning his wars in the West he ravaged the whole of Greece. In the middle of the following century Attila, with his Huns, desolated the country south of the Danube. He forced the Emperor Theodosius II to pay an annual tribute as the price of exemption. It is believed that in 475, before Theodoric the Great began his great march at the head of the Visigoths, he seriously con-

templated the conquest of Greece. The peninsular character of the country and its small extent saved it somewhat from the general deluge of barbarism which swept across the Danube and the Rhine, rolling into Western Europe. At times Bulgarian and Slavonic tribes pressed upon Northern Greece, to the great distress of the people. At one epoch the Servians and the Croats occupied Dal-

Monogamy enforced by the Christian teachers.

Greece affected by barbarian invasions.



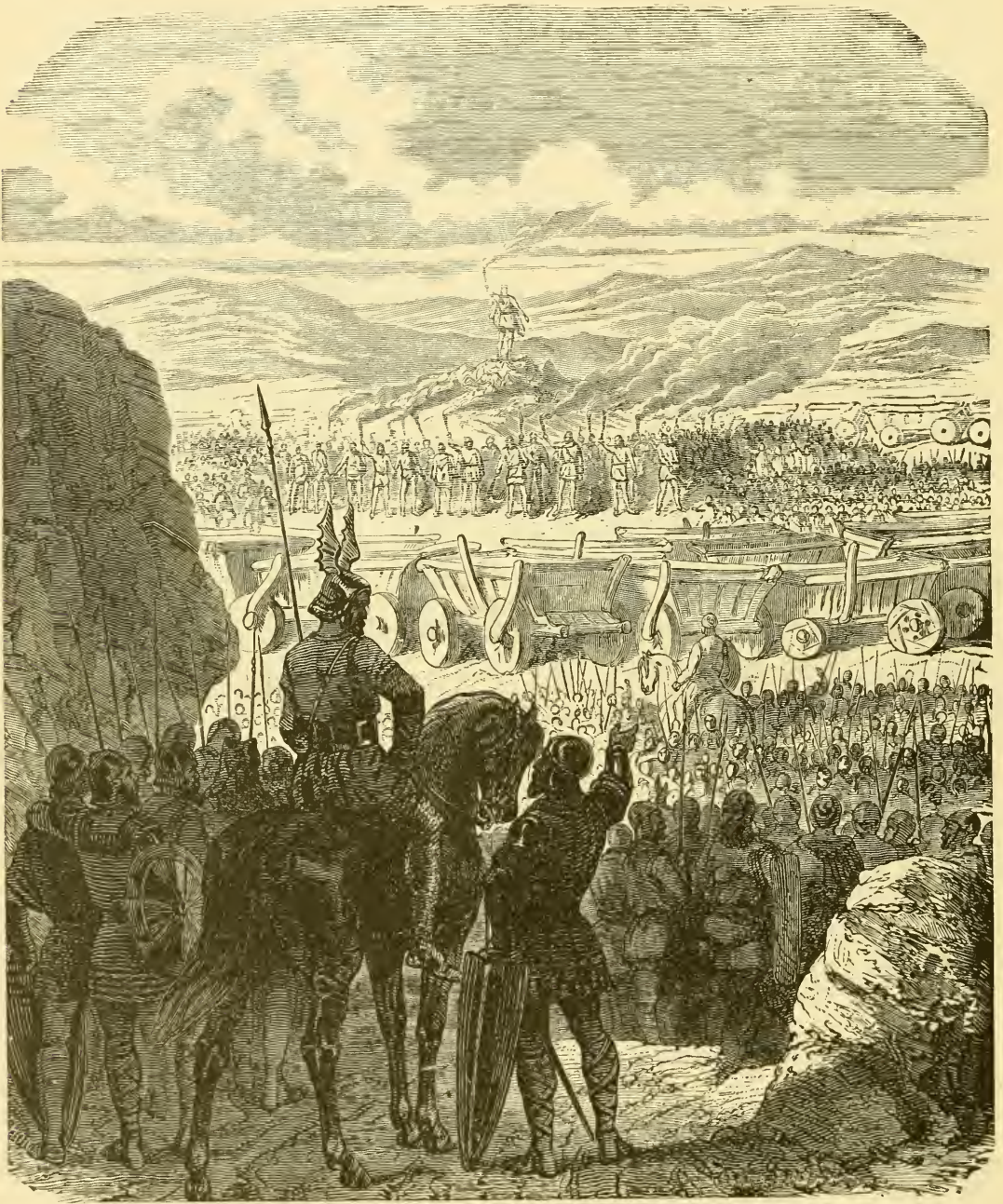
EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

matia and Illyricum. These people, however, had the agricultural instinct, quickly settled into permanency, and assented to dependency on the Eastern empire.

There were, however, in this long period of disturbance and tumult many short intervals of peace and comparative prosperity among the Hellenic populations. In the heart of the Dark Ages

the Eastern emperors continued to draw from Greece to their courts the little genius which the world still possessed.

flooded Central Europe. In course of time a new enemy appeared on the horizon. Islam became a specter on the side



ATTILA ON THE FUNERAL PYRE AFTER HIS OVERTHROW BY AETIUS.

The ancient ideal and intellectual supremacy of the Greek race did not wholly give place to the barbarism which had

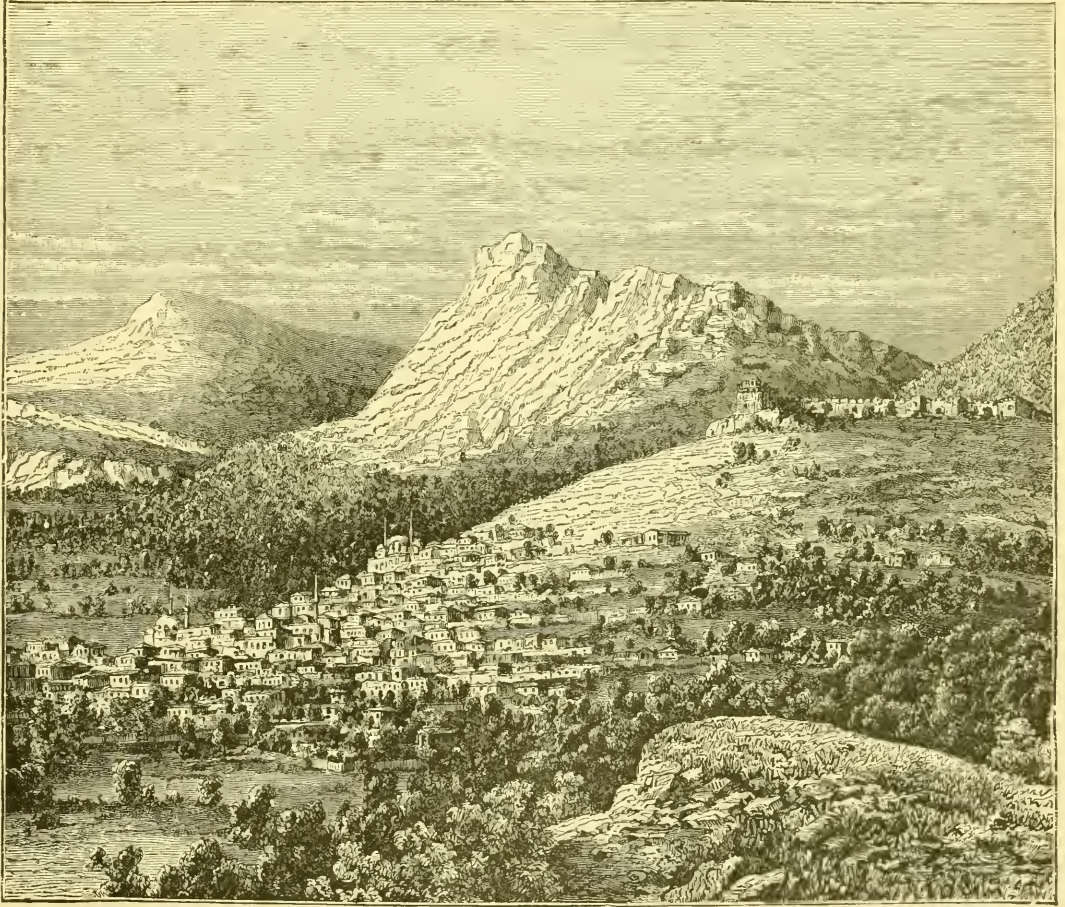
of Egypt and Asia Minor. But the religion of the desert was afraid of the water. The sea held the followers of the

Prophet at bay, and they beat up against the eastern limits of the Ægean until they found a strait narrow enough to afford an easy crossing into Europe. The student of history will not fail to note that Mohammedanism has attained its only two footholds in Europe by step-

Intervals of
repose; Islam
kept at bay by
the sea.

the Bosphorus prevailed. They crossed over to Europe. They encircled Constantinople. They beat about the walls until the terrified Constantine XIII gave up in despair, and the crescent was lifted above the dome of St. Sophia. Greece and the Greek race gave way

Extinction of
Eastern empire
and rise of the
crescent.



PINDUS MOUNTAINS.—VIEW OF TRIKHALI.—Drawn by A. Kohl.

ping over the Bosphorus and the straits of Gibraltar. The unaided eye easily reaches across either of these channels to the opposite shore. The Saracens of the Dark Ages would never have attempted the invasion of Europe if Asia Minor and Africa had not virtually touched the continent in the two places referred to.

In course of time the Turcomans on

under the impact, and Mohammedanism continued its spread to the borders of Russia on the north and Hungary on the west. It was the last of many foreign dominations which were to precede the emergence of the modern Greeks. Brunet de Presle, in his work on mediæval and modern Greece, has, on the title page, virtually summarized the vicissitudes through which the Hel-

lenic race passed from before the Christian era down to modern times. The work is entitled *Greece—Roman, Byzantine, Turk, and Regenerate*.

Greeks, the Albanians, and the Wallachians. Of the latter people, who are descended from a Latin stock, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Their

habitation is on the mountainous borders of North-western Greece, next to the modern kingdom of Roumania, from which, indeed, they have spread into the broken country of the Pindus. Until comparatively recent times they were a numerous and powerful group of half-civilized tribes, who as late as 1851 were estimated at fifty thousand. They speak not only their own tongue, the Valch, or Roumania, but also modern Greek. More recently they have for the most part become assimilated with the Greek race, and at present only a remnant of the Wallachian stock remains within



ALBANIAN PEASANTS OF GLOSSE—TYPES.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, after a sketch of H. Belle.

With the opening of the drama of modern history we discover in Greece three distinct races representative of her ancient people. These are the modern

Analysis of the present Greek populations.

the borders of what was ancient Greece. Our attention, therefore, for the present will be directed to the two greater peoples, the modern Greeks and the Albanians.

The Greeks speak a language derived from the ancient Attic. They claim a descent from the old Hellenic race, and the evidence of their speech, their features, their manners, and customs, all tend to the verification of the claim. It can not be denied, however, that in parts of the country the inhabitants appear to be the descendants of the Slavonians—who, under the influence of the Byzantine empire, were transformed into a Hellenic type—rather than ethnic representatives of the true Greeks of antiquity. Taking a general survey of the character and distribution of the three peoples of modern Greece, we find them manifestly the descendants, in general terms, of the three races by which the country was populated in antiquity. The Greeks are the offspring of an Attic and Doric ancestry. The Albanians are the representatives of the old Illyrian stock, and the Wallachians of the Thracians.

It may be thought fanciful thus to identify the three modern peoples with the three ancient races who held approximately the same territories, but the facts give warrant to the hypothesis. The extreme persistency of mankind in clinging to the soil, in growing fast, so to speak, in certain localities, and holding on through generations and centuries, must have been noticed by all who have given even casual attention to ethnographic and historical subjects. Nothing human can surpass the tenacity of a given people in clinging to its favorite territory. No shock or convulsion of the natural world, no catastrophe of war and conquest, no dreadful visitation of pestilence and famine can loosen the hold of a people upon the locality which it has chosen under the influence of

race instincts. True it is that in course of time the passion may come for migration, and the race will, under its influence, be as pertinacious in its disposition to move as it has hitherto been obstinate in holding to a given locality.

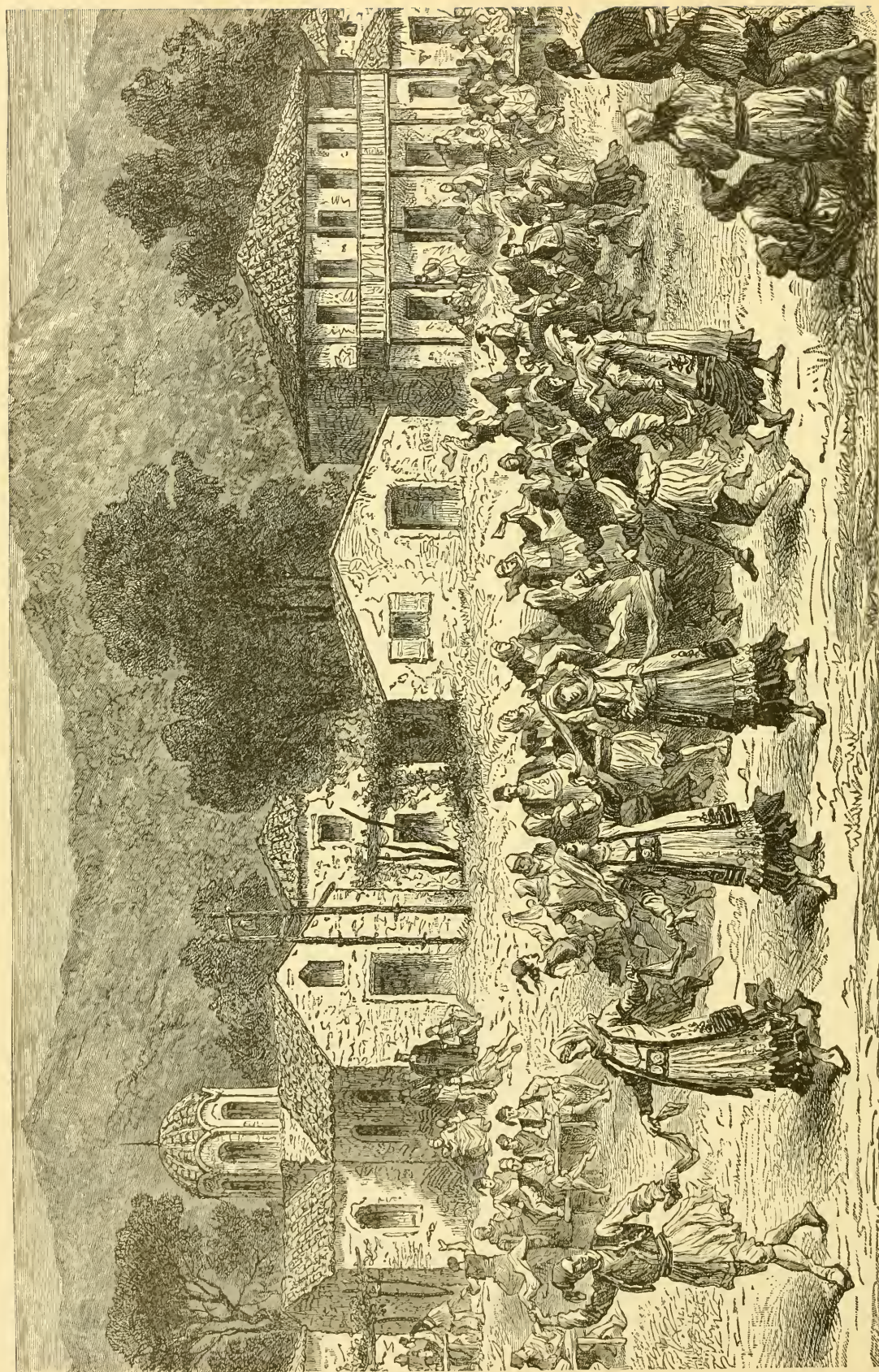
In observing the progress and dispersion of peoples into foreign parts we sometimes fail to consider the human residuum which is left behind. The adventurous part goes forth under some hope of betterment or love of vicissitude. But the unadventurous remains in the original seat, and the void is soon filled with new generations who have, by the force of heredity, more conservative instincts than those who have gone into foreign regions. If we take the case of a single family and observe its history, we shall find in the same an epitome of all that may be said of a tribe or of a people. It is a family, let us say, of a father and mother, six sons and four daughters. Two of the sons go abroad by adventure. A barbarian foray in the settlement results in the killing of the father and one son. One other son and two of the daughters are carried into captivity. But the remaining two sons and two daughters hold fast. In the very next generation the two sons head two families bearing the ancestral name, planting themselves within a mile of the paternal home, and the two daughters become by marriage the mothers in two other households not five miles away. In the course of three generations the lineal descendants of the original father number seventy, one half of whom bear the ancestral name, and all of whom are more ardently devoted to the locality than if disaster and death had never visited it.

So also of the tribe, and in a larger sense of the people. History is full of

Modern Greeks
the descendants
of the three an-
cient races.

The disposition
of races to hold
localities illus-
trated.

Persistency of
peoples in cling-
ing to localities.



MANNERS OF THE MODERN GREEKS.—FESTIVAL DANCE OF SAINT ANNA.—Drawn by F. Lix, after a sketch of H. Belle.

illustrations of a given race which has clung persistently from generation to generation to some unau-
Persistency of the race rem-
nant in holding
its place. spicious region, exposed to every hazard and hardship that imagination could picture or nature and man invent. It is from this point of view that we are able to understand how a residual element of the ancient Greek race in Attica and the neighboring states always continued in the favorite locality, always increasing and filling up the spaces vacated by war and disaster, always maintaining with less foreign admixture than we might suppose the original stock and character of the race.

Thus also in Illyria we may see the ancient frontiersmen and backwoodsmen of the Hellenic race, shaggy rustics of Epirus and Ætolia, persisting in their residence, leaving ever a residue of the original race in the original locality, surviving every wreck and invasion, until the ancient stock reappears at last, in modern times, in the Albanian race. The same thing has been going on in nearly all parts of the earth, preserving in some measure in every locality at least a certain percentage of its primitive population.

It may be said that the modern Greeks, as distinguished from the Albanians and Wallachians, have their center in the Peloponnesus. Laconia holds two of the most Grecian of all modern tribes. These are the Mainotes and the Tshakones, who speak a peculiar dialect of Greek and have little intercourse with their neighbors. The Mainotes have been celebrated for their personal beauty by all travelers who have visited Greece, even in the present century. The modern Greek girl of Laconia might well be mistaken for the Dorian maiden of the

heroic ages. During the long and disgraceful domination by the Turks, these Mainote descendants of the ancient race have virtually maintained their independence. For generations they have made their houses into keeps, from which they have defended themselves against the aggressions of their enemies. But the Greek race—the modern Greeks—extends into several of the central and northern states, and the capital, politically as well as socially, is Athens.

The principal inquiry with which the ethnographer and historian are concerned as it relates to the Greeks of to-day is to what extent they have pre-
To what extent
modern Greeks
preserve an-
cient traits. served the temper and characteristics of their great ancestry. On this point authorities are far from agreement. Contrary views have been strenuously maintained as though partisan prejudice were at the bottom of the difference of opinion. In the first place, it may be said that the modern Greeks have preserved to a great degree the quickness of perception and the alertness of activity of their ancestors. They appear to be fully as inquisitive, as eager to find out new things, as adroit as were the Greeks of the classical ages. They also have the same disposition to debate and to wrangle, even over trifles. In general, the eagerness of the people to learn, to extend and vary their information, is a predominant characteristic which, since the country was liberated—to a certain extent—from the tyranny of the Turks, has wrought wonderful results in the improvement of the Greek race.

Another characteristic which has been preserved is that cunning and subtlety, that finesse and stratagem for
Intellectual
qualities of old
Greeks repeated
in the moderns. which the old Greeks were proverbial in all time. No doubt this disposition has

been intensified by the oppression and cruelties to which the people have been subjected by their foreign masters. It has been noted, too, that the modern

Greek character an analogue of the French.

In person and physique the Greeks have preserved to a considerable extent the qualities of their ancestry. They are tall and well formed—not heavy

Physical characteristics of the modern Greeks.

like the Germans and other peoples of Western Europe, but sinewy, active. The face is oval, the nose long and arched, the eyes bright, and the expression animated. It is said that an obese person is rarely or never seen in Greece. In bodily movement, in erectness, in the elastic step, which is preserved even to the age of seventy, the Greek of to-day is the fitting representative of his Hellenic ancestry. In parts of Morea and in the islands of the Ægean these bodily characteristics are exhibited in the highest perfection, and he who wanders about at will through the streets of a town or along the highways in the country place will meet among the people many examples of a physical beauty and perfection so highly developed that, as one has said, they might have been used for models by Phidias.

In another respect the modern race is a perfect antitype of the original. The Old Greeks knew nothing of the morose, melancholy spirit, and their descendants have the same freedom from the down-cast mood and forbidding disposition. Either a certain instinct in the race, a certain innate optimism of character, preserves it from gloominess and grief, or else the climate and physical environment of Greece are such as to make moroseness and gloom impossible in the people inhabiting this peninsula and these islands. It was noted in ancient times that no Greek committed suicide, none became insane; and the same facts are present in the Greece of to-day. In-



MODERN GREEK TYPE—WOMAN OF MANTOUDI.

Drawn by E. Ronjat, after a sketch of H. Belle.

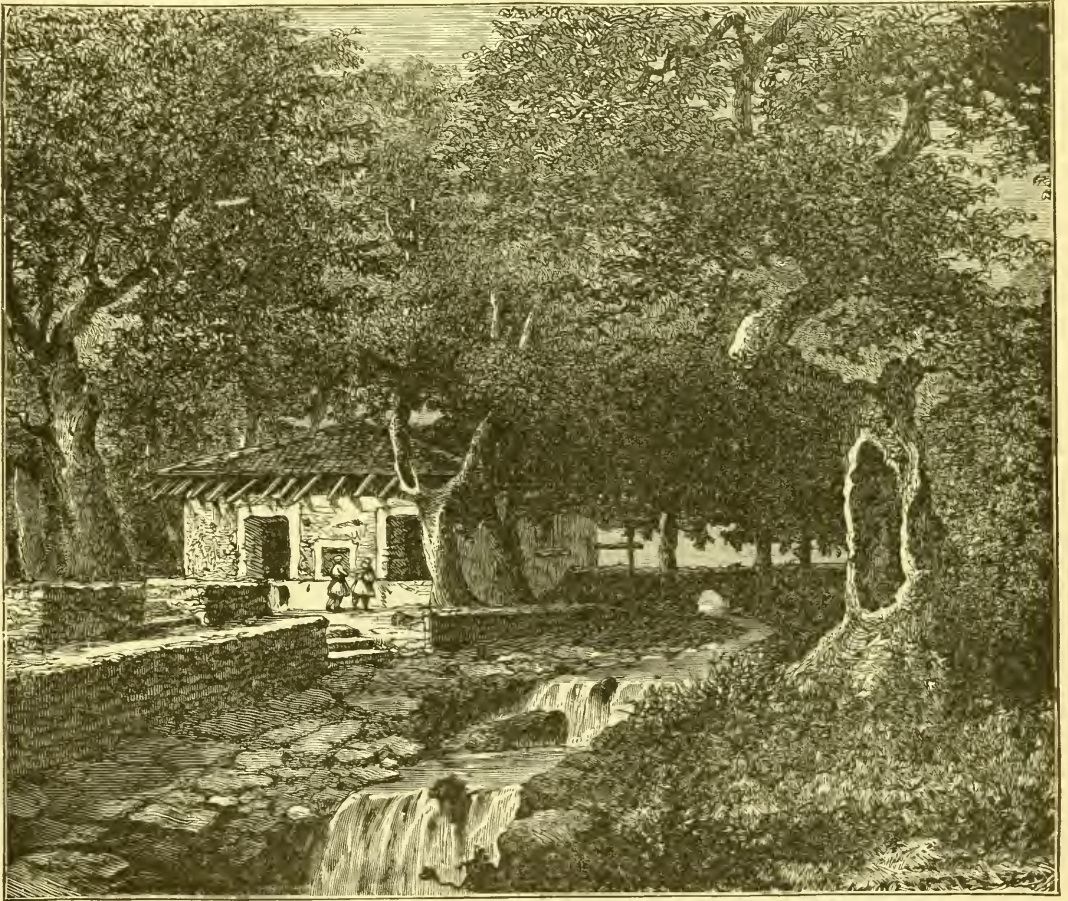
Greeks have, even in times of discouragement and disaster, that same reviving cheerfulness, that quick reaction of spirits for which their ancestors were noted, and which has made the modern

sanity is an unknown circumstance; and the reasons for living so far outweigh the reasons for dying that no one takes his own life.

Other cheering particulars may be cited in the character of the modern Greeks. They are the most temperate people of all Europe. In fact, inebriety is unknown in the country. Wine is

Temperance and
chastity of the
people.

In still another respect modern Greek life is to be commended in the highest degree. Chastity is wellnigh universal. There is no other Christian country in which the sexual relation is guarded by so high a sentiment as in Greece. The institution of marriage appears to be afflicted with but few of the evils which attend it in most of the Western countries. In the states of Europe generally



GREEK HOME NEAR MANTOUDI.—Drawn by H. Clerget, after a sketch of H. Belle.

produced in large quantities not only for export but for home consumption; but no Greek drinks to drunkenness. Excess in food is equally unknown. The few exceptions emphasize the law of sobriety. Even in the few instances where the drunken habit is discovered it is almost invariably found among foreigners.

the percentage of illegitimate birth ranges from three to twenty-two. In Greece the highest rate is one and four tenths per cent. This peculiarly cheering fact in Greek society appears, moreover, to be the result of a certain native instinct and preference, a certain disposition to hold sacred the relation between the

sexes, rather than any enforced discipline of law, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

The two prevailing sentiments with

tachment to their country the Greeks are unrivaled among modern peoples—unless it should be in France. The love for the particular locality where the



AN ARCADIAN DEPUTY—TYPE.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

Greek peasant has his home, his readiness to expose his life in its defense, his zeal in maintaining the interests of his native place, are among the most conspicuous traits of the national character. The love of liberty takes the same democratic form which it had in ancient times. The Greeks seek to be free by being equal. No other people feel so deep an antagonism to artificial distinctions of society as do the Greeks. They will not allow the growth of any class distinctions. They resent with bitterness and violence any assumption of superiority, whether such assumption proceed from wealth, from aris-

the modern Greeks are patriotism and the love of freedom. Both of these feelings amount to passions, and both have manifestly been inherited from the ancient ancestry of the race. In patriotic at-

toeracy of birth, or any other circumstance. They are exceedingly jealous of even the temporary preëminence of those in office, and are willing that the offices,

Prevailing patriotism and democracy of the modern Greeks.

aye, the crown itself, shall be held by foreigners rather than admit the superiority of any one Greek over his fellows. It is, so far as its instincts are concerned, altogether the most democratic society in Europe or the world.

The intellectual hunger of the Greeks has found expression in institutional forms and usages. The Hunger of the race for the discipline of schools. disposition to educate is universal. The higher institutions of learning are patronized by the state and enthusiastically supported by the people. There is nothing fictitious about the popular eagerness to attain intellectual development. Modern Greek boys will undergo every discomfort and hardship in order to attend school. No public excitement can distract the attention of the students of the university from their attendance upon recitations and lectures. During the revolution of 1863, when the public mind was in a violent turmoil, when insurrection showed itself on every hand, the young men in attendance on the University of Athens came daily to their classes with the arms of the National Guard in their hands. The hunger for education is felt even by the lowest classes. Servants are seen with books in their hands. Greek stable boys and scullions, in the intervals of their dirty work, study their letters and learn to read and cipher. It is too early as yet to estimate the results which may be presently expected to flow from these dispositions in the people, but the laws of nature and history must be reversed, or at least fatally impeded in their normal action, if a great intellectual career does not open before this people.

During the present century the modern Greeks have given the strongest proof of a national spirit and of their willingness to achieve independence at

whatever cost of life and treasure. It is not purposed to recount here the heroic struggle which continued Proof of national spirit in the struggle for freedom. from 1821 to 1829, resulting in the unseating of the Ottoman Turk from his shameful domination in Greece. The story is sufficiently inspiring. The Greek literature of the period has embalmed it, and the philhellenic spirit among all nations has attested the far-reaching sympathy which the struggle has inspired. It is a history which can hardly be eclipsed by incidental accusations and criticisms brought against the Greeks by those poorly qualified to appreciate their virtues or to pass judgment on their vices.

It can not be truthfully denied that a certain subtlety of character peculiar to the ancient Greeks has been transmitted to modern times, and that Survival of ancient subtlety; lack of artistic genius. the old spirit of stratagem and even dishonesty may be discovered in the modern representatives of the Hellenic race, but along with these faults we must recognize and admire the greatness and valor of the people.

We may here pause to point out briefly one or two strange contrarieties presented in recent ethnic history. Though the modern Greeks have preserved to a considerable degree the intellectual acumen of their ancestors, they have failed to perpetuate or repeat its artistic faculties and achievements. The purely intellectual perceptions appear to be as keen in the Greek race of the present time as they were in the ancient stock; but the ideal and imaginative faculties have disappeared in the coldness and gloom of the Middle Ages.

We shall hereafter see in the Roman race exactly the opposite tendency. While the Romans were themselves an unartistic people, unable at the first to



WOMEN OF MEGARA—TYPES.—Drawn by A. Rixen, from a photograph and sketch of H. Belle.

appreciate and always unable to produce in any high degree, except by imitation, the artistic wonders which grew from the Greek mind as the blossom from the stem, the modern Romans—the Italians—have become the most art-producing people of all Europe. In music, in poetry, in painting, and in sculpture the mediæval Italians led the way; and to the present time their claim to the first rank in some of these particulars can hardly be controverted. Thus while in Italy an unartistic ancestry has produced an artistic race, in the Grecian peninsula the most artistic people of the ancient world have left as their descendants a people from whose intellects and imaginations the ideal and creative faculties seem to have disappeared.

The spirit of public affairs is abroad in modern Greece. Questions of public policy are debated with energy that might well remind one of the disputatious habits of the ancient people. At the present time, as of old, what is public business is the business of every Greek. Much of this interest—an intelligent interest withal—is to be traced to the admiration of the modern Greeks for their ancestors. We might well pause to note the difference of the backward look among the diverse peoples of the modern era. Most of them, all indeed who have a Teutonic ancestry, look back to barbarian beginnings and to a slow, laborious, and violent emergence, by painful stages, from a primitive savagery. Among the Latin races of the present time there is little of the admiring gaze for the great Roman race from which they are descended. The French, for instance, perceive clearly enough the peculiar vices—the arrogance, the haughtiness, the willful indifference to

human rights, the spoliating spirit, the arbitrary principles of government—which were present in the society of ancient Rome; and they are little dis-



WOMAN OF LALA—TYPE.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

posed to court a revival of such elements in modern times. But the Greeks look back with indescribable pride to that great intellectual, artistic, warlike an-

cestry whose deeds and fame shine afar beyond the obscurity and darkness of the mediæval night. They would emulate the deeds of their ancestors. They would achieve greatness by the same means as they, and naturally choose the same methods of reaching preëminence as did the Greeks of old.

There has been within the present half-century a rapid approximation of the Greek to the form and manner of his kinspeople in Western Europe. His semi-Oriental costume has given place to a habit like that of Germany and France. His manners have been translated into the European mood and tense. He still retains the unreformed calendar, and is therefore behind the Western nations by some twelve days in his computation of time. In his social system there is still a confluence of methods from the East and the West. Monogamy is the law, and is adhered to, as we have seen, both in letter and spirit.

In case of the death of the wife the Greek husband may remarry a second and a third time; not a fourth. Greek girls are marriageable at thirteen years of age, and the young men at sixteen. The marriage is arranged by the parents of the parties. These latter features are Oriental, as is also that rule which requires the bride to bring a dowry in the form of a house or furniture or money to the groom. Among the peasants it is not infrequently the case that unmarried girls wear their whole dowry in the form of a headdress, containing many pieces of money—this to the end that the prospective husband may know his

estate! Early marriage is prevalent. As a rule, the relation is contracted in youth. Greece is the only European country in which the males are in excess of the females; and this circumstance has doubtless contributed to stimulate the marrying disposition of the people.

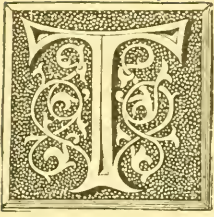
During the great revolution with which the first quarter of the century closed the population of Greece was much reduced and scattered. The brutality and vindictiveness of the Turks acted as a scourge worse than the combined devastation of famine and pestilence. On the coming forth of the Greeks to independence they numbered only about six hundred and twelve thousand. The census of 1879 showed a population of one million six hundred and seventy-nine thousand, being an average of eighty-four to the square mile. The most densely peopled part of the country is the Ionian islands, where the average rises to two hundred and twenty-nine to the square mile. Continental Greece is the most thinly populated of any European country, with the exception of Russia and Sweden. But the rate is rapidly increasing, and the total has been doubled since 1832. Greece contains no city of the first class. The population of Athens is but little over sixty thousand. Patras has twenty-six thousand; Corfu, twenty-four thousand; Syra, twenty-one thousand; and Zante, twenty thousand. The odd disparity between the number of men and women is seen in all parts of the country. Nor have ethnologists as yet been able to explain a fact so unusual in a country so long inhabited.

Approximation
of Greek habit
to that of West-
ern Europe.

Number and dis-
tribution of the
inhabitants; the
Greek cities.

Marriage and
marriageability;
excess of male
population.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE ALBANIANS.



THE second ethnic division of the peoples in modern Greece is the Albanians. They are known in the vernacular as Skipetars, or Arnauts, meaning mountaineers, or highlanders. As we have said, Albania Proper is nearly coincident with the ancient Greek country of Illyria. But the Albanian race is by no means limited to this region. On the contrary, it has extended over Attica and Megaris, with the exception of the capital cities. The greater part of Bœotia, a considerable district of Locris, and the southern half of Eubœa are also inhabited by Albanians. Parts of Ægina and Andros and the islands of Salamis, Paros, Hydra, and Spezzia have the same stock; and in Argolis, Sicyonia, Arcadia, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis settlements of Albanians are found here and there.

Albanians the descendants of the ancient Illyrians.

Derivation of the language; prevalence of the Greek tongue.

The people have a language of their own, which is an Aryan dialect, traceable no doubt to that ancient form of Greek which was spoken in Illyria at the time of the Hellenic ascendancy. But nearly all the Albanians outside of their own country have learned Greek, and at the same time, to a considerable extent, neglected and forgotten their native language. Indeed, it is claimed that in Greece Proper there were in 1870 only about thirty-seven thousand of the Albanian race who had not adopted the Greek tongue. They have also become members of the Greek Church. In Albania Proper, Mohammédanism is the

prevalent religion, though the Greek orthodox faith is acknowledged and permitted.

We are able to trace with tolerable certainty the long series of historical transformations by which the ancient Epirotes, Illyrians, and Macedonians

Historical transformation of ancients into Albanians.

were reborn during the Middle Ages into the modern Albanian race. We have seen in a preceding chapter something of the character and dispositions of the tribes inhabiting this region. Their greatest nationality was achieved under the Macedonian supremacy. After the decline of Macedonia and the resolution of the nation into petty states, the old instincts revived—the instincts of war and independence. In course of time the Gauls and Bulgarians began to press upon Greece, and the Greek race in its entirety was threatened with extinction by the barbarians. Now it was, however, that the Illyrians and men of Epirus constituted a breakwater against the floods. For a long time they maintained a defensive attitude against the Teutonic and Slavonic races on the north and west. At length the Mohammedans came in from the East, and the people whom we may now call Albanians had to face about and defend themselves against Islam. The Turks made little headway against this resolute enemy. A popular leader appeared in the celebrated George Castriota, whom the Turks called Scanderbeg. Time and again Mohammed II, after his conquest of Constantinople, set his armies against the Albanians, only to suffer defeat at their hands. After vainly trying to subjugate them, he acknowledged

their independence by formal treaty, until after the death of Scanderbeg, when the war was renewed.

In 1478 Scutari was besieged by the



GREEK PRIEST.

Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

Turks, and the struggle ended adversely to the Albanians. But the mountaineers never truly accepted the domination of the Turks. The latter were obliged to hire the Albanian soldiers to serve in

the army of the sultan, and to excite their natural love of booty with the prospect of plunder in foreign wars. During the Ottoman ascendancy the Albanians remained in dependence upon the Mohammedan empire. But no sooner did that power begin to decline than the old spirit revived among the tribes of Macedonia and Illyria, and under the leadership of the renowned Ali Pasha, Albania, at the close of the eighteenth century, regained her rank and became almost an independent kingdom. The fame of this war and of its audacious leader gave subsequent character to the race. The Albanians were ever afterwards inflamed with the recollections of their struggle and victories, and Ali Pasha entered into the war songs of the country as a national hero.

Historical vicissitudes of Albanians from fifteenth century.

During the whole career of the Albanian race after the Mohammedan conquest, at the close of the fifteenth century, it has been subjected to the action of

The race wavers between the Greeks and the Turcomans.

counter forces, some of which have drawn the people toward the Turks and others toward the Greeks. By race instinct they have sympathized with the Greeks, but their religious faith has kept them in alliance with Turkey. In the western part of Albania, particularly in the region of the Suli mountains, the Greek Church has maintained its place; and the Albanians, who are scattered in the states of Central and Southern Greece, are generally adherents of that Church. All such have sympathized with the movements of the modern Greeks in the direction of nationality. But the Macedonian Albanians have been kept under the sway of the Porte.

It was this condition of affairs that gave opportunity to Ali Pasha to play



SULIOTES—TYPES.—Drawn by A. Rixen.

double with the Turkish power during his whole career. It was the same circumstance which prevented

Albanians fail to uphold the cause of the Greeks.

the Albanians from entering heartily into the cause of Greek independence. If they had flung themselves with enthusiasm into the great rebellion of 1821, and if the Greeks had received them in the same spirit, there can be little doubt that the whole country would have been emancipated from Turkish rule. But the religious hatreds existing between the two races prevented any such union, and the Albanians either stood aloof from the contest or else made cause with the Turks.

The Suliotes, however, who had already suffered at the hands of Ali Pasha, and had long endured the tyranny of the Turks, took up the cause of Greece.

Patriotic sympathies and valor of the Suliotes.

Had they been sufficiently advanced to submit cheerfully to the subordination required under military discipline, very effective work might have been expected at their hands. As it was, they, in common with the other Greeks, gained a great military fame throughout Western Europe. Under the leadership of Marcos Bozzaris, they first resisted the armies of Ali Pasha with a heroism worthy of the ancient race; and afterwards, in 1820, joining their forces with his in Epirus, they obtained the restoration of their mountain region, and then served in Western Greece against the Turks. In 1822 the Suliote army was decimated in their terrible attack on the stronghold of Kiapha, from which they attempted to liberate the Suliote garrison shut up therein. Bozzaris then led his countrymen into Missolonghi, where he continued to fight like a Greek hero of the epic age, until he was finally slain, as all the world knows, in a night attack on

the Turkish camp. Lord Byron has not failed to catch the military spirit of the race in one of his Greek war songs:

"Oh! who is more brave than a dark Suliote,
In his snowy camese and his shaggy capote?
To the wolf and the vulture he leaves his wild flock,
And descends to the plain like the stream from the rock."

The Albanians proper number about one million two hundred thousand souls.

In this aggregate are included such Greeks and Turks as have settled in

Number of Albanians; division on score of religion.

Macedonia, Epirus, and Illyria. More than one half of the population are Mohammedans, less than a half Greek Catholics. It is claimed, however, that the whole body of people sympathize with the Greek Church, and that the acceptance of Islam is traceable to interested motives. The males in each family go to the mosque to worship, but the women nearly all attend the church. Both religions are represented in the same household and at the same table. It frequently happens that dishes are served on the family table which are unclean to the Islamites but clean to the Christians. The wife will thus be seen helping herself to food which the husband and sons are forbidden to touch.

It is believed, however, that these differences are factitious, and are maintained only for political reasons. Doubtless the subtlety of the Greek race has

Subtlety of old Greek character revives in Albanians.

contrived in such a situation much deception and insincerity. And it may well be believed that the men are more infidel than are the women, judged by the standard of Islam. From these circumstances the Albanians have never stood well with their masters. They are distrusted of infidelity and disloyalty to the Porte. The Turks have no confidence



ALBANIAN BRIGANDS.—Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

in the sincerity or devotion of their Albanian subjects, and have become accustomed to speak of them in terms of contempt. The character which the Albanians maintain toward their masters is the exact counterpart of the disposition of the ancient Greeks in like circumstances. The craft and deceptive exploits of the old race are reproduced in the duplicity and treachery of their modern descendants. It must be remembered, however, that these qualities of character do not involve the same turpitude when employed against the Turks as when exhibited in the conduct of Western peoples in their intercourse with each other. And it must also be borne in mind that the Albanians are much more open and frank than are the modern Greeks.

There is, perhaps, no place in Europe where so much lawlessness or individual license exists as in the mountainous districts of Albania. The community is less organized than any other west of the Black sea. The people are divided into bands resembling somewhat the clans of the Scottish highlands. It is said to be the exception to find an adult Albanian who is not, or has not been, a member of some group of self-governed brigands, whose chief energies are given to foray and plunder. The Albanians go full armed even to their daily pursuits. In the mountainous regions of Thessaly and Macedonia the chief protection of the family is the personal valor of the men. It is not regarded as disgraceful to lead the life of brigandage. As the men grow old and are not sufficiently active for good service in excursive lawlessness they become settled with their families, and it is their manner to speak to travelers—not without some show of pride—of the various haz-

ards and incidents of their former life. In such conversation the Albanian hero will say without blush that this or that happened “when I was a robber.”

The lawless pursuit of plundering is not disparaged in comparison with other vocations. The modern Albanian shares the indisposition of the old Greek to cultivate the soil. He is disposed to remand that work to slaves and menials while he goes forth into peril and adventure. The type of courage for which the Albanians are so famous throughout Europe is Greek in every feature. No one understands this better than the Turks. They accordingly recruit their armies as much as possible from the hill-country of Macedonia and Illyria. Whenever the robber class is overstocked the Albanians drift from brigandage into the pasha's army, and no other class of the Turkish soldiery is so much esteemed for valor and activity in the field. It was this element in the Turkish army during the Crimean war that called forth the admiration and almost the emulation of the British and French soldiers who were their allies against the Russians. The Zouave uniform and method of drill which have become popular in several parts of Europe and America are largely Albanian in their origin.

The city population of Albania is not great. Scutari, the capital, situated on the lake of the same name, has about forty thousand inhabitants. Priserend is the principal manufacturing city. It is here that the firearms and cutlery used by the Albanians for domestic and warlike purposes are made. Commerce is not much encouraged. Most of the merchants of the country are Greeks, who have inherited the commercial

License and
brigandage of
the Albanians.

Value of the Al-
banians as sol-
diers of the
Porte.

Industrial and
commercial life;
products and
clothing.

spirit from their ancestors. The exports are almost exclusively unmanufactured products—cattle, sheep, provisions, silk, rawhides, drugs, dyestuffs, salted meats, and valonia, the last named being the acorn cups from the valonia oaks, from which the tannic acid of commerce is manufactured. Olives, grapes, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, mulberries, and figs are produced for home consumption. Oil, tobacco, and cotton are exported in considerable quantities. The timberless islands of the Mediterranean are supplied with building materials from the forests of Albania. The imports are mostly such fabrics as are needed for clothing. A large part of the coarser, cheaper manufactures of Germany are distributed in this region. The most active domestic trade is in firearms, cutlery, gunpowder, hardware, coffee, and sugar. The national outer garment for the men is called the capote, and this is a product of home manufacture, as well as most of the firearms and cutlery.

The costume of the Albanians is one of the most picturesque of modern times.

**Picturesqueness
of the Albanian
costumes.**

It is in close analogy with that of the Highlanders of Scotland. The undergarment is a cotton shirt. Over this is a white woolen kilt which reaches to the knees; above this, a jacket. The waist is bound with a sash, or belt, in which is distributed a plentiful supply of pistols, yataghans, etc. The leggings are colored. The feet are protected with sandals. The red cap, known as the Turkish cap, is worn, and about this is generally twisted a red scarf or light shawl. The garment of the chieftain is distinguished from that of the common people by elegance of material and ornamentation. The jackets of the wealthy are made of velvet, and are embroidered

with gold. Military officers and other great men have metal greaves over their leggings, and the latter are made of scarlet cloth. The outer garment, for



ROMJAT.

ALBANIAN TYPE—ALEXANDROS SLAVROS.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

protection against rain and snow, is the capote, a rough, shaggy mantle, with a hood to be drawn over the head. It is made of coarse woolen cloth or of horsehair woven into fabric. The general style of female dress is like that of the men, but is more varied, and frequently

fantastical in fashion. We have already mentioned a custom among the Greek peasant girls of wearing their dowry of gold coins in their cap, or headdress. This usage also holds among the Albanians. The hair is abundant and is allowed to hang down the back in heavy braids, which are loaded with ornaments.

The person and bearing of the Albanians is sufficiently striking. They are

Personal bearing
and manners;
onset in battle.

of middle height. They have the oval, Greek face. The eyes are dark and brilliant. The cheek bones high and prominent. The neck is peculiarly long and the chest broad and full. The air, the manner, is haughty in the extreme. The carriage is erect and majestic—the walk almost stagelike in its majesty and striding vigor. The disposition is almost wholly Greek. The Albanians are never, as the Turks, dark-spirited, silent, grave, and plotting. On the contrary, they are gay, lively, joyful in manner, open, and active.

The natural disposition is one of restlessness. Excitement is the mental food of the people, and danger the salt of every action and enterprise. The courage, adventure, and daring of the men amount to fierceness. The charge of the Suliotes, even the attack of a band of Albanian brigands, is like the oncoming of a storm. Few things merely human can stand in the wind of the onset. Perhaps in persistency of battle the race is not as conspicuous as it is in the first attack—the wild charge which is intended to carry the field as a blast sent forth. The Albanian soldiers are such as the French might be turned wild in the mountains of the East.

In several of their traits, however, the Albanians appear to have been influenced by the Turks. Notable among these dispositions is their contemptuous opin-

ion of women. All Mohammedans hold virtually that the woman is only a convenient circumstance of man's life, made for his pleasure, associated with him as it were incidentally, subject to his will, obedient to his commands. These opinions have been impressed upon the Albanians during their nearly four hundred years of subjection to the Turks. They look upon women as an inferior order of creatures, even as animals; and the treatment which they extend to their wives and daughters is like the sentiment from which it proceeds. The women are abused, exposed to hardship, compelled to toil, reduced to a menial state, and held, indeed, as the followers of the Prophet are wont to hold the woman. Much slavish labor is put off by the Albanian men upon the women, and they are held to the performance of many tasks, both indoors and out, from which the women of Western Europe are generally spared. In one respect, however, their life is freer than that of their sisters among the Turks; they are not obliged to seclude themselves or veil their faces according to the Mohammedan habit.

Contemptuous
estimate and
abuse of woman.

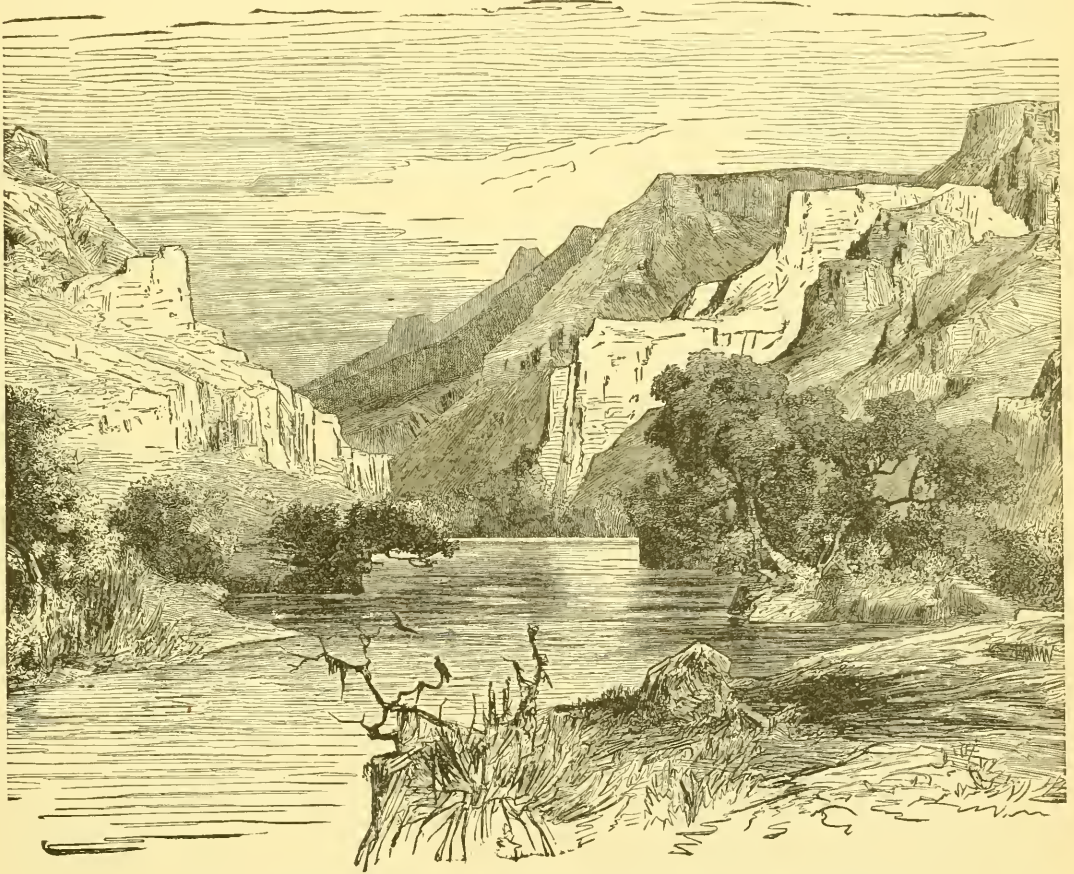
The Albanian language is unmistakably the modern expression of the Græco-Illyrian tongue of antiquity. Its radical part is as old as the speech of those

Genealogy and
modifications of
the Albanian
tongue.

Hellenic tribes that contributed the first population to the Grecian peninsula. Should we look still further we should find that this Illyrian tongue of antiquity had its own root in Æolic Greek, that coarse, barbaric form of speech which the first Hellenes brought with them islandwise across the Ægean from their native seats in Phrygia. But the Illyrian dialect as it was spoken in the days of Alexander, the days of Pyrrhus.

the days of Philip V, was destined to suffer many vicissitudes before it should reach its modern development. It must feel the impact of barbarian languages, notably the Bulgarian. Afterwards it must be infected with Slavonic influences on the north. It must feel the effects of constant intercourse with the Greek race on the south. Finally it must be domi-

tions as to make it a tongue *sui generis* even among the peculiarly composite speeches of Eastern Europe. Nor has the Albanian language as yet expanded and exhibited its powers in any extensive native literature. A few authors have within the present century risen to some note, but the greater part of the intellectual culture of the country is



VALE OF TEMPE, WITH OLYMPUS AND THE PENEIOS.—Drawn by L. H. Fischer.

nated by the language of the Ottoman Turks.

From all these foreign elements, to say nothing of incidental importations from the great nations of the West, the Albanian of to-day has gathered its forms. Essentially Aryan, specifically Greek, it has taken, somewhat after the English manner, so many alien infec-

assimilated with that of the modern Greeks, and nearly all writers learn and employ the Greek language as their vehicle of literary expression. In writing Albanian both alphabets, the Latin and the Greek, are used, the former being most employed in those works which are translated from foreign literatures, such as the New Testament and other religious books; while the vernacular pro-

Meagerness of
the literary de-
velopment of
the Albanians.

ductions are generally written in the Greek character.

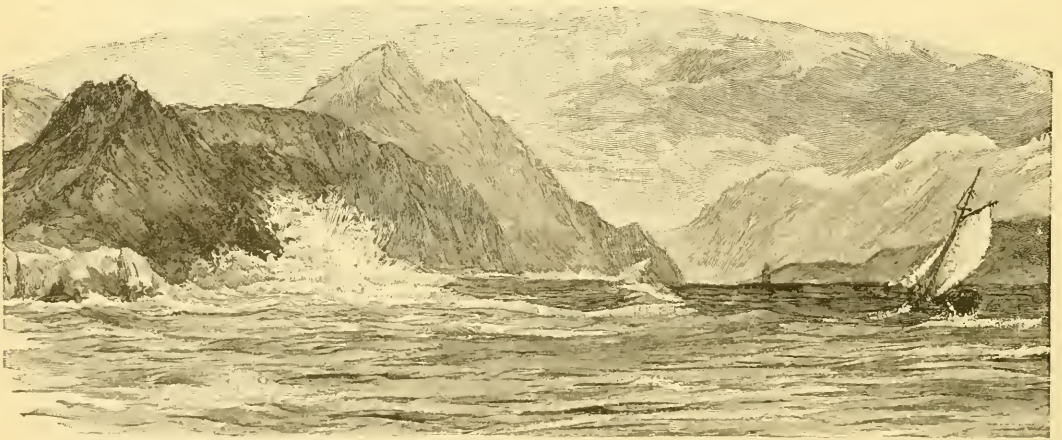
We have thus arrived at the point from which we are for the first time able to look back over the whole extent of one division of the Aryan race. This is to say that the modern Greeks and the Albanians are at *the end of the twigs* of the first branch of the Aryan tree which we have been considering. The great question for historians and ethnologists, for students of these profound sciences, is to note and record the peculiar race characteristics which these modern peoples have derived from the original stock. We may summarize the subject thus: that this branch of Aryan life extended, in the prehistoric ages, from its origin in the Bactrian highlands westward across Mesopotamia, through Armenia, into Cappadocia and Phrygia, where it received its first historical development in ages far remote. Thence by migration certain wandering tribes set out for the West, and crossed the Upper Ægean into Thrace, veered southward into Macedonia and Thessaly, and continued its progress into Illyria and Epirus. Perhaps this first incoming was antecedent

Greeks and Albanians represent extreme of Aryan evolution.

to the Æolic Greeks who came by the same route into the peninsula.

The old Illyrian stock was thus planted in the countries north of Greece Proper. This stock gave us in course of time the Macedonian ascendancy. It passed at length under the dominion of the Roman race. After some centuries it was infested with barbarism from the north. After another great span it submitted to the Turco-Islamite domination from the East. With the decline of that power the old race revived, reasserted itself, represented itself in the character of the modern Albanians.

Meanwhile the same process had been going on in Greece. The course of ethnic events in that country we have already pointed out. Thus we have presented for our consideration the modern Greek and Albanian races as the representatives of the first division of the old Aryan family of mankind. We shall, in the next place, transfer our station from the Grecian peninsula into Italy, and in like manner watch the development of the Roman race to its complete efflorescence in the modern peoples now representing that tremendous human evolution.





BOOK VIII.—THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER LV.—THE ETRUSCANS.



RACE condition very similar to that which has been described in the chapter on the aborigines of Hellas was present in primitive Italy. Before the

incoming of the first Indo-European inhabitants into that peninsula two or three primitive races had already occupied the country. One of these, called the Iapygians, occupied the southern portion of the land, and thus formed a sort of substratum for the subsequent Græco-Italic development in that region. But a more important and interesting branch of mankind had taken possession of North and Central Italy and spread itself from sea to sea. It was here that the Etruscan family had possessed the country and built cities therein long anterior to the coming of the Latins.

The Etruscans of Italy were not in the earliest times limited to the country west of the Apennines, as they were

after the planting of Rome. They were established on both slopes of the mountains, spreading down on the east to the Po, and on the west from the Tiber to the Arno. They thus occupied one of the most important districts in the peninsula. Subsequently, they were displaced from their eastern positions by the mountain tribes contemporaneous with the primitive Latins, and were narrowed to the limits of what was afterward the classical state of Etruria. Here it was that the development of the Etruscans took place, and from this point of view we gather the fragmentary and uncertain remains of their civilization.

Parts of Italy occupied by the Etruscan race.

There is perhaps no ethnic problem involved in greater obscurity than that which relates to the origin of the Etruscans. Five or six theories have been plausibly supported by different schools in history and archæology. Though the Etruscans left many inscriptions, the

Great difficulty of determining race descent of the Etruscans.

determination of their alphabet and language has been beset with great difficulties. Not until 1841 did the scholar Lepsius finally ascertain the character of the Etruscan letters. The alphabet appears to have been deduced from a Græco-Chalcidian original, which in some manner had been transmitted to the western coast of Italy. It consists of nineteen letters, as follows:

Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ, Λ, Μ, Ν, Ξ, Ο, Π, Ρ, Σ, Τ, Υ, Φ, Χ, Ψ.

ETRUSCAN ALPHABET.

This alphabet, it will be noted, has a striking peculiarity in the omission of the middle mutes *b*, *d*, and *g*. It has been noted also that the vowel *o* never occurs in the original inscriptions of Etruria.

On the whole, and as a summary of the best that is known relative to the ethnic origin of the Etruscans, it may be said that they were of the same original stock with the Pelasgi, or primitive people of Greece. It is likely that in the migratory age, long anterior to the first appearance of Indo-European peoples in the West, the two races, Etruscan and Pelasgian, parted company in Thessaly, the latter making its way southward into Hellas and the Ægean islands, and the former, under dominion of the original migratory impulse, passing to the westward above the Adriatic, dropped into Upper Italy, where the mountains on the north and the sea on the west prevented further progress.

It appears that the true race name of this people is RAS, to which the Latin gentile termination *enncæ* has been affixed. They were the Rasennæ. But this ethnic designation is less common than several others. In the epic poets the people were generally designated as Tyrrheni,

or Tyrseni, the latter being the name given to them by the Greeks. The common prose title used by the Roman writers was Tusci, or Etrusci, and the

Old names of the Etruscans; their territories.

latter term has passed into the literature of modern times as the common name of the people. The territory in which they lived after the founding of Rome was clearly defined. It was in general

the region bounded on the south by the Tiber, on the east by the Apennines, and on the west by the sea. The upper limit of the

country was parallel with the Arno, but further north by a distance of about fifty miles. The region was one of the most interesting in all Italy, and has carried its importance into modern times.

As in the case of the Egyptian monuments, the inscriptions and sculptures of the Etruscans have fortunately preserved the form and features of the

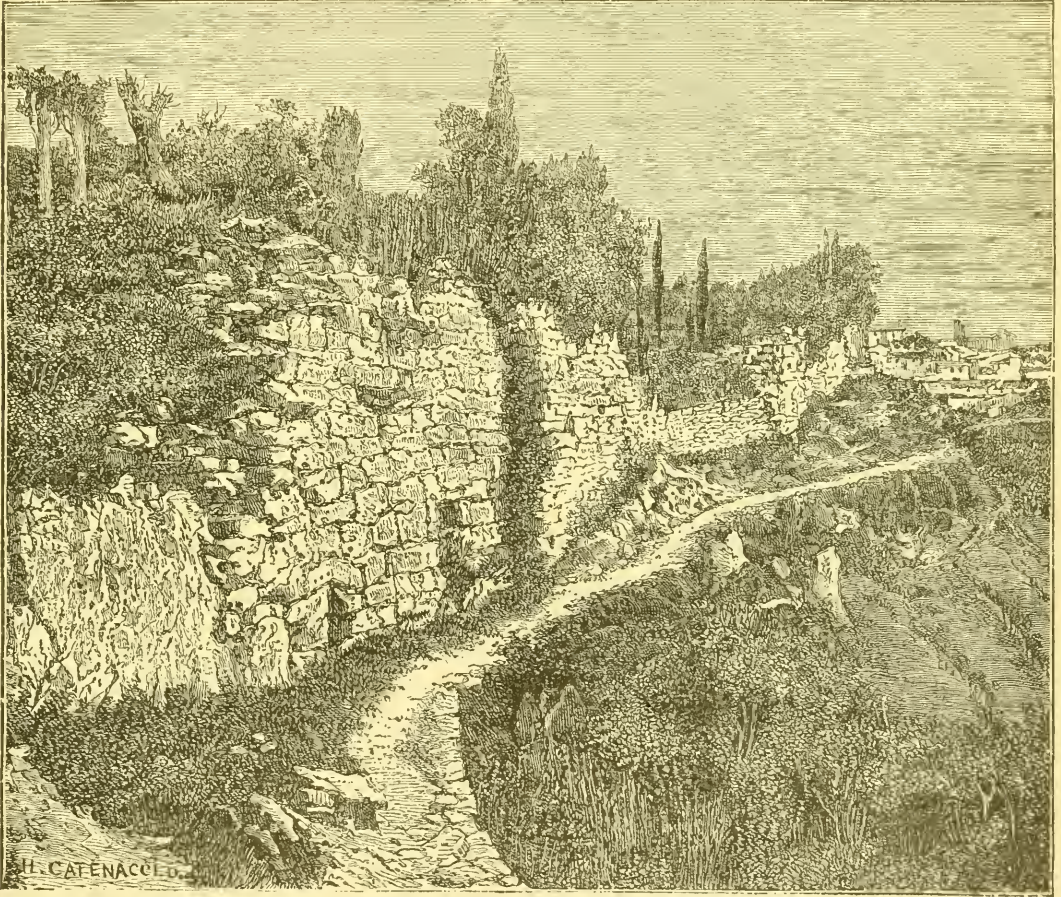
Features and characteristics of the race.

people by whom they were produced. They were a race strongly discriminated in personal characteristics from the Latin and Sabellian Italians. Their unlikeness to the Greeks was equally emphatic. If any analogy of figure and personal character can be noted between the Etruscans and any other people of antiquity, such analogy points to the primitive inhabitants of Cyprus and to the Assyrians. The Etruscans were strongly marked as a distinct people. They were short in stature, having large heads and thick, muscular arms and legs. They appear to have been unusually strong and vigorous, heavy in person, and rough in exterior. They wore beards, which were closely curled about their faces, and their hair was likewise napped in a manner suggestive of the Africans or the primitive Elamites. The features were by

no means refined or classical, and the Etruscan artists seem to have delighted, as is shown on their coins and bronzes, in distorting the physiognomy of the race.

The remains of Etruscan civilization which have descended to modern times consist of antique monuments, heavy

trast with the highly refined designs of the Hellenic artists. The relics of the former people are sufficiently abundant, and are not limited to the narrow geographical area known as Etruria. The fame of the Etruscan builders, especially their reputation as stone masons, extended into different parts of Italy. The



ETRUSCAN RUINS.—WALLS AT VOLTERRA.—Drawn by H. Catenacci.

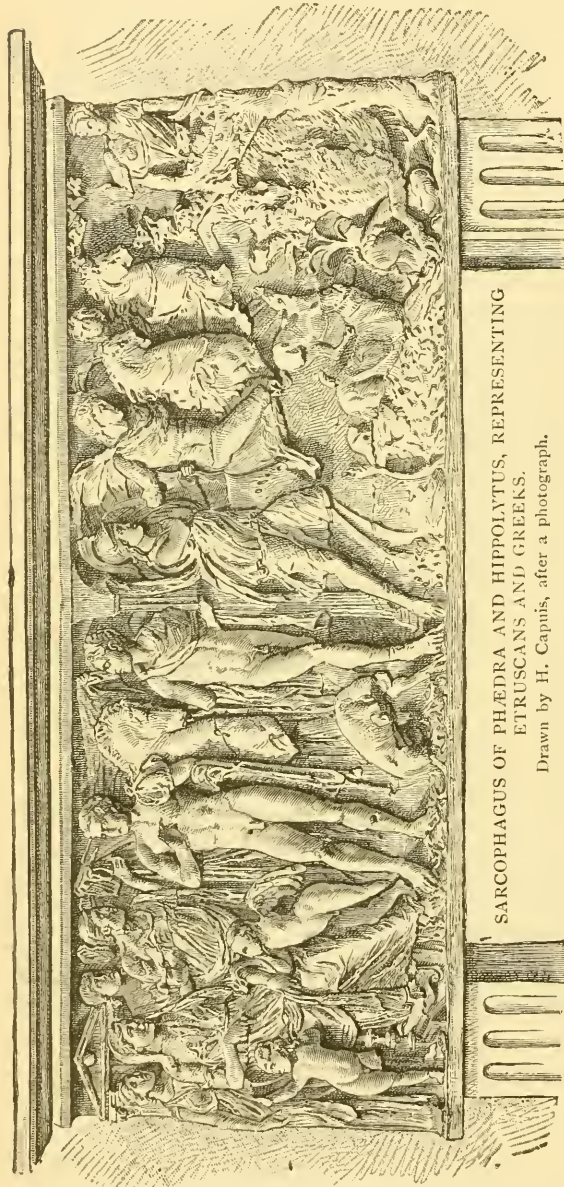
stone walls, *cloacæ*, or aqueducts, sculptured tombs, vases, statues, coins, and personal ornaments. On the whole, the art of this primitive people is somewhat analogous to that of the Greeks, but seems to have been arrested in its earlier stages of development. The Etruscan memorials are all characterized by a certain rude strength, in striking con-

Character of the
monumental re-
mains of the
Etruscans.

early ages of Rome were infected with the designs and workmanship which were unmistakably the product of workmen out of Etruria. Many of the most striking structures belonging to the half-mythical age of the Roman kings were done by Etruscan architects and builders. Such a work was the great Cloaca Maxima, which to the present day bears silent witness to the tremendous energies

of the primitive artisans north of the Tiber.

If we descend into the minor artistic workmanship of the Etruscans we shall find much of interest and instruction.



SARCOPHAGUS OF PHÆDRA AND HIPPLYTUS, REPRESENTING ETRUSCANS AND GREEKS.

Drawn by H. Capuis, after a photograph.

One of their most significant branches of art was the production of scarabs and coins. The former (from *scarabæus*, a beetle) would appear to have had its origin in Egypt, whose monumental re-

Artistic workmanship; the scarabs in particular.

mains abound in representations of the sacred beetle. But it would seem that the Etruscan ornament of this pattern had a totally different origin. The material employed in the scarabs which are found in the Etruscan tombs and in the excavations of cities and country places is carnelian, or banded agate. The piece selected is reduced to a circular form and flat surface, on which the design is engraved in intaglio. The ornament is pierced transversely and hung by a swivel to the rings which were worn for ornament or to chains for the neck.

No doubt the kind of engraving exhibited on these relics belonged to the later period of Etruscan development, when the art of the

Etruscan art work generally of Greek derivation.

Greeks and the Oriental nations had infected the primitive races of the West. It has been thought that the gems in question are as late as the seventh or even the sixth century before our era. Indeed, it is in direct proof that many of the designs on the scarabs are deduced from Hellenic sources. Of the one hundred and ninety-seven gems of this variety preserved in the British Museum, all but thirty bear legends and designs which have been gathered from the heroic age of the Greeks, and it is believed that only two represent native Etruscan subjects.

The work done on the Etruscan coins is similar to that on the gems just described. It appears that the manner of manufacturing the coins

was analogous to that employed by the Greeks of Miletus and Attica. A ball of bronze, or of silver or gold, of the proper weight was laid in a concavity on the face of some metallic plate, resem-

The Etruscan coins, and method of their production.

bling an anvil. Corresponding to this was a sledge, with a concavity in its face, and this was brought down upon the bolus of metal, compressing and flattening it out. Mechanically considered the coins are rude. Their edges are irregular and frequently split from the blow which produced the impression. But the artistic work is of a good quality, not to say superior. The design is intaglio so far as the dies are concerned, but the fig-

ish Museum and elsewhere belonged to the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century before our era.

Next in interest among the remains of this early people of Italy may be mentioned their terra-cotta work, known among antiquaries as *black ware*. This variety of artisanship abounds, and is so peculiar as to be readily recognized by any one having tolerable skill in antiquities. The vases, which constitute



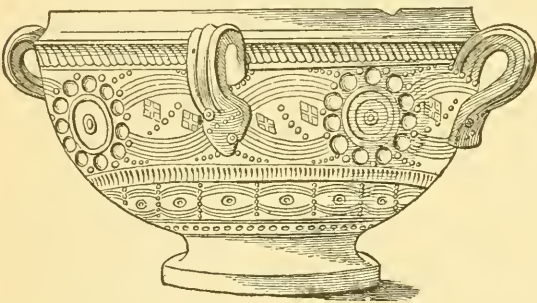
ETRUSCAN VASES.—From *Magazine of Art*.

ures on the coin are mostly in relief. The Gorgon head, the cuttlefish, and the beetle are favorite figures in the Etruscan coinage. It is demonstrable that the coins themselves are weighed and modeled after styles which had already been established in the Ægean islands and in Asia Minor. The standard frequently corresponds with that of Miletus or Athens. It is believed that most of the Etruscan coins in the Brit-

the larger part of such work, are modeled in the first place of clay, and are of tolerably well conceived designs. Their peculiar feature is an engraved band of images running around the middle of the vase, producing the effect of what is called a procession of figures. It is evident from an examination that this band of figures was produced by an engraved cylinder bearing the images. in intaglio, on its surface. The cylinder

was rolled around the body of the vase while the clay was still plastic, and the figures in the procession were thus pressed into relief. It is noted that the designs in question are Oriental, being in analogy with the figure work of Egypt and Assyria rather than that of the Greeks. The images thus set in relief around the center of the vases consists of rows of animals, such as the lion, the deer, the panther, and the sphinx. The procession is generally closed by a human figure with wings, which seems to be moving at speed and pressing forward the animals before it. It is believed by antiquaries that the terra-cotta

Terra-cotta work; vases and images thereon.



ARETIN VASE.
Drawn by Matthias

of the Etruscans has many points of identity with the like work of the Phœnicians, and examples of similar work have been found in the island of Cyprus. In general, the form of art which we are here describing never descends into geometric patterns such as were employed among the early Greeks.

Another species of art work in which the Etruscans may be said to have excelled was the manufacture of jewelry. The tombs of the country abound in specimens of the goldsmith's work, such as necklaces, earrings, wreaths, bracelets, finger rings, and fibulæ for fastening the scarfs and dresses of ladies. In examining these articles, the same per-

Etruscan jewelry; method of granulation.

plexity arises which has been mentioned respecting the origin of the other elements of Etruscan civilization. The jewelry is sufficiently elegant to have been modeled after that of the Greeks, or at least to have been derived from a common source with the like art of the Hellenes. But the Etruscan methods and patterns indicate a different source. Instead of the filigree work for which the Greek goldsmiths were so famous, that is, the method of soldering down fine gold wire into a desired pattern, the Etruscan artists employed another kind of art by which the metal was dropped in minute globules, each separately made and soldered down into the required position. This constitutes what is known as granulated work—a style peculiar to the Orient.

As far as such analogies go the jewelry of the Etruscans appears to have been patterned after that of Cyprus. It has been declared by Cesnola that certain gold necklaces discovered in Etruscan tombs are identical in pattern and fabrication with like articles of Cypriot manufacture. It should not be forgotten, however, that the fine arts are not necessarily derivative the one from the other. It is perfectly within the bounds of reason to suppose that native development among different peoples may have reached similar or identical results without any historical connection between them.

Styles from Cyprus; fine arts not necessarily derivative.

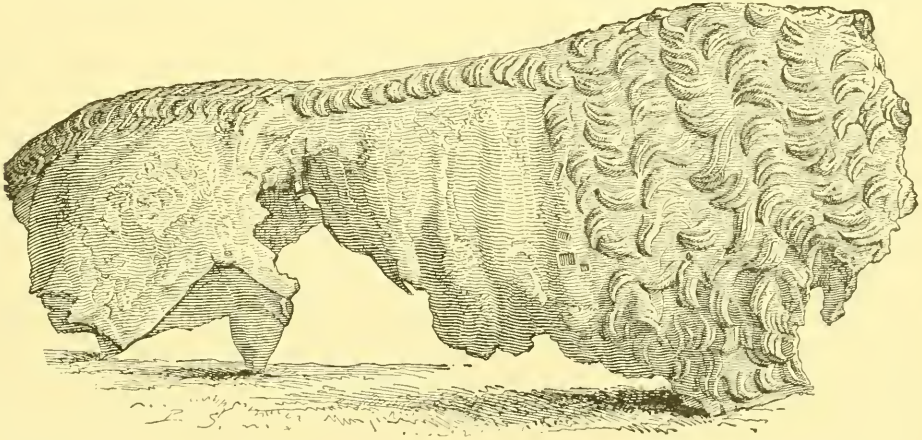
The manufacture and employment of bronze in the arts was well known to the Etruscans. Few of the primitive peoples have surpassed them as makers of this composite metal. Among the relics of bronze work which they have left to posterity, their mirrors may be mentioned with admiration. The same

Bronzes and painting; art subjects from Greek story.

were generally circular in form, with a handle attached to one side of the periphery. The polished surface of these articles was exceedingly smooth and highly finished, returning an image quite as accurate as that reflected from modern mirrors. On the back of the mirror the space was covered with ornamental work in relief. Beautiful wreaths, surrounding a figure from mythology or some fabulous animal, were arranged on the surface, and various styles of ornamentation employed to heighten the quality and artistic finish of the article. It has been noted that this work, as well

the use of pigments and design in color. They painted their vases with considerable skill, though it is believed that the artists employed for this work were for the most part Greeks. The subjects are, like those already referred to, from the mythical age of the Hellenes. Sometimes the design is Theseus struggling with the Minotaur. Sometimes it is Ariadne holding the clew; sometimes a chorus; sometimes a procession of chariots and centaurs with the forelegs of men.

The Etruscan artists also painted the walls of their houses and their tombs.



TORSO OF ANTIQUE LION IN BRONZE.—Drawn by P. Sellier, from a photograph of original found at Fiesole, in 1882

as the designs on the scarabs referred to above, has its subjects for the most part from the heroic age of the Greeks. Various well-known myths and legends, such as the story of Helen, the Trojan War, the Labors of Hercules, are set in relief upon the backs of these bronze mirrors of the Etruscans. It appears that their skill extended only in a slight degree to bronze castings, their work being executed with the hammer and by repoussé. Cast statuettes of bronze, however, are found in many of the tombs, and in these an analogy is noticeable with similar productions of Greek art.

The Etruscans were acquainted with
M.—Vol. 2—15

In the latter the best examples of the old method of coloring and design are found. The tints used were red, brown, yellow, carnation, blue, and black; and it appears that the work was highly colored, and sometimes glaring. In the sepulchers of Veii, Tarquinii, and Cære many examples of this ancient art have been recovered and subjected to criticism. It appears that three successive stages had occurred in the artistic development of the Etruscans before they were subjected to the dominant race of Italy. The oldest presents the work of primitive artists before the country had been infected with Hellenic influences.

Skill in coloring
illustrated in
sepulchers.

In the second stage the leading features of Greek painting begin to appear, while in the third stage the influence of the foreign schools has become clearly dominant.

Etruria was, perhaps, the first political state west of the Adriatic. So far as civil organization existed, it appears to have been municipal in character.

Tradition transmitted to the Romans and to after times the story of twelve cities which had constituted the nuclei of Etruscan influence. These primitive towns were not all contemporaneous but were rather the successive centers of the Etruscan state. They constituted a league, out of which some members were dropped and into which others would enter. The principal of these was the town of Veii, the site of which corresponded with that of the modern Isola Farnese. It was about eleven miles from that Rome which was destined to be a victorious rival and destroyer of the older city. The Etruscan stronghold was built on a cliff and surrounded with strong walls. The adjacent territory was rich in resources, and there were four or five subject towns which contributed to the wealth and resources of the capital. The story of the relations of Veii with primitive Rome is well known in all the annals relating to the first struggles of the city of Romulus.

Next in importance was the town of Tarquinii, identical in site with the modern Corneto. There is a legend to the effect that at the beginning of the seventh century B. C., a Corinthian merchant named Demaratus fled from the tyranny which then prevailed in his native city and established himself, with certain Greek companions, at Tarquinii.

Priority of Etruria among West Aryan states.

Tarquinii and other principal cities of the Etruscans.

Here he married a native lady, and the union became the origin of the house of Tarquin at Rome. Next in importance among the Etruscan cities was Cære. It appears that this place, however, had sunk in influence and power before the rise of Rome, and so the Cærites played but a small part in the struggle which subsequently ensued for the dominion of Italy.

Another of these ancient Etruscan cities near the Tiber was Falerii, which, like Veii, was founded on a high, bare rock. This place continued to be a stronghold of the race until the rising power of the Romans ultimately reduced it to subjection. Next in order of the twelve cities may be mentioned Volci, which appears to have been of no considerable importance in the later days of Etruria, but, as we know from its numerous sepulchers, must have been originally a populous city. A single tomb, known as the Tumulus of Cucumella, is to the present day noted for its size and remarkable appearance. It is a circular mound, about two hundred feet in diameter and from forty to fifty feet in height. It is similar in character to the famous tomb of King Alyattes, in Lydia, and to that described by Pliny as being the sepulcher of Porsena, of Clusium.

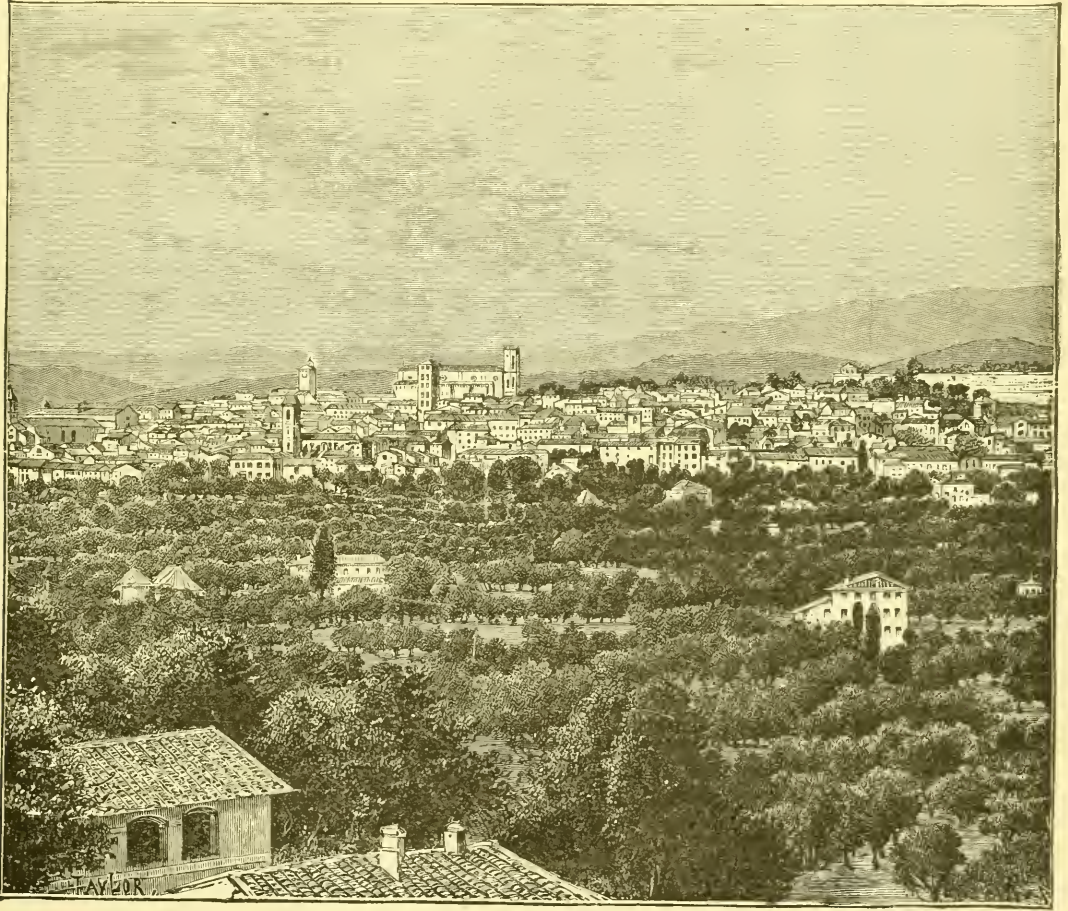
Next may be mentioned the cities of Volsinii and Clusium, the latter of which appears to have been a very ancient town, founded by the Umbrians, but subsequently taken and peopled by the Etruscans. Its well-known importance in the times of King Porsena has passed into tradition and history. The relations of the city to Rome in the time of the Tarquins, at the close of the sixth century B. C., need not be repeated. Still another of the twelve cities was Arretium, the modern Arezzo. This place

Historical importance of Clusium, Arretium, and Cortona.

was not one of the most ancient municipalities of Etruria, but rose to influence in the later times when Rome had already become the dominant state of the peninsula. Similar in situation to Veii was Cortona, founded on a high, bare cliff, easily defensible against the enemy. This town appears to have been one of the most ancient of all. Tradition

preserved. Some of the best Etruscan inscriptions have been recovered from this locality. Perugia was at many times in relations of war and peace with the primitive Latins, and continued to be a municipality of considerable power and daring as late as the times of Fabius. The city government was preserved

*Relations of
Perusia to the
Roman state.*



MODERN AREZZO.—Drawn by Taylor from a photograph.

assigns to it an Umbrian origin and a subsequent Etruscan conquest, as in the case of Clusium.

The same story has been perpetuated relative to the founding and subsequent vicissitudes of Perugia, the modern Perugia. Part of the walls of this old Etruscan town and many other objects of interest connected with it are still

down to the close of the Roman republic, and was reduced by famine and by one of the armies of Augustus.

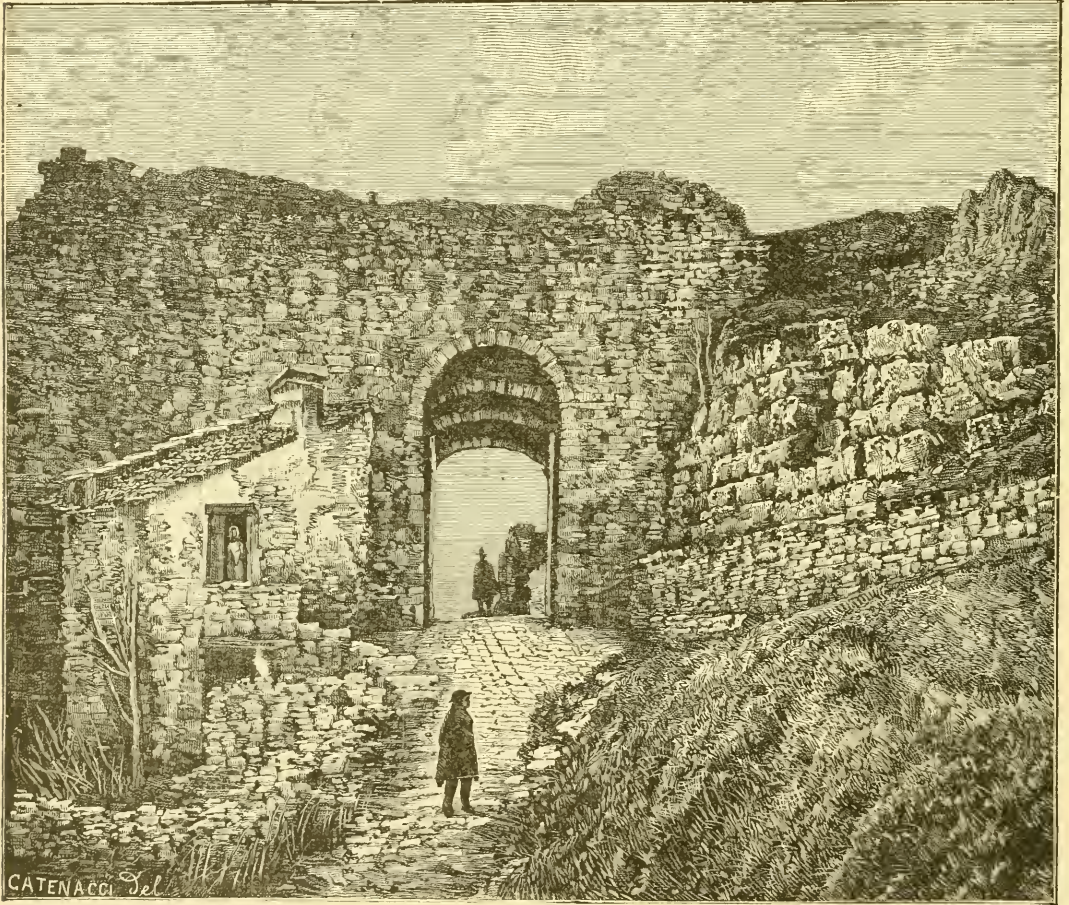
The other three cities of ancient Etruria were Volaterræ, Populonia, and Russellæ, the first of which was noted for its massive walls, whose outlines are still traceable above the ground. This place also engaged in the early struggle

when the Tarquins, backed by the Etruscans, were contending for the mastery of Rome. Populonia was noted for its iron manufacture as late as the times of Scipio Africanus. The smiths of this city furnished the grappling hooks and other iron apparatus for the Roman fleet. The old walls built by the Etruscan

Building and
manufactures of
Volaterræ and
Populonia.

attainments in Western Italy long before the ascendancy of the Latin race in the peninsula. The remnants of their civilized and industrial life are plentifully distributed in the country of their ancient occupancy even to the present day. Their coins and their bronzes are found in all the principal museums of the

Interesting re-
mains from time
of the Etruscan
ascendency.



ETRUSCAN WALL AT CORTONA.—Drawn by H. Catenacci.

masters of Russellæ, the modern Rosello, still mark the place of the city. Like its sister towns of the league, it struggled with the Romans, and was not subdued until the beginning of the third century before our era.

We thus perceive the outlines of an ancient, half-civilized state founded by a people of considerable progress and

world, and their terra-cotta work, especially their vases and their great sarcophagi, surrounded with processions of figures and crowned on the lid with the effigies of the dead, preserve an everlasting memorial of the artistic sense which appears to have been to a certain extent native in the race, but largely subject to foreign development.

It must be noted that these people are hardly of a grade of intelligence and

Rank of the
Etruscans in
the scale of civi-
lization.

power to warrant their clas-
sification with barbarians.

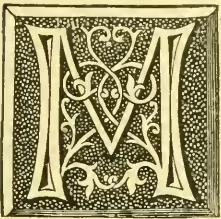
Like the great race whose beginnings have been noted in a former part of this work, relative to the planting of civilization in the valley of the Indus, the Pelasgians of Greece and the Etruscans of Italy had already well advanced from the barbarous condition at our earliest acquaintance with them. What may have been the previous tribal history, how low or how high may have been what may be truly called the aboriginal state of these peoples, it is impossible in the present state of human knowledge to determine. Certain it is that they were not savages. They bore weapons of bronze. They cultivated the soil. They knew the arts of stone-cutting and of building. The remains of their masonry are matters of astonishment to the present day. Of their intellectual life but little is known, and to what extent the race, if undisturbed in its native seats, might have risen by sub-

sequent development is purely conjectural.

It is sufficient, in conclusion of the present chapter, to note the strong line of demarkation between what is called historic ethnology and prehistoric ethnology. The former relates to the movements and character of such peoples as have already made considerable progress from the barbarian condition. It discusses the tendencies and prospects and actual attainments of tribes that have shown themselves to be in the evolutionary process and to have reached such a level of conscious life as to merit the attention of the ethnographer and the historian. Such peoples were the House-Folk of old Arya, described in the first volume; such were the Pelasgian inhabitants of Hellas and the Ægean islands and such were the Etruscans of Central Italy. These peoples, though primitive, can not be regarded as aboriginal. Back of them is a lost history covering long migrations and obscure manners and undiscoverable stages of development.

Distinction be-
tween historic
and prehistoric
ethnology.

CHAPTER LVI.—OLD ITALICANS AND THEIR HABITAT.



ANY times in the preceding pages the epithet Græco-Italic has been used as definitive of a certain branch of the human family.

The word is compound, and the fact in ethnography to which it applies is like it. So many and striking are the identities discoverable among the primitive peoples of Greece and Italy as to compel the belief that they held together in their progress out of Asia until the features and peculiarities of all had

been determined by a common growth.

Close investigation has now proved, from a historical basis, the community of the

Intimate ethnic
relations of the
Latin and Greek
races.

Greek and Latin families in the migratory and tribal epochs. Though the Latins, in their progress out of Asia Minor to the West, did not leave en route any distinct evidences of their existence in Northern Greece, we are nevertheless able to trace their progress, and by means of language to determine the common movement westward of the oldest Hellenes and the Italicans.

We have already had occasion to remark upon the striking similarities between the Æolic Greeks and the Latins.

Close kinship of Latin language and Æolic Greek.

The languages spoken by the two races had many affinities which can not be discovered between Latin and the classical Greek of Central Hellas. There was undoubtedly a time when Æolic and Latin were one. It would appear that in the migrations of this tribe, which contained the potency of so great a development, the Italicans were in the advance. They seem to have led the way across Northern Greece, dragging the Æolians behind them.

The movement here referred to antedates, no doubt, by a great space the in-

Latin tribes really the vanguard of Dorian migration.

coming of the Dorians and the Ionians. We may well believe that the Latin race was the oldest branch of the Græco-Italic family. In its progress through Thrace and Thessaly and Illyria it disentangled itself from the Æolians, leaving them behind. We must think of this phenomenon as a movement westward of the more radical and adventurous part of the combined tribes until the same would become first attenuated, and would then part in twain, leaving the vanguard to move on, and depositing the conservative elements in settled communities. While this movement was taking place, we may perceive the deposition in Thrace, Thessaly, and Illyria of that primitive and somewhat barbarous population which in subsequent times failed to participate in the splendid growth and blossom of Greek nationality.

Fixing our attention, then, upon the West-bound division of this Græco-Italic race, we find it made up of two elements. These in their turn presently parted company, throwing forward an older stock into the west of Central Italy.

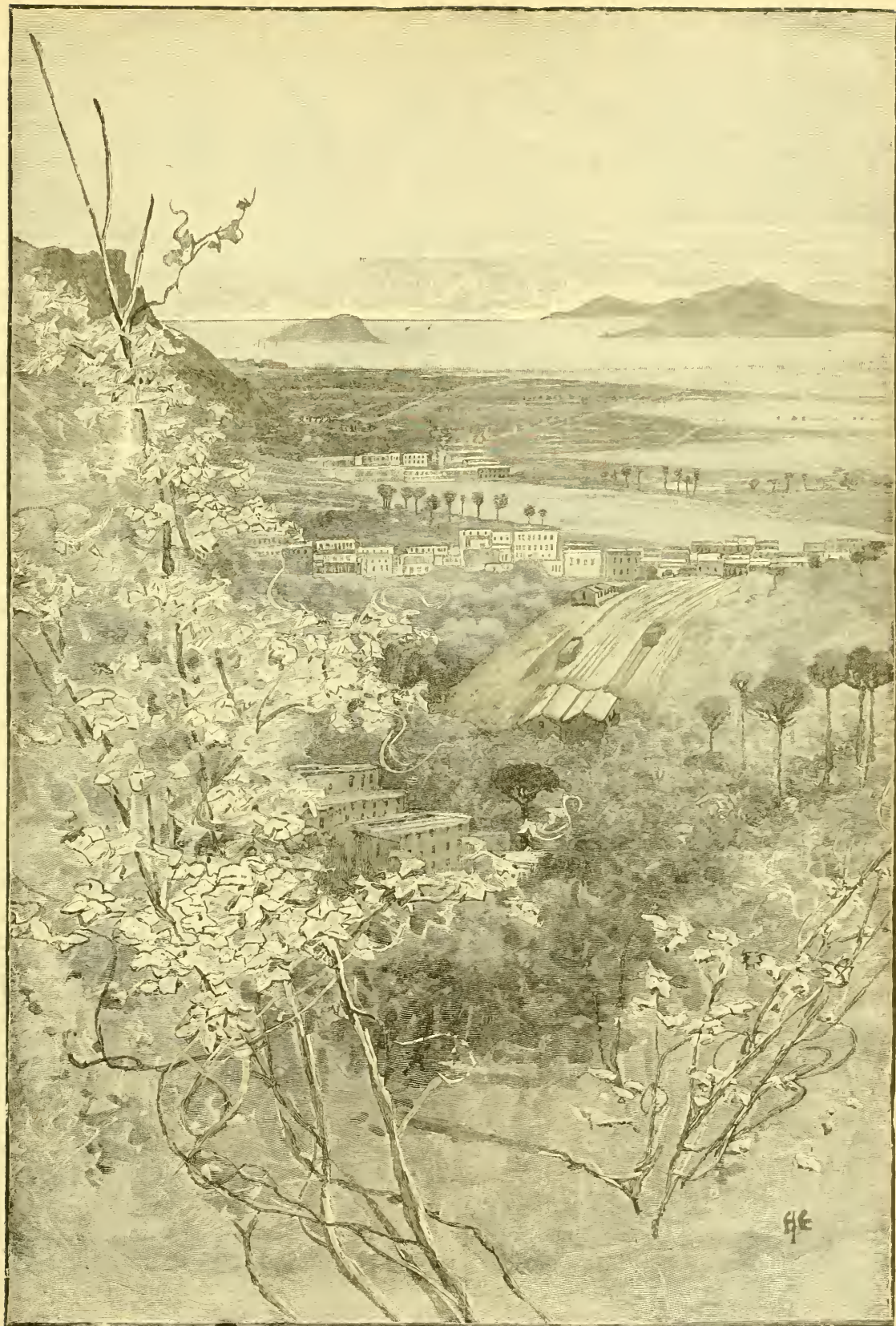
These were the Latini, so called, who may be said to have constituted the germ of the Roman race. We may not clearly perceive by what route the Latins made

Movements and distribution of the Latini in Italy.

their way into the country which took their name, on the left bank of the Tiber and southward from its mouth. Tradition and probability have been busy with the problem. The course may have been by land, possibly by water. Legend has preferred the latter theory. There was a Mediterranean voyage and a debarkation of some shiploads of ocean-tossed adventurers, "driven by fate to the Lavinian shore." Or, again, the movement may have been around the head of the Adriatic and across the mountains of the peninsula to the land of settlement. In the latter case, we should be perplexed to account for the localization of the Latini west of the Apennines rather than on the eastern coast; but the first tribes might have passed through a comparatively unsettled country and over the lower mountain ridges by easy routes to their chosen home. Thus at length was the original stock planted in Latium, where, according to the Vergilian song, it was ruled three hundred years by a race of primitive kings. Three hundred years is easily said, and may be accepted—as a part of the epic.

The other Italic family, called the Sabellians, came afterwards. We may well believe that their coming was by land marches around the sea and into the peninsula. Their place of settlement in the central mountain regions on the eastern slopes toward the Adriatic would indicate an immigration by land. The Sabellians were the younger division of the Italic family, but in the primitive ages they developed much more rapidly than did the Latini. The

Place and descent of tribes of the Sabellians.



ITALIAN LANDSCAPE.—PROCIDA AND ISCHIA.—Drawn by Alfred East.

Sabellian stock put out many vigorous branches—Samnites at the head, Sabines, Marsi, Volsci, Æqui, Hernici, Rutuli, Pæligni, Frentani. This was a remarkable outputting as compared with the very limited branching of the Latins into the two families of Ausones and Siculi; but the early promise of the Sabellian development was destined to

say Central Italy, for in the north another race occupied the peninsula, and seemingly held it fast. These were the Etruscans. They were spread in a broad band from the Po on the east across to the Arno on the west. They were a strong and vigorous people, already in full tide of development when

Central Italy
Latinized; the
south Hellen-
ized.



ANCIENT LATINI.—FROM RELIEF ON TROJAN'S COLUMN.

disappointment in the after results. For when the tardy Latin stem at last began to flourish the Sabellians were overshadowed, and at last drawn up by the stronger plant as mere nutriment on which to feed.

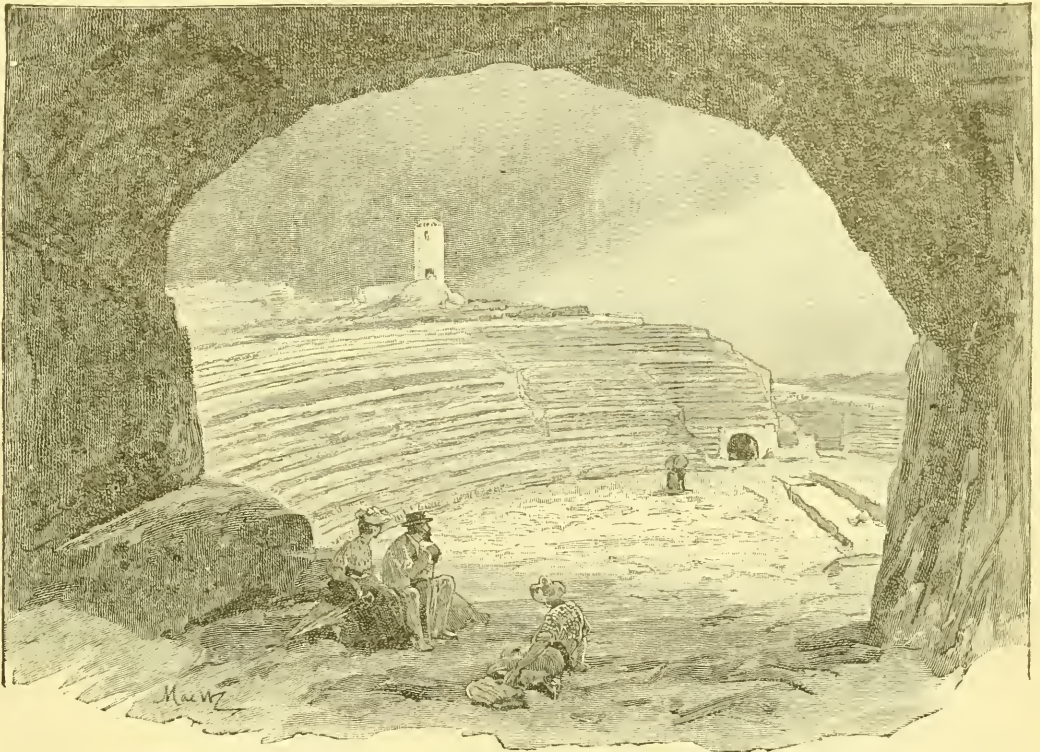
Thus we may conceive of Central Italy peopled by Aryan tribes in the prehistoric dawn. We have already in a former book described the distribution of them through the country. We

the Roman plant was green in the sap. Also in the south, owing to the rapid development of Hellenic civilization in the eastern peninsula, Greek colonies had been flung forth; and what with a delightful country and what with the native vigor of the race, these had grown into flourishing states, much more promising in aspect than anything which might be discovered in Central or Northern Italy. Here in the south

was planted Magna Græcia, that Great Greece of which something has been said in connection with the subject of Greek colonization.

Thus were the three bands of the primitive Italian populations drawn across the peninsula: on the north, the Etruscan band; in the center, the Ar-
 Three belts of Italian population; the Celtic invasion.
 yan, or Italic, band; on the south, the Grecian band, the most enlightened and

less at this time making their way backwards by reflex migration from the west, turned through the Alpine passes and fell upon the Etruscans in the valley of the Po. The latter were displaced, driven forth by the shock. They were forced to the west, confined henceforth to the region between the Arno and the Tiber. From this seat, presently, the Latins on the south will contend with them for the mastery of the country.



THEATER OF THE GREEK COLONISTS AT SYRACUSE.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

forward of the early stocks. In the central development the Sabellian tribes dwelt from the Apennines to the Adriatic, and somewhat encircled the Latins, who held to Latium in the west. Such was the seat of what was destined to be the Roman power, and such was its primitive ethnic aspect.

At length the Etruscans suffered an onset from the north. Beyond the Alps there was disturbance and an eruption. Certain Celtic nations, doubt-

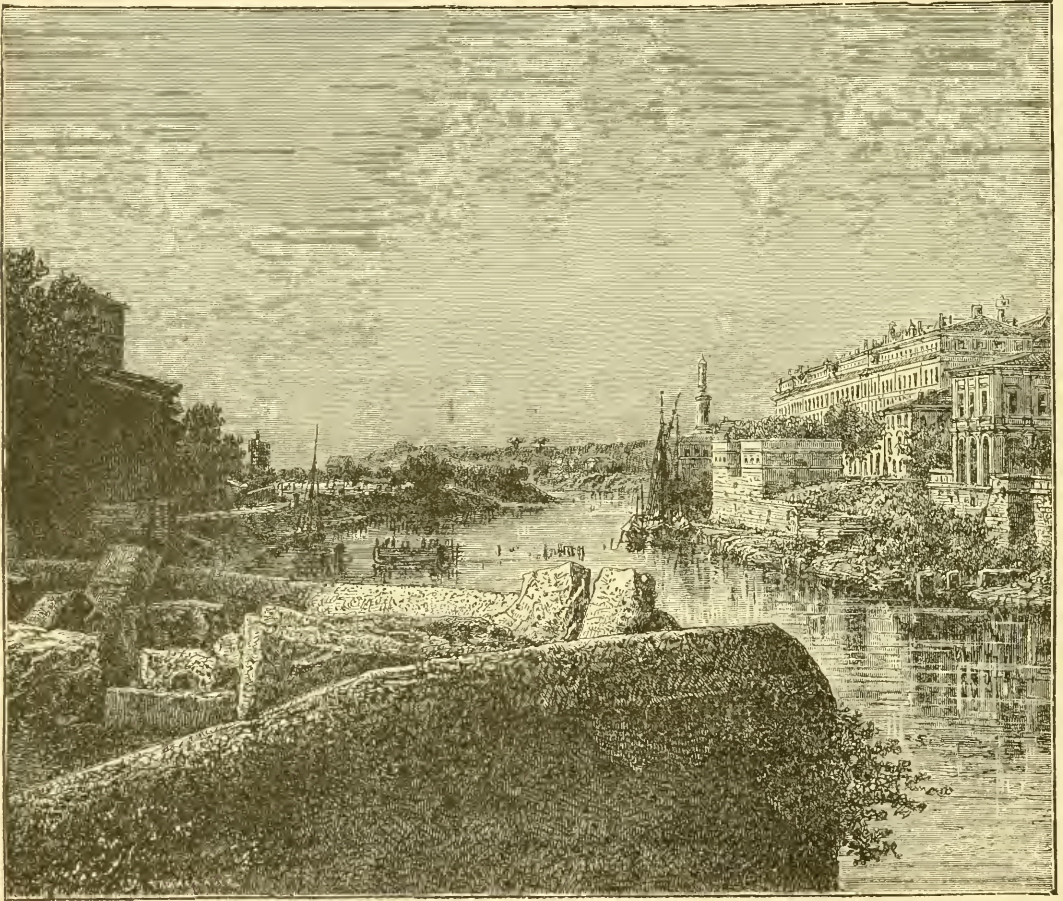
Slow is the growth of the oak. It takes time and season and tempest. The Italic stock set in Latium is like it. For a long time its progress upward and outward, its branching, its increase in girth are scarcely noticeable. Once, possibly twice, it is transplanted; so says the legend. From the high country of Alba Longa, whence the traveler may behold the sea, this strong stalk is taken in its infancy and reset on the banks of the

Vigor and hardi-
hood of the Ro-
man gens.

Tiber. It is the story of the twin whelps of Mars, nursed as castaways by the ferocious brute whose brazen dugs one may still see in the Vatican. The origin was war and violence, unlawful love, the seizing of strange women by perfidy, and then more war to make valid the rape. Storm and tempest were not wanting;

lenes was that of the primitive Romans. In the latter there is less complexity—mere vehemence of strength. Many elements are fused together about the Tiber hills—many human elements representing diverse qualities of blood. When the huge axle, the central fact in infi-

Vehemence and energy of the Roman evolution.



VIEW ON THE TIBER.—SAINT MICHAEL AND THE AVENTINE.—Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

hardship, strong blasts, dangers, thunderbolts out of heaven, whirlwinds in the old forum, hiding murder in the dust-clouds. A rude and boisterous beginning; but the roots of the tree went down to the everlasting rock, and the ancient haruspice might well see in vision the wild birds of centuries gathering in its branches.

Quite unlike the evolution of the Hel-

nite machinery, is to be forged, scraps of most various iron gathered from divers places are thrown together in a heap. The great sheet beneath them is folded up blanketwise about them, and the whole is thrown into the furnace. White is the heat glowing around it until, at the melting point, it is drawn forth under the hammer. Down goes the crushing weight and the forging begins. The

mass is kneaded into one. It is rolled and beaten till the fiber is interlocked through every part with a strength and tenacity not to be undone or rent asunder. So the human welding on the Tiber began. Sabine robbers and Roman robbers, rough shepherds from the hills, barbarous princes from old Lavinium, chieftains from Samnium, and strong stone masons from the quarries of Etruria are thrown together and fused in the furnace of war and marriage. Out of the heat comes a new creature whom men call Roman. Beware of him! He is strong and will fight.

But at first he was a farmer. We should here say that it is not men of the commercial, industrial, artistic instinct that roll first and furthest to the West. In the New World we have seen the mighty progress of the human wave from ocean to ocean. Marking its Western quality, we see ever the strongest

Strongest male elements along the Western border.

ponderance of males in the vanguard. Glance at the sex-map in the *Statistical Atlas of the United States* wherein the darker colors represent the preponderance of male-life, and you shall see how all the Western frontier is shaded down to black. The weak creature, the female creature, the artistic creature, can not at first make its way so far to the West.

So in the Old World. As the Græco-Italics came out of Asia, the stronger parts went in advance. Not that the rest were weak; for they too had been toughened and developed by long migrations and great vicissitudes of scene and circumstance. But the men of might, coarse, wild men, strong in endeavor, courageous, strenuous in the struggle of life, were in the van. They reach Italy—the western parts of Italy. The Tyrrhenian sea forbids their progress west-

Aggressiveness and courage of the Græco-Italic van.



GREAT CATTLE OF THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.

Drawn by Henri Regnault, from nature.

ward. They fix themselves in Latium. The migratory impulse sinks into settlement. The old chiefs become petty kings. The soil, the landscape are most inviting. The Italic immigrants may have felt, as they looked upon the blossoming, vine-draped hillsides and valleys, as did Leif Ericsson's old Norsemen as they debouched into Massachusetts and Rhode Island! The Romans established themselves on the soil. They began its tillage; and ever afterwards, even to the collapse of the empire at the close of the fifth century of our era, fully twelve

hundred years away, the agricultural instinct was dominant in the race.

Two other dispositions appeared at the beginning. The breeding and rearing of domestic animals, and the building of walled towns as centers of defense and refuge. Italy is the native seat of cattle and swine. Of the former race the archæologist discovers traces of an

Farminginstinct
supplemented
with passion for
cattle raising.

day the same splendid race inhabits Northern Italy. The finest horns which are exposed for sale among the mounted bric-a-brac of stylish shops in St. Petersburg, in Paris, in New York, are taken from the heads of Pavian oxen.—But of the native resources of ancient Italy and the way in which the primitive Romans availed themselves of the same we shall remark hereafter.



MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPE.—PORTO FERRAJO.—Drawn by J. Fulleylove.

astonishing character. In the ancient valley of Pavia rose and flourished the *Bos primigenius*, the Big ox, of archæology. Mark his skull, still exhumed from the soil of his native valley. It is the grandest ox head known in the world. Not those of Uruguay or of Southwestern North America can equal the majestic front of the extinct Pavian bullock. Five feet from tip to tip are those tremendous horn-cores, the horns themselves lost in the dust of ages. To this

The old Italicans were the builders of strongholds. There was something of the sort at traditional Alba Longa. Lavinium was defensible. "And with much labor they shall fortify Lavinium," says Vergil. Rome was so from the beginning. It was for leaping over the wall that Remus lost his rash life. A dangerous thing was it, from the primal day, to leap over a Roman wall! We shall see at once that the earliest social

The Roman race
the builders of
strongholds.



ITALICAN ENVIRONMENT.—PINE FOREST OF RAVENNA.—Drawn by W. H. Boot.

and political conditions in Latium had respect to the towns. So strong was the disposition to create these fastburgs on the hills that during the whole evolution and career of Rome she remained either a municipality or a congeries of municipalities bound together by political ties. This fact was one of the causes of the exceeding strength manifested by the Italian peoples. Their town, wherever it was planted, was a stake driven into the earth which not even the tempest of war could drag up and cast away.

A land of extreme beauty was this Old Italy, inhabited now by the new comers from the East. At bottom, it is the warmest country of Europe, but the sea on both sides tempers the heat, moistens the air. From north to south there is centrally through the whole peninsula the range of the Apennines; and even as far down as Calabria these retain the snow on their summits to midsummer.

Unlike Greece in almost every particular is this great peninsula. Mark the seacoast as an example of prime difference. The coast of Greece is a continuous harbor, a repetition of harbors. Begin at Thrace, on the north and east, and trace the whole sea line southward around Peloponnesus and up on the west to Illyria, and you shall find harbor after harbor. It is the natural abode of seacraft; hence the abode of commerce, of foreign intercourse, of colonization, of intellectual interfusion with all the world. But here in Italy the coast is without indentation. On

Beauty of Italy and mildness of climate.

Absence of harbors retards the commercial evolution.

the Adriatic side, from Venice to the heel of Italy, the sea line is absolutely unbroken. The instep is the gulf of Tarentum. On the west the country is almost equally harborless. One may easily perceive good reason why the ancient Romans did not take to the sea; why as late as the Middle Punic Wars they were still novices in the art of ship-building; why their commerce was neglected and the whole energies of the people turned to inland production. It was the necessity of the situation, a suggestion of the land and the sea.

The general aspect of Italy is one of simple beauty. The complexity of Greece is wanting. The break-up and jumble of the natural forces which must ever impress the traveler through Hel- las are not seen in Italy. Not that variety is wanting—vast variety—but over it all there is a oneness of beauty, a cerulean sky above, a balmy atmosphere, an equable temperature, a regularity of season, a moderation in earth and sea and sky. The extension of the Apennines and their spurs into the extreme south prevents any marked differences between Northern and Southern Italy. As we journey southward from the valleys of the Po and the Arno there is a gradual rising of tropical features in the landscape; but the country taken as a whole has great uniformity of conditions. It is semitropical in all the low-lying parts, and only temperate among the hills and mountains. We may well pause for a moment to consider the resources which this fair land offered to the primitive Italic races.

Uniformity of natural conditions throughout Italy.

CHAPTER LVII.—SUBSISTENCE AND PRIMITIVE CONDITIONS.



HE immigrants into Italy found the hillslopes of their country covered with oaks and sweet chestnuts. The fruit of the latter tree was one of the principal

natural resources of the early race. In many parts of Italy the chestnut has been from time immemorial a substitute for corn, and in some mountain districts it is the principal food to the present day. It must not be thought that such

Importance of certain nuts to the primitive Italians.

a gift of nature as a nut growing wild in the forest was a trivial circumstance

with immigrant peoples before their industries had become complex and multi-form. Even the acorn was by no means a neglected fruit by the primitive settlers of Europe. There were times when whole tribes and rising peoples looked to the annual gift of the oak as a means of support. This was true in Latium and in other parts of Italy as late as the time when the mythical kings were struggling into the early light of history.

But better than any form of mast was the olive, which grew wild and abundant when the Aryans came

Other native and transplanted products.

in. From the earliest days this fruit was an im-

portant food. Its richness in oil was known from the earliest times. In this was found a substitute for butter and the fat of animals; and with the opening up of commercial relations olive oil became a prime article of the market. It does not appear that the other citrus fruits were known in primitive Italy. 'The orange, the lemon, the citron, the

lime were of later introduction; and the same is true of the Indian fig and the aloe. In later ages all these fruits abounded. In the sixteenth century Indian corn was introduced into Italy, and has ever since constituted one of the principal crops. Pomegranates and the licorice root grow wild, as do the mastic and the myrtle.

Descending somewhat from the higher levels and approaching the shore we reach the native land of the vine. How far the evolution of the grape had pro-

Prevalence of the vine; wine-making the oldest art.

ceeded in the days of the primitive Latins it would be impossible to tell; but we know that in their hands the vine became a thing of beauty, and its fruit one of the prime objects of Roman desire. The manufacture of wine was understood by the Aryan tribes long before their outgoing from Asia. Indeed, it would appear that wine-making is absolutely the oldest art known to man. The tradition of every race has preserved references to the use of this beverage, and generally to its intoxicating qualities, as far back as the beginnings of civilization. Certain it is that in Italy, before the days of romance and song, before the days of conquest and glory, the common beverage of the people, from the rustic board of the Latin farmer to the semibarbaric feast of his king, was wine.

In the primitive Italian fields grew those noble grass seeds called wheat and rye and barley. The origin of these grains in their developed form is far back in

Richness of the country in the cereal grains.

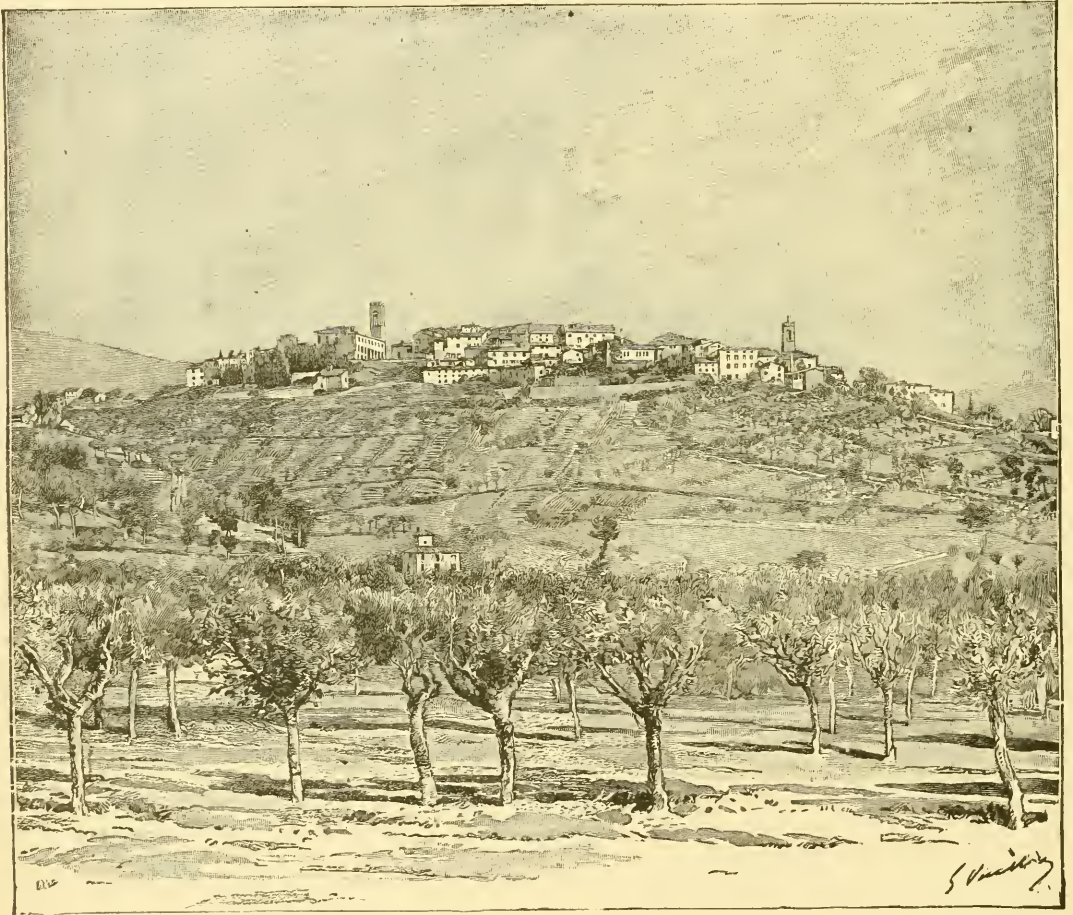
the childhood of the human race. They are as old as Europe, that is, as old as the

man of Europe. In Italy rye flourished most in the Po valley; wheat and barley through Central and Southern Italy. From time immemorial these grains were the breadcorn of the Italicans. They were not used in the production of malt, and have never been. For in a country flowing with wine as if it were spring water, what need of ale or beer

on a stone. So did the old Italicans of history.

The valley soil and loam of Italy was fertile in the highest degree. Herein grew all manner of succulent roots; turnips, parsnips, carrots, artichokes, and many other varieties of ground products. The earth had in it an almost

Ground and vine products, dates, and figs.



VIEW OF BIBBIENA.—Drawn by G. Vuillier.

or the fiery decoctions of alcohol? The cereals were used by the old Italians after the primitive manner of parching and pounding. Vergil has shown us in what way the half-drowned Æneids, thrown up on the Carthaginian shore, hastened to bring out their sea-soaked corn to dry it by the fire, to parch it, *et frangere saxo fruges*—to break the grains

tropical quality. Onions, garlic, love-apples, which the moderns call tomatoes, and capsicums have always abounded in Italy. The melon species added its varieties to the natural abundance of the country, while beyond the garden grows the orchard, with a wealth of fruits rarely equaled in other lands.

In the warm districts on the south-

western coast the date flourished. One might almost be reminded of Mesopotamia by the genial heat and power of this southern air. In all the more favorable parts of Central and Southern Italy the fig tree grew vigorously and yielded abundant fruit. It was among the best native gifts to the primitive Italians, as well as to the strong Romans of the middle period. But it is not needed to enumerate the well-known list of products which fertile and balmy Italy gave with such abounding generosity to those who sought her friendship.

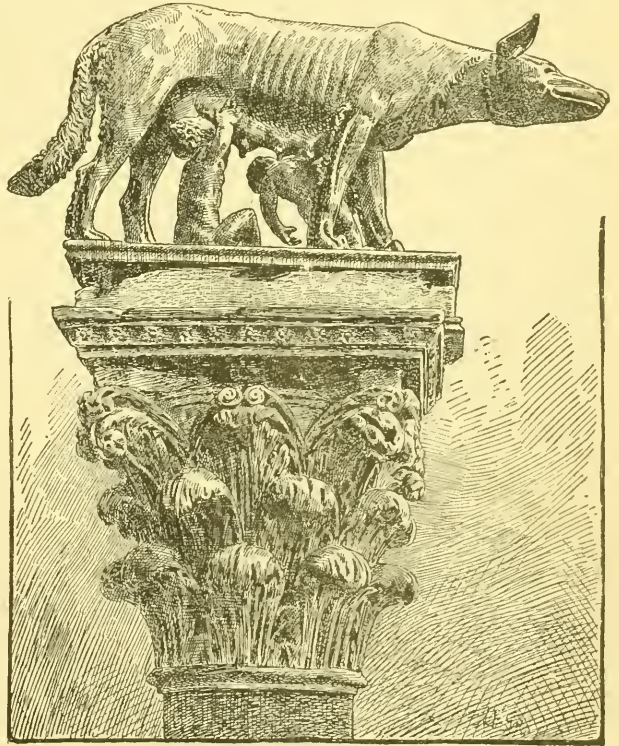
The old Latini fixed themselves on this fine soil, in this beautiful landscape, amid these generous surroundings. They came to stay. From the tribal emergence of the Latin race to the downfall of the Western empire is a period of more than thirteen centuries; or if we reckon to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, a little over two thousand two hundred years. It is the longest single stretch of political dominion known in the annals of mankind. The root of this tree went down in Latium, and we may now notice the spreading of its early branches. Not that we shall enter upon any formal account of events. It is ours rather to watch the growth of the race, to trace out the sources and elements of its strength, and to mark what things soever it assimilated from the surrounding world.

Rome was a city. It was not at first a state. It was never a state in the sense in which that word is used in modern times. Before Rome the country was Latium. There was the confederacy of Latin towns. Some were stronger than

the rest, and would have leadership. A restless, turbulent, warlike folk were these rough rustics and hill people. Their master passion was mastery. To be dominant was the one unconquerable lust of this ancient stock.

Other peoples have loved and sung and gone to war. Others have conquered and extended their dominion, sweeping

Municipality the bottom principle in Roman organization.



THE NURSING WOLF OF SIENNA, IN TURIN.

Drawn by Giralton, from a photograph.

down surrounding states and crushing them under the car of conquest. The motives have been various—spoil, the love of mere victory, cruel, slave-getting victory, the wearisomeness of the settled life regaining at intervals the wild freedom of original barbarism; but Rome from the beginning conquered to be master. She would rule. Her passion for dominion had in it, even from the primitive ages, a touch of rationality,

The Roman race would master for the sake of mastery.

a sort of political ulterior purpose, a covert wish to organize, to build.

The primacy among the Latin cities moved around. First one and then an-

the first summit and the Aventine; simply a town. How founded, the legend tells us uncertainly; mixture of superlative fable with certain grains of fact,



SABINE WOMEN INTERPOSING IN THE BATTLE.—After the painting by David.

the fable predominating always, especially at the beginning. But the difference is naught. History begins in fable. Does not all reality start from a myth? Before the real land is the shadow land.

Perhaps there was a strife with the Sabines. Very probable would such an occurrence be there in the boisterous morning of things. Maybe the strong male Romans wanted more women to wife than their own clan could yield. Perhaps the Sabines would fight to recover their lost beauties

other was in the lead, had the headship.

Rome as a village and town; the Sabine episode.

Finally Rome became a mere village, partly on the most defensible hill which

was called the Capitoline, partly on the slope and down into the bottom between

with long-streaming hair, borne off savagewise on the shoulders of men more burly than themselves. All these things might have been. Many of them probably were; some certainly. The main thing is that the Roman

character began to grow and to become typical.

Out in the open country the Roman farmer sat down to his coarse fare. If he said grace, it had not yet reached up to Jove or downward to Pluto. What faith he had was near akin to idolatry at first. He had on his mantelpiece certain small figures. Originally they were effigies of his ancestors. Now they were his *Lares*, household gods, almost idols. Dimly behind them the sturdy rustic saw an undefinable spiritual fact, dim as yet in his vision. On the table was black bread, made of barleycorn, parched and pounded to coarse flour, baked in the ashes or rude oven; also beans and other pulse, coarsely cooked, but keenly relished by that strong appetite.

Some fish was added. His neighbors near the coast had taken them from the sea or river mouth, and had exchanged them with the inland Roman for venison or pork or beef. It was a rude, meaty commerce, just beginning. The first Romans knew well how to capture game. Even Æneas on the African coast shot down the stags and tore the hide from their ribs, according to Vergil's song. In Italy, as we have said, the Italicans reared great cattle and slew them for food. They were also from the begin-

ning eaters of swine. At a very early day they had already bred up *Sus scrofa* into an animal fit for food, and he was so much of a morsel that the coarse Roman saw in him something fit to be offered to the gods. Few primitive peoples have ventured to lay *pork* on the altar. The animal was greatly disparaged in the East, and even in the rough West was unable to derive from the imagination, or even the taste of man, any touch of possible sentiment.

There were wild fruits on the board; sweet chestnuts gathered from the hills; figs dried from last year's store or freshly ripe; olive oil in the earthen cruse

Home scene of the primitive Romans.

not yet artistic in pattern; vegetables, as we have seen; wine to drink; a number of young Romans at the table side, and Roman maidens like Juno for strength; not delicate, but beautiful, demure, expecting to be matrons in their turn. The scene was not without dignity; a grave and not unvirtuous feast, indicative of longevity and vital force, and marked with a single ideal touch—a love of flowers. For even humble Romans, and from antiquity, adorned their tables with wreaths and garlands, not profusely and poetically as did the Greeks, but in a simple and natural way peculiar to themselves.—Such things were seen in Latium in the homes of men as early as the eighth century before our era.

Not much later the mineral resources of the country began to call out human enterprise. In the north were copper mines, leading to the manufacture of bronze. At what time the extraction of iron from the ore began we may not well determine; but in course of time the rich deposits of Elba became the source from which the iron wealth of



ROMAN MAIDEN.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

Beginnings of metallurgy and the building arts.

the Romans was mostly drawn. Building stone was abundant, and the stone mason was early abroad in the land. The Etruscans were the teachers of the building art, especially that massive work for which the primitive structures of Western Italy were noted. The rich deposits of marble, the white and beautiful products of the mines of Carrara and the alabaster of Tuscany had not yet attracted artistic workmen and suggested their higher achievements; but stone building began early and abounded in the Latin cities; and Rome was not behind the rest in planting herself firmly in the rock.

The Latin state found itself between two diverse national forces. On the north lay the Etruscans and the comparatively new Celtic race of the Veneti. On the south was the city land of Magna Græcia. One of the marked differences between the Greek and Latin races was the swift evolution of the former and the slow growth of the latter. In all parts where the Greeks fixed themselves there was an almost explosive expansion into conscious nationality; but the movement of the Italicans was slow, tedious, at times almost stationary.

This radical difference in the two races must be borne in mind as an explanation of the earlier blossoming and fruit-bearing of Hellenic civilization around the Eastern Mediterranean. We have seen that the Latin race, or rather those primitive tribes which contained the potency of the Latin race, were the vanguard of the Græco-Italic Aryans on their invasion of peninsular Europe. We might have expected, therefore, from considerations *à priori* that the development of the Latini would have preceded that of the Greeks. It was the slow evolution of the former

that prevented this result. We may suppose that the Latin Aryans had already settled into their seats before the Ionian Greeks had taken possession of Central Hellas; but the more rapid development of the latter brought them sooner into the foreground.

Meanwhile the Latini lagged in the west, while the Greeks grew great and flourished. One of the aspects of their vigorous expansion was the colonization of Southern Italy. They took possession as much as a thousand years B. C. of the whole peninsula below the latitude of Apulia and Campania. Here they planted some of the most enlightened and powerful cities of antiquity. Here sprang Tarentum, Sybaris, Crotona, Metapontum, Locri, Rhegium, and on the western coast the beautiful Greek towns of Cumæ and Neapolis. The country thus covered embraced the after provinces of Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Bruttium, indeed, the whole ankle, heel, and toe of Italy.

We have already seen how the intellectual light of the Greeks diffused itself to the extremes of their migrations. Wherever a Greek city was planted the brilliancy of the home country was at once displayed. It was the same warmth and enthusiasm which had been at first kindled in Hellas that were thus borne abroad to foreign parts. This is to say that the intellectual classes of the Greeks in the home country sought by adventure in distant lands to satisfy ambitions and activities which were cramped in the narrow borders of the Hellenic states.

But the literature and art of the Greek race were one, and were always referred to the home country. The Greek thinkers, philosophers, sages, and poets of foreign lands were glad to be reckoned

Slow evolution of the Italicans; swiftness of the Greeks.

Spread of the Greek race in Southern Italy.

Diffusion abroad of the civilization of the Greeks.

with their ancestry, and to throw their contributions into the common treasure

Integrity of the race wherever distributed.

of Greek glory. Plato himself was a resident for some time in Magna Græcia; but no one thinks of referring his philosophy to this local origin. On the contrary, he was a Hellene of the Hellenes. Whether in Italy, in Africa, in

and bordered by those Sabellian nations of whom the Samnites were the most formidable. The student of history will readily recall for how long a time and in how dubious a contest the Romans contended with the latter peoples for domination. The struggle with Samnium might be reckoned as the second stage in the progress of the Roman race, the



ROMAN SOLDIERS IN COMBAT.—FROM THE COLUMN OF TRAJAN, ROME.

Macedonia, or in Western Asia, the Greek was a Greek.

Thus, before the beginning of the prodigious growth of Rome, Greek civilization was prevalent in

War with Samnium the second stage of Roman development.

the south of Italy. Nor should it be forgotten that while the Latin race was thus pressed by two great forces, one above and the other below, it was on the east encircled

first stage being the conquest and mastery of the cities of the Latin league.

If we look at the nature of the pressure on the two sides of Latium, we shall find that on one side it was an impact of culture and on the other the impact of violence. It was art on one side and war on the other. From the side of Magna Græcia came the elements of

The ethnic impact on the two sides of Latium.

early intellectual development. Letters were introduced, and the forms of the rough vernacular language were brought into regularity. But we must not understand that the Romans yielded easily

to the liking of the strong and self-willed Latins. On that side war came up in fierce gusts perpetually renewed. The very Tiber banks on the right hand margin were a dangerous frontier. The



OLD ROMAN TYPES—TARQUIN AND THE SIBYL.

to these influences which permeated the state from the south. The stock was stubborn, obdurate, indisposed by nature to culture and refinements, merely imitative in so far as it yielded at all.

The pressure on the north was more

Etruscan cities in that direction were hostile and strong. Conflicts broke out fiercely, which were checked rather than quieted. Veii was the head of this offending. Considered in a larger sense,

Race struggle
of the Romans
and the Etrus-
cans.

it was the struggle of the Etruscans to maintain their ascendancy in Central Italy and of the Romans to gain the

inction. The case was absolute, and there was no middle ground.

It is worth while to note one or two



BRENNUS WITH THE GAULS IN ROME.

leadership. From first to last such a conflict on the side of Rome meant the subjection of the enemy or her own ex-

cases of extremity, not that we are here considering events as such, but looking rather at the development of a

great race. More than once Rome was brought to the brink; more than once she was hair-hung over an abyss that had no bottom. Old Lars Porsena, King of Clusium, which had become the stronghold of Etruria after the decadence of Veii—also the refuge of the traitorous Tarquin—bore down in war on primitive Rome city and took her by the throat. Great is the difference in the conduct of early communities when they are so throttled. Sometimes there is merely an expiring gasp; sometimes a brief struggle and then death; and sometimes there is the writhing and twisting of a tremendous wiry giant that will not be strangled, until presently he tires the very fingers of his foe and with the first relaxation flings him off in disdain.

It may require stratagem, even perfidy, to loosen the hold of the foreign hand; but the Latin state was capable of both. The foe was thrust back across the Tiber and Rome breathed. Woe to that Etruscan enemy when he in like fashion shall feel the Roman clutch at *his* throat! That iron hand never relaxes until the writhing of the antagonist ceases and his form is still in death. More dreadful still was the apparition of the Gauls. They cross the Tiber. They penetrate the walls. They climb the Capitol Hill. The Latin antagonist is certainly down this time forever. He who witnesses the struggle of gladiators in the sand of the arena sees first one and then the other above the body of his enemy. They whirl and turn and rise and fall. But with the final thrust it is the Gaul that staggers back and is gone. The danger was sufficient; but the combatant is stronger for the peril and more active for the contest.

War was the common mood of the

states of antiquity; but never was an incipient kingdom so toughened and strained and hardened by warfare as was old Latium. In this there was, first of all, the instinctive force and disposition of the race; and, secondly, the suggestions of the environment. As to instinct, it can not be doubted that the Latini were warriors by preference. They had the aggressive passion, and the early growth of patriotism among the Roman people made them exceedingly fierce in resistance. The intensity of domestic life was equaled by the intensity of patriotic devotion to the state. The old Roman was not as was the Greek—a philosopher; but he *felt* the strong forces which bind mankind to local habitations, to particular districts as their own. There was thus a native passion in the Roman race for holding its territorial seat, and at the same time a domineering ambition to reach out by conquest into surrounding kingdoms.

But more powerful than even these subjective moods of the Romans was the force of the environment. Rome was central to Latium; Latium was central to Italy; Italy was central to the Mediterranean countries; and these were the world. One need only to glance at the map to see the striking position of Italy. It is the dominant geographical fact in Southern Europe. Neither Greece nor Spain is situated for the mastery of the Mediterranean. Italy is so placed by nature. When to this we add the fertility and natural resources of the country, its salubrious climate, its general attractiveness as a home of men, we perceive at a glance the original conditions that not only suggested but made necessary the evolution of a stock

Hard straits of the Romans; contest with the Gauls.

Spirit of war intensified by ethnic disposition.

Influences of environment on Roman character.

and state like the Roman. There was a preponderance of physical advantages with the Latini from the start, and when to this we add the native instincts of the race we find sufficient reason for the empire which the ages will establish with its center on yonder Seven Hills.

Considering the general destiny of Rome, of the great race which displayed

Want of harbors
tends to intensify
national spirit.

its activities from this center, we may well regard the paucity of harbors on the coast, the absence of the seafaring spirit, and the slow commercial movements of the Latins of the primitive ages as so many positive benefits to the race. The nonexistence in Italy of the facts here referred to gave opportunity for the principle of *residence*—of fixedness in a certain locality, of attachment to that locality as native land—to work out its strongest and most complete results. The commercial spirit among nations is not favorable to patriotism. In its exaggerated forms and tempers it is not even consistent with patriotism. Consider the nature of commerce, and its international character will readily be discovered. All seafaring tends to the obliteration of local attachments. They who ply the commerce between distant cities, the deep sea intervening, tarry a while in one port and a while in the other. In course of time the two extremes of the voyage are alike. The two languages spoken at the extremes become equally familiar to the ear and tongue of the sea merchant who voyages between. Moreover, the interfusion of products brought from all lands into a common mart tends to weaken the special affections of the consumer for these things which he has gathered from his own garden or orchard, from his own rivers, his own forest, his own sheep-

fold. The intensity of all local attachments is greatly abated, and the enthusiasm for *Patria*, for native land, for birthplace and home, subsides into apathy and indifference.

In primitive Rome none of the commercial and cosmopolitan forces were present. For centuries after the planting of the Latin state foreign inter-



ROMAN MATRON.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

course was virtually unknown. The very kinship with another nation, even with the Greeks, was forgotten. There was neither suggestion nor desire to cultivate affinities with other peoples. The spirit of residence became intense in the last degree, and the preference

Absence of commercial and cosmopolitan influences.

called patriotism grew into a fiery passion seven times heated.

In the early history of the Roman race we miss especially any such event as the Trojan War. The very causes which, according to the legend, led to that early foreign drama did not exist—could not have existed—among the Romans. If Helen had been a Roman matron, vain would have been the temptations of both gods and men! Not she would have gone abroad with a stranger on any tour of license. She was a home lady whose lord sufficed for all her ambitions and affections. The spirit of the race was totally averse to that species of extravagant adventure and dramatic exploit which so well accorded with the temper of the Greeks. The result was that the primitive character of the Roman was prosaic, practical, saturnine.

There was no bluster of enterprise about the man of Latium. Even his love was matter of fact. His hatred was business. All of his activities and passions were circular, concentric around a domicile where the matron and the young Romans, his offspring, had their abode. In such a situation there could be no epic poetry. Mark the extreme difference in those highest intellectual products of the race, the heroic songs of the Greeks and the Romans. Homer is a man of the dawn. He is almost contemporaneous, so it would seem, with the events described in his epos. The intellectual exhilaration of the East was so great that the *Iliad* enacted did not long precede the *Iliad* sung. But in Italy how different is the situation! Vergil is the man of the empire. He is distant by more than a thousand years from the life and manners, the traditions and heroic actions of his poem.

Contrasted conditions of the Greek and Latin epics.

He is the court poet of Augustus, singing the deeds of the founders of his race. He could not have arisen on the borders of the age of Æneas, could not have flourished while the memory of Romulus and Remus was still quick in the minds of men. Had primitive Rome been subject to such agitations as was Hellas in the dawn, could she have



VERGIL.
Drawn by H. Wolff.

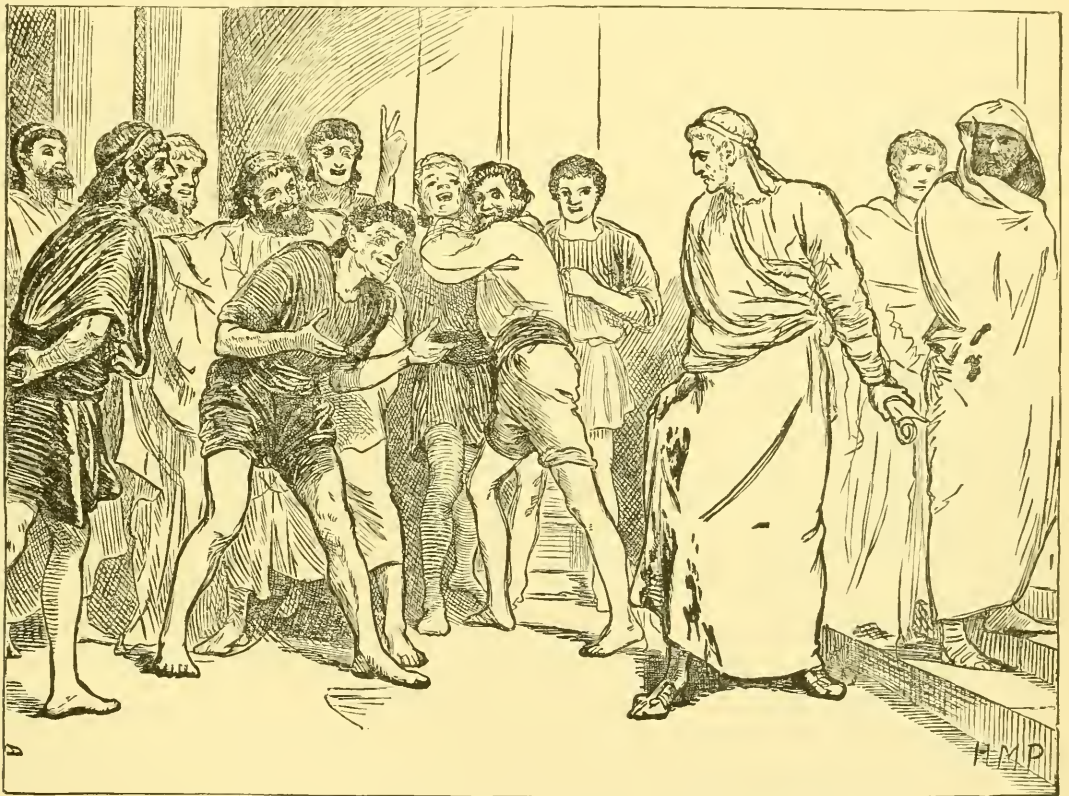
been, even by her constitution and habit and situation, susceptible to those tremendous excitements and passions which roused to consciousness the soul of the Greek race, then indeed might Vergil have risen in the morning, and the *Æneid* have been even as the *Iliad*.

We have been considering in these pages the sources of supply, real and ideal, from which the genius of Rome drew its sustenance and life. Food is not all taken from the earth. It is not

The immaterial food-supply of races.

all material aliment gotten from the ground and from the bodies of animals. On the contrary, there is a nutriment which is derived from the air, from the environment, from the invisible nature of things, from the world unseen. As it is with the individual man, so it is with the individual people, the race. Man feeds upon conditions as well as upon rye bread and fish. He assimilates

only from the spring branch, the hollow trunks filled with wild honey, the abundance of the native fig tree, and the fat of the body of the stag, does the early community of men take its sustenance, but also from the form and fashion of things, the reflex actions of nature and history, the counter facts of situation, and the deep currents of invisible seas and continents.



PRIMITIVE GRÆCO-ROMAN TYPES.—POSTHUMIUS IN THE THEATER AT TARENTUM.

forces as well as rice. He makes bone and blood out of circumstances as much as from sugar cane and the fiber of beef. A race also, especially in the morning of its power, in its time of strong appetite and youthful, sound slumber and unimpaired digestion, draws in from all natural aspects and conditions, from its correlations with other races, and from the still stronger mysteries of ethnic instinct, its nutriment and drink. Not

From the absence of complexity in the producing forces the Roman character took a simpler form than that of the Greek. It is more easily apprehended, having less variety, greater singleness. As to physical force, the Roman furnishes the most striking example of the ancient world. Only the Assyrian could compete with him in the robustness and muscular strength of his body. In

Simplicity of conditions produces simplicity of character.

the primitive ages he took no pains to make himself an athlete, or to give symmetry and agility to his frame by the discipline of training. On the contrary, he neglected all artificial means of physical development, using only the natural means. The natural means was sufficient to make him a soldier, and afterwards a statesman.

There was little that was ornate in the sturdy and iron-muscled man whom

Sternness of
primitive Ro-
mans; lack of
sociability.

we here see appearing on the Tiber hills and the Campanian frontier. The old

Roman was debonair in nothing. He

cared not to be witty. He was little affected by beauty. He would rather eat than to talk—rather trim a fig tree than write a poem about it. He preferred production and mere business to any decorative processes as it respected himself or his city. We should look in vain among these Roman folk for that sociability and effusiveness which distinguished the Greeks of the same age; and among the latter—moving by quick impulse—we should look in vain for that austerity and masculine force which constituted the predominant elements in the character of the former.

CHAPTER LVIII.—SOCIAL ESTATE OF THE ROMANS.



UT we must now pass from the consideration of these bottom facts in Roman life to examine briefly the social structure of which the man of Latium was the

masterpiece. At the first he found himself a member of a womanless society, whose chief business was robbery. If it had not been womanless, the robber characteristic would have been less pronounced.

Roman society
began in vio-
lence and rapac-
ity.

One of the errors against which the student of history must always

be on his guard is the giving of the modern meaning to words expressive of the conditions of the primitive world. He must remember that to have been a robber in early Latium was to be a good citizen. In this, as in all things else, the law enters that sin may abound. This is to say that in an age before property rights are recognized and expressed in the forms of law, robbery is merely the taking of the objects of desire, and the

act is devoid of that criminal character which condemns it in well developed societies. The beginning of all states is violence. History knows no other origin for the improved condition of mankind than sheer force. At length the rectifying processes of morality set in, and violence gives place to established customs, to law. Old Rome simply struggled out of barbarism by taking from others like herself the resources which were necessary for her sustenance and growth. Of a certainty, the methods were violent; but they were also necessary.

As we have said, the Western surf of mankind, tumbling on distant shores, has always a great preponderance of male-life. We discover this condition in Latium, and legend has preserved the not wholly improbable story of how the deficit of womanhood was first supplied. The *Æneid*

Relation of char-
acter to prepon-
derance of sex
in society.

furnishes no good picture of the woman of primitive Rome. It is the pictured page of Livy, so far as writings are concerned, from which we may best deduce

a true outline of the female character in the primitive age. There is a strange correlation between the domestic morality and the chance preponderance of women and men in human societies; that is to say, of societies in the primal stages of their development. It might be supposed that in tribes where men are largely in excess there would be great violence done to the purer sexual in-



ROMAN TYPE, PRESERVED IN WOMAN OF UFFIZI.
Drawn by Faquier, from an ancient engraving.

stincts; that there would be virtually a reign of force along every frontier where the population is mostly composed of men. The counter supposition would also seem to hold; that is, that in societies where women are largely preponderant in numbers the purer and more delicate instincts of sex would prevail, to the extinction, perhaps, of all infractions of the better laws of life and action between men and women.

Neither of these hypotheses is verified by the facts; but exactly the reverse.

The frontier with excess of males has highest sentiment.

It is along the edges of the progressive movements of population, far on the outskirts, that the highest virtues of sex are engendered and maintained. The

chivalrous and exalted sentiment of man for woman, which has such an urgent force in the evolution of a pure society, blossoms in full beauty among those rough and stalwart communities that tumble tumultuously on the edges and confines of states.

Even in the New World we have seen this law constantly illustrated with the progress of the White faces

Illustration of the law in the social conditions of America.

across the continent. It will, perhaps, be denied that the frontier always expresses the highest opinion of woman. It will be claimed that the chivalrous instincts which the stronger experiences for the weaker creature have been well preserved in the older communities of America. But the denial and the claim may not be allowed. The fact is that in America, as in Europe and everywhere, the adoration of woman has been at its height with the advancing wave. Under the blue shekinah of the cabin smoke in all the Western valleys she has been worshiped; and it is the truth of history that among the rude, boisterous, quarrelsome, and lawless Californians who opened the Sierra gold mines at the middle of the century the name and the recollection of woman were divine. It was so among the hardy and reckless pioneers of primitive Italy; and we may easily discover the reasons why the sexual relation under these circumstances had a strength and permanence which it had never before attained in antiquity.

We come, then, to consider those conditions and phenomena in the primitive society of Rome which were based on the relation of the sexes. The prepon-

Rude virtues of the primitive society of Rome.

derance of the domestic life in the Roman race is well known. It is a fact which has been remarked by all writers since the beginning of critical inquiry in

Europe, and it has not ceased to attract the attention and admiration of mankind everywhere. It is now twenty-six and a half centuries since the founding of the city, but the social institutions of the Romans, those institutions which they left on their own decline to the care of literature and the hands of the Catholic Church, and which, by the latter have been disseminated among all

glimpse of the possibility. In the earlier ages, as we have seen, the expanding germ of a beautiful private life was set in Hellas; but with the growth of politics and the creation of civil institutions woman lapsed, and the domestic tree withered and died.

It may seem strange that in a country whose first great city was founded by the twin sons of Mars and a

Evolution of home and institution of family.



ROMAN MARRIED PAIR—TYPES.

Drawn by P. Beckett.

Western peoples, still abide with little diminution of strength. It was in Italy that man could first truthfully say, *Ego sum domi*—"I am at Home." The fact called Home had its first existence in the country between the Apennines and the Tyrrhenian sea. Here it was that the difference between a man's *house* and his *home* was first recognized. The Oriental nations knew it not. Shem had not found it. Ham had not discovered it in Arabia or Africa. The brilliant Greeks had had no more than a

family. As to the origin and nature of the family a vast deal has been said in exposition and controversy. The fact is that it was created by the Roman race. By that race it was borne north, east, and west to the confines of the existing civilizations. It was planted among the conquered peoples. It was impressed as a fundamental fact upon the Church of Rome. It became, in the hands of that Church, an article of faith and an instrument of propagandism. Before the downfall of the empire it had taken so

deep root in the structure of Europe as to constitute henceforth the bottom fact in civil society, and that relation it has ever since retained.

It has been claimed by many writers that the home principle and the family as its result were given to history by the Semitic nations. The assertion is totally incorrect. The Semites held, in common with the other Orientals, to the Eastern manner. There was not a single branch of the race in which polygamy was not the prevalent system. Aramæans, Elamites, Hebrews, Assyrians, Arabs, all held to the clan or patriarchal form of organization, and the multiple marriage of the man was the dominant custom among them everywhere.

With the progress of the Aryan race across Europe from the East the Oriental usage gave way. We are able to discover something of the causes of the new order of things in Greece and Italy. In the latter country the old conditions had been so far left behind as to permit the institution of a new order. That new order was a complete system of domesticity revolving about a home founded on the monogamic relation and resulting in the great fact called the family. In outlining this change from the Eastern to the Western form of society we are again in danger of drawing the sketch with too much exactitude. It must not be understood that sexual lawlessness and license disappeared in Italy, and that a new ideal state arose instead of polygamous marriage and clan organization. It is only meant that a true domestic form, capable of becoming institutional and permanent, here took the place of the ancient Oriental development of society, and that

the home, as that word has been understood among the Western nations, first appeared in the country and under the conditions which we are here considering.

The social foundation of the Roman race was a terrace of three platforms. The lowest and broadest of these was the *gens*. What the *gens* is in ethnography we have already explained in another part. It is a natural phenomenon, and was not by any means peculiar to the structure of the Roman race. On top of the *gens* was laid the *Familia*, or that division of the *gens* which embraced the group of kinsmen who bore a common name—that *added* name which we will presently explain. The third stone in the social platform was the *Individual*; and he also was designated by a term; but in this instance the term was peculiar to himself, discriminating him from all other members of the familia. To the lowest platform was given a definitive epithet called the *Nomen* of the *gens*. The second layer was designated by the *Cognomen*, or family name; while to the third platform, representing the individual, was given the *Prænomen*, or individual name. The *gens* constituted a part of civil society, but the familia was purely a social phenomenon. It was in the familia that the evolution peculiar to Roman society took place. It was the relations of the familia on the one side to the semipolitical organization of the *gens*, and on the other to the individual member of society, that constituted the element of unity and strength through the whole structure of Rome.

We are here to consider the familia. First of all, and essentially, it was a family in the identical sense in which that word is used among modern nations.

Semitic peoples not the originators of home ideas.

The three terraces of the Roman social structure.

Home and monogamy a culmination of West Aryanism.

The family was the core of the familia. There were very few features in which the Roman family, or central part of the familia, was different from the corresponding fact in all of the nations which have adopted the Roman law as a part of their system of jurisprudence. In process

For the present this added element, this dependent part, may be omitted that we may consider the Roman family, or household proper, so called. In this monogamy was the law. The bottom principle was single marriage, generally dictated by the affection of the parties.

Source and development of the Roman familia.

The family proper; fact and manner of courtship.



INTERCOURSE OF THE SEXES.—SCENE BETWEEN CÆSAR AND OCTAVIA.

of time the family drew to itself quite a retinue of folks that have no representatives, at least in the democratic countries of modern times. In monarchical and aristocratical societies, as for instance in a country where a peerage exists, we have a dependent retinue associated with a noble family and constituting a phenomenon quite similar to the familia of the Romans.

Prudential and political marriages became in course of time common facts in Rome, but they were never the prevalent order. In the times of the republic, could we look down from the somewhat elevated platform of history to so common and universal a fact as courtship between the sexes, we should find it to have been in Rome essentially such a process as to its forms and sentiments

as we behold in the communities of the present day. The young men of Rome and the Roman maidens made love to each other after the manner of rational beings. They sought and won each other's affections, and in a great majority of instances the attachment was sincere and enduring. Perhaps we might look in

told plainly that the thing said was understood and appreciated.

In Roman society the sexes were, in many respects, on terms of equality, and there was much honorable freedom of intercourse. In one respect the girls were disparaged as compared

Disparagement
of girls in the
matter of the
prænomén.



ROMAN SOCIETY.—THE HOUSE PHILOSOPHER.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

vain for the refinements of sentiment which have prevailed since chivalry and knighthood gave their impulse to European society; but the Roman courtship was not devoid of sentiment. The school-boys and girls of the republic wrote significant things to each other in the wax of their tablets, and the answering blush

with their brothers and lovers. That is, they were denied the prænomén, or individual name. They were given the nomen of their gens, and *were then numbered*, Prima, Secunda, Tertia, etc., according to seniority. That is, the daughters of Marcus Antonius would be called Antonia Prima, Antonia Secunda,

and so on to the youngest. The sons would be given each a prænomen, or individual name, Marcus, Caius, Semprom-

of woman from her girlhood as one of the elementary conditions of Roman society. The Roman maiden went freely from her house on visits to her friends, to school, or into the streets if she chose. From the primitive times she was taught the beauty and dignity of sexual honor. Here was the kernel of the whole matter. Here was that bottom fact out of which the domestic and home life of the Roman race grew to so great perfection. The maiden of Rome, and her lover as well, were taught from childhood the sacredness of sex; and owing to the instinctive susceptibility of the race in this regard the lesson struck home and became a part of character.

Roman girls taught to regard virtue as the supreme thing.

The young people of Roman families intermixed with each other, constituting a "society" in almost the modern sense of the term. There were circles of friendship formed on the principal of free selection. Over it all the stern parents retained their prerogatives, but at the same time conceded a large liberty. The opportunity of social intercourse between the sexes was not much abridged by the authority of the father and mother. The young people sought and found each other's company and became acquainted in almost the identical manner of modern times. Courtship was much the same then as in the Europe or America of to-day.

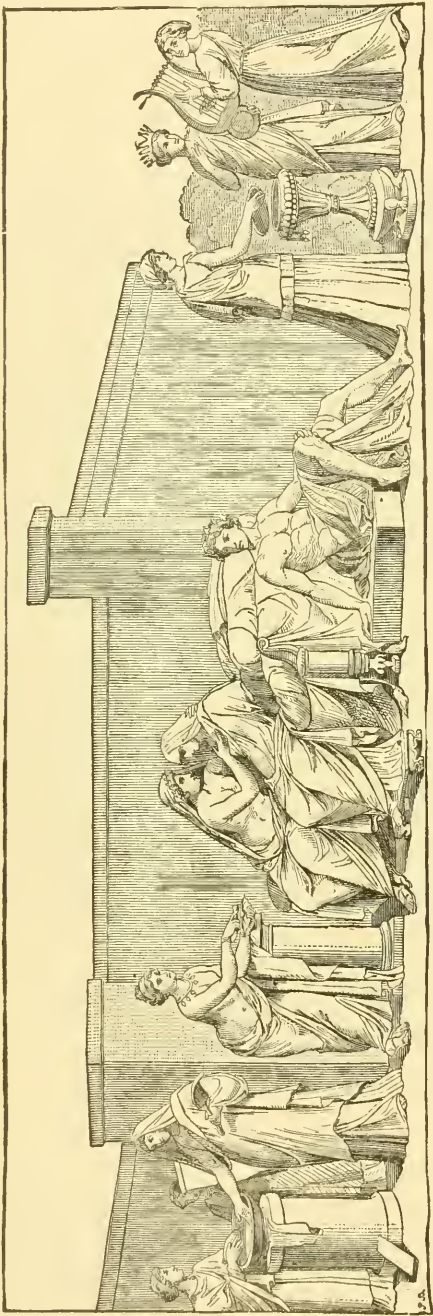
Comparative freedom of the sexes in social intercourse.

The Roman lover and his sweetheart were permitted to walk together in public. It was expected that each would wear the newest and best garments which could be afforded. In public places, as at the circus and the theater, the youth

Rules of gallantry as outlined by Ovid.

nus. Thus much of the ancient discrimination of the East against womankind was preserved even in the state of Rome.

We have remarked upon the freedom



MARRIAGE.—ALDOBRANDINI WEDDING.—Drawn by P. Beckert.

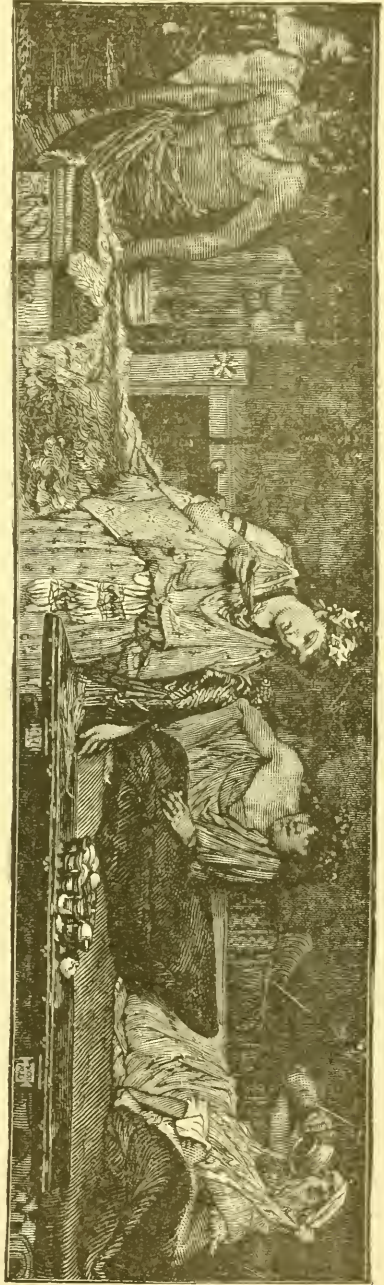
opportunities for gallantry. The over-warm Ovid, of a later age, gives some half-humorous but not indelicate directions to the lover as to how he shall advance his cause when he sits by his lady in public. "Take thy seat," says the poet, "beside the fair one, as close to her as thou canst, for which the stretched cord¹ gives thee an excuse; then begin a familiar conversation, for which the play affords an easy opening; applaud whenever she applauds; take care that she is not incommoded by the knees of those who sit behind her; arrange her cushion; take up her mantle if it falls; place the stool under her delicate feet, and fan her if she be too warm." Nothing improper is seen in all this. The little drama is natural enough. It might answer, without modification, for a scene in a Parisian opera house or at a country festival in America.

The period of youth was brief in primitive Rome; particularly brief with the maidens. They were marriageable at the age of twelve, and it was thought that to be single after seventeen was to have been neglected. In so far as the parents of the lovers determined the business of marriage, they generally followed, as we have said, the well-known preferences which the young folk had shown for each other. In the earlier times and among the rustic population the marriage was exceedingly informal. Indeed, there were many conditions under which it had no form at all, the parties simply becoming husband and wife because they would. Out of this natural selection, which was presently recognized as valid by the common law, the institution of marriage took shape, and

¹ The "stretched cord" was the only division between one seat and the next in the sitting circles of the public buildings of Rome.

was afterwards decorated with ceremonies; but it was never painfully smothered under the flummeries of the East. The main fact always stood forth. The

HOME MANNERS.—ROMANS AT THE TABLE.—From the painting by Alma Tadema.



union of the parties was the principal thing to which the officialities were subordinated.

When Roman society had become reg-

ulated in its methods, the wedding was an occasion of feasting and hilarity. The Formalities of the wedding day; the *pronuba*. parents of the bride, according to their abundance, provided supplies of clothing, jewelry, and furniture as their daughter's dowry, and the parents of the bridegroom did even so for him. The two homes of the parties were decorated for the wedding, and the relatives were invited to witness the ceremony. Green boughs were plucked down to adorn the inner walls, and if the house had become ambitious to the extent of columns, they were wreathed with garlands. The ancestral effigies were brought out, as if to look down upon the means this day repeated for the perpetuation of their race. The bride was adorned by the mother. The headdress was according to the old-time custom. The white toga was tastefully folded about the majestic form and a scarlet veil fastened in the hair. The pair to be wedded were led to the altar by a woman called the *pronuba*, whose office it was to conduct the ceremony. A sacrifice was offered, and the wedding was completed with a banquet.

Afterwards the pair were conducted, with music of flutes and the singing of gay songs, to the bridegroom's home, already prepared for their reception. On reaching the door the bride must anoint the lintels at the entrance with perfumed oil. She must also twist woolen fillets around them. And when these little offices are attended to, she must herself be carefully *lifted* over the threshold; for a delicate superstition declares that for her to stumble on entering her home is an evil omen. So she is borne into the house by the attendants.

As the Roman state became great and strong; as the society of Rome parted

into castes; as the commons became plebeians and the patricians arrogated to themselves the prerogatives and responsibilities of the government, the wedding ceremonies among the latter departed from the simple type and became a somewhat elaborate religious process at which ten witnesses must be present to hear the vows of the parties, to witness the signing of the contract, and to record their personal testimony of the event. It is in evidence that in proportion as the primitive purity of the institution gave place to such formality, the fidelity of the parties became less conspicuous, and in the times of imperial luxury it could no longer be boasted—as it had been in the simple ages of the republic—that for five hundred years Roman society had not been scandalized with a single divorce. Already, however, in the last century of the republican régime the old and tenacious bond had been dissolved into laxity, and both Cato and Cicero repudiated their wives and took others on the score of personal advantage.

Among the patricians the demoralization went steadily on until the old landmarks were totally obliterated and license and caprice set in. Still, the monogamic principle held sway, and in the midst of innumerable marriages, repudiations, and divorces, the *principle* of single marriage was maintained in its integrity. Disgrace came in like a flood upon the domestic life of the Roman people, and that which had been the simplest and purest society ever thus far developed among men grew into a society of almost absolute license. We speak here of the sanctity and purity of the marriage estate. This at length came to be broken with impunity. Men

Deterioration of the marriage estate under the empire.

Divorce made easy by corruption of Roman society.

Bridal procession, and fiction of the new home.

put away their wives at will, for all reasons and no reason at all. Hardly a whim was needed to excuse the perpetually recurring separations of husband and wife. Every caprice of fancy, every suggestion of interest came in as a selfish justification for the breaking of the

of husbands had reached *twenty-three*, and it was found that the last of the list had himself had twenty-one legal wives! No more forcible comment could be offered upon the civil and political condition of the Roman state than the citation of this shocking falling



PATRICIAN DOMESTIC LIFE.—TOILET OF A ROMAN LADY OF RANK.—Drawn by A. de Courten.

marriage relation. In the early years of the empire the tie of husband and wife was so easily snapped that even a woman might break it when she would. A case is recorded in which one lady had eight husbands, all legally enough, within a period of five years. Another continued her separations until her list

away of the institution of marriage under the empire.

In one respect the old law and principle of the Orient continued to prevail among the Romans. The wife in the earliest epochs was completely subject to the husband. This is said especially of the marriage relation among the pa-

tricians. A patrician's wife was virtually his property. He had unlimited power over her, extending even to the *jus vite necisque*—the right of life and death. This was the ancient theory of formal patrician marriage. In process of time, under the wholesome sentiments of the Latin race—we speak of the Old Latins—the principle was abandoned, at least in prac-

Rights of the married women of Rome.

far that a reâction set in, and a strenuous effort was made, even under the leadership of Cato, to force the women of Rome back again under the authority of their husbands. Cato, as a politician, had yet to learn that primal law of history, that in the evolution of mankind, men, institutions, social phenomena, *never go back into their old condition*. As well might the effort be made to compel a watch—

Effort of later republicans to restore the former estate.



VIRTUES OF THE ROMAN WOMAN.—VIRGINIA IN THE FORUM.

tice, and the Roman matron gained a legal recognition of her rights. She was conceded at first the right of property and afterwards the right of her person in exemption from her husband's control. She obtained the right to inherit from her parents and to hold her goods apart from her husband's. The marriage portion which came with her was her husband's, always and absolutely.

In the later age of the republic this emancipation of woman had gone on so

if such thing is thinkable—to run backwards and to record an inverted calendar of the hours as to attempt to reverse the forward movements of the human race.

Under the social condition above described, woman in the early ages of Rome took on a character for modesty and virtue without a parallel in any other primitive race. We need not accept as true the inspiring traditions which the Romans themselves have preserved of

Heroic character of the primitive Roman women.

the heroism of their wives and daughters in the early ages; that is, we need not believe that such examples of unsullied beauty and virtue were actually witnessed in the primitive days in Latium; but we must accept the sentiments expressed in the traditions, and the sentiments are as good as the facts. No ancient storyteller or bard invents a fiction which is absurd in the estimation of those to whom he recites it. On the contrary, the primitive legend or poem is a transcript of the things accepted and admired as true. We are thus brought to the conclusion that the heroism and beauty and spotless deaths of Virginia and Lucretia were real. It may be that the actual villainy of the Tarquin and Appius Claudius was drawn for the occasion; but the ideals exist. The ideals at least were real. They were in the Roman race as a part of its constitution. The ideals were applauded as the noblest and purest expressions of primitive womanhood. We know thus much in any event, that such women as Virginia, who was slain by her father, and Lucretia, who took her own life to save her honor, were possible in that ancient society—not only possible, but probable; for the Romans believed in them, fought for them, poured out their blood for them like water, worshipped their memory.

The student of history will be perplexed to know from what source such

Derivation of the high character of maid and matron.

high and beautiful types of female character could be deduced in an age so boisterous and rough close on the confines of the prehistoric days. He must remember this—a thing already explained above—that Greek civilization had permeated Southern Italy; that beautiful cities and polite arts were known in all the country south of Latium and around on the western coast of Campania long

before the times of which we are speaking. He must remember that the culture and learning of the Greeks had penetrated Latium, that the Greeks had become already the schoolmasters of the Latini and afterwards of the Romans; that the Latin towns accepted this foreign intellectual fact, and that even in the countryside schools were instituted at an early age. The women of primitive Rome received nearly the same instruction as did their husbands and brothers; and this form of culture in the school and the home blended with the robust virtue—we speak now of domestic virtue—tending to form those beautiful types of womanhood which we discover in the remote horizon of ancient Rome.

It should be remarked respecting the Roman women that their occasional appearance in primitive history is nearly always in connection with some crisis in the state. The woman shared with the man that intense patriotism of which we have spoken above. She was keenly

The women of Rome called forth by civil dangers.

alive to the vicissitudes of her country; for the destinies of her home and her family were involved with the fate of her country. So in times of emergency the highest spirits would come forth for the inspiration of the helmeted warriors who stood between Rome and her foes. Nearly every apparition of the Roman woman in the early ages is under some such circumstance of distress, and one need only open Livy to note the salvation which she nearly always brought.

There is a sense in which the woman was the guardian angel of the ancient state. Even in the case of the struggle of the Romans and Sabines, the one for the retention and the other for the recovery of the stolen virgins, the latter become the mediators and peacemakers between

Salutary influence of the women in controlling violence.

the contending tribes. The mother of Coriolanus saves the city and loses her son. If Tarpeia proves recreant to the faith and honor of her country, she receives the merited punishment, is crushed under the weight of the Sabine shields, and her memory made infamous by the giving of her name to the 'Traitors'

sister's whim, stand between him and his duty to native land? *Her* reasoning extends only thus far: Curiatius was my lover, honorable and true. My wicked brother has gone forth beyond the Tiber and killed my lover. I hate him for this hateful deed. We can see the inevitable result: Horatius, hot from his fight



SPRIT OF THE ROMANS.—DEATH OF CORIOLANUS.

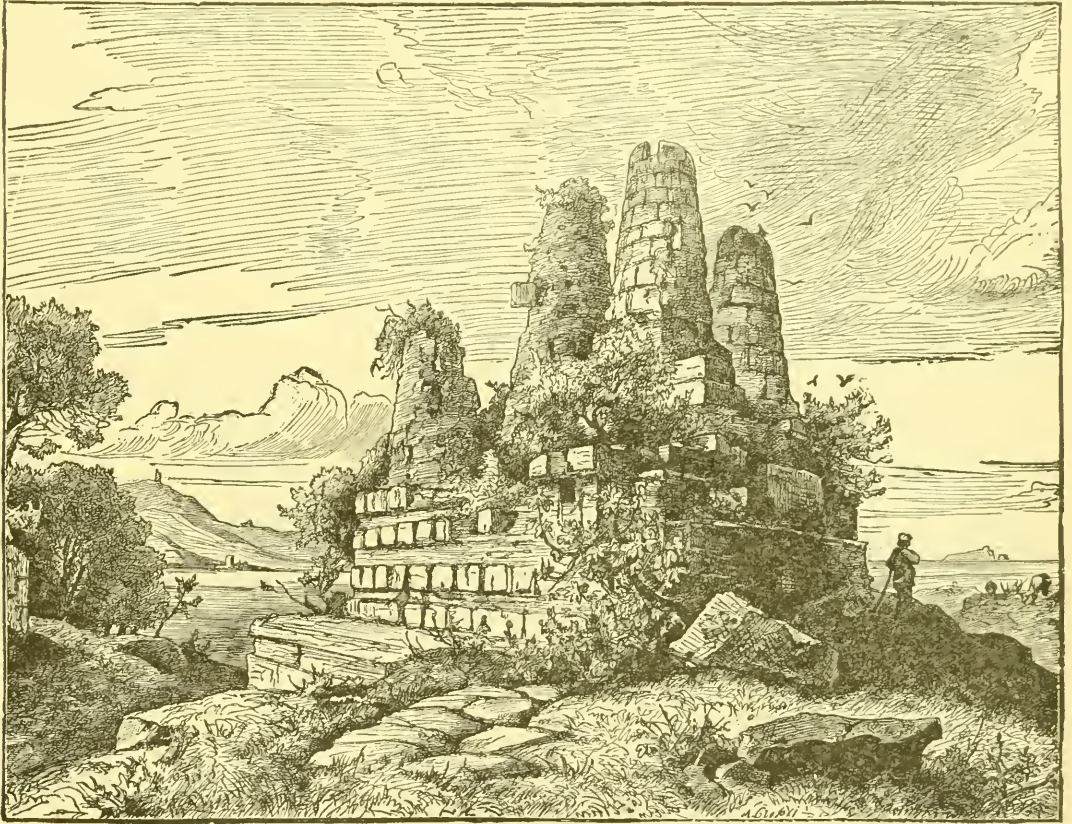
Rock. Sometimes we see the struggle between patriotism and love in the breast of woman. The three Horatii go forth to save their country. Two of them are slain, and the third returns victorious. His sister, Horatia, upbraids him for having killed her lover, one of the Curiatii. It is more than he can stand. Had he not defended his country? and should mere human love, his

with his enemy, slays his sister on the spot.

And the sequel still further illustrates the condition of that old society. Horatius is brought to trial for his rash deed and is condemned to death. **How Horatius is both condemned and acquitted.** So says the sober judgment of the senate and the court. But he has the right of an appeal to the people. He makes the appeal and

is exculpated. For the father, the old Horatius, appears on the scene and declares that if his son had not slain his sister for her weakness and perfidy he would have done it himself! Mark well that half-savage society. It is still violent from its recent emergence. Indeed, it will never be other than violent, even at its best estate. But it has in it

could not do other than love her country. Her oldest son goes forth to espouse the cause of the suffering common people and loses his life. She gives him up as a sacrifice. Then the other goes forth, greater and stronger and more prudent than the elder; but she knows well that his life is imperiled in the cause. Shall she command him, exhort him, to desist?



MONUMENT TO THE HORATHI AND THE CURIATHI.

such strength and virtues as we should hardly find elsewhere in the ancient world.

A struggle like that in the breast of Horatia—the conflict between that fidelity which would save and that patriotism which must destroy the household idols—is present many times in the later womanhood of the republic. Cornelia is the daughter of Scipio Africanus. She

Examples of
heroic devotion
among Roman
women.

Shall she lose her all and be left to irremediable widowhood, she, the daughter of Scipio? This is her letter to her last son. In it we discover the terrible conflict in the mother's heart: "Is there to be no end of the madness in our house? What is the limit to be? Have we not cause enough for shame that we have plunged the state into confusion? To me nothing seems nobler and fairer than to take vengeance on an enemy when

this can be done without bringing ruin on our own country. But when this can not be, then far better that our enemies triumph than that our country suffer."

If we could rightly grieve over the movements of history, if we could feel rational sorrow over that great scheme of human affairs in accordance with which the drama of this world has been so tragically enacted, if it were right reason to wish that the affairs of men and nations in times past had been other than they were, then, indeed, we might be pained—feel anguish even to tears—over the decadence of human society in the last century of the Roman republic and the first century of the empire. Rome had passed through the stages of freedom and glory, and had come to the stage of luxury and license and animality. As we have hinted above, the transformation which we here contemplate was essentially social. The political and civil and historical falling away of the Roman state followed hard upon the falling away of those ancient robust virtues from which the renown and strength of the race had been derived.

Having the nature of a social change, the domestic part of Roman life felt first the pang of transformation. This is to say that the beginning of the fall, the germ of it, was very near the life of woman. Her character as the conservator of virtue and mother of patriotism lapsed. As a rule, the Roman woman was borne along on the tide of the political changes which had set in in the later republic. The stream flowed from the Erie of broad and placid republicanism to the Ontario of imperialism; and the course was by way of the rapids and the cataract

With the approach of the Cæsarian revolution the domestic integrity of the Roman people gave completely away. It should be noted with admiration that for a considerable period the great women of the last days before the catastrophe were an impediment in the course of ruin. Julia was the sister of Cæsar and the wife of Pompey. She was a medi-

The last great women of Rome strive to save the State.



MARCUS BRUTUS.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

ator between them, and while she lived the two rivals for the dominion of the world could hardly use their swords across her majestic body. Her influence was the cement of the first triumvirate, just as Octavia, sister of Augustus, was presently destined to hold together that second three whose break-up marked the ascendancy of the one—the Cæsar. For Octavia was the wife of Antony, and until she was cast off by that reckless reveler she was able, by holding the hands of her husband and her brother, to keep the precarious peace. After this we catch a glimpse of certain republican women who, like their husbands and political friends, would fain have stayed

Natural grief for the decadence of Roman society.

Woman carried down by the tide of political depravity.

the course of history and prevented the inevitable. Such was Junia, sister of Marcus Brutus, slayer of Great Julius. Such was Arria, wife of Cæcina Pætus, and such was Fannia, wife of Helvidius Priscus—both of whom in the times of Claudius and Nero sought to rekindle the republican fires in the cold ashes of Old Rome.

It may well surprise us to note the conspicuous figure of woman moving

among the shadows of the imperial women.

revolution. We have just seen how Julia and Octavia were almost as important in the drama as were their husbands and brothers. Across the Mediterranean, and far to the east, rose another strange and powerful female figure in that last and greatest of the Greek queens of Egypt—Cleopatra. Her character partook of the times. She was not worse than many women in Rome—only abler and more skillful and cunning in that reckless and lascivious fence at which the Roman generals were playing for the mastery of the Mediterranean kingdoms. Three of the most distinguished Romans of that remarkable age fell under her influence. It was to her that Pompeius fled after Pharsalia; but assassination stood between. Julius came and saw and was conquered; but he broke out of the

snare, not because he was not ensnared, but because ambition was the dominant passion, and he must away or lose. Not so Marcus Antonius, who but for that dusky image of the Nile might have

CLEOPATRA AND THE DEATH OF ANTONIUS.—Drawn by Alexandre Cabanel.



been the Cæsar of the future instead of Octavianus. The latter also came, but he was a cold, calculating, apathetic soul over whom beauty had no power and passion no advantage. He went away

as indifferent as when he came, choosing the world instead of the woman.

If we would note the true condition of the principal society of Rome in the days of the incipient empire, we need only look at the family of this cold and calculating Augustus. He first divorced his wife Scribonia, and then took Livia, consort of Claudius Nero, for his wife. This heartless intellectual effigy of womanhood was the match of him who gained her. Her whole career as empress of Rome was a treasonable intrigue to secure the succession of her own son by her first marriage as against any and all the members of the Augustan House. She it was who induced Octavianus to drive his daughter Julia into exile, though the causes in her conduct for banishment were sufficiently aggravating. The empress succeeded in ridding the household of all competitors, and compelled the emperor in his old age to acknowledge Tiberius as his successor.

Desperate was the condition into which Roman society now fell. Human nature is capable of development both upward and downward from the common level. The same nature is susceptible of this altitude and depth from the natural horizon on which he was fixed at birth. In its application this principle leads to astonishing results. The character which was most intense as an example of a given virtue becomes most intense as an example of the opposite vice. In material chemistry it requires but a slight change and recombination of the elements to convert the most bland and innocent substances into the rankest poisons of the laboratory. The presence of a great vice or a great virtue in human character generally implies the possibil-

ity of the opposite extreme in the same person or the same people. The fact that primitive Rome—republican Rome, Rome in the scale ascending from the barbaric state of the Latin ancestry to the height of victory and power—was the best exponent in all ancient history of the home virtues, the best exemplar of domestic fidelity and of a sound social state based upon the relations of man and woman, is strangely enough the index and possibility of exactly the opposite in the future career of the same race. As high as the Roman character in the earlier ages rose above the level in respect to domesticity and social purity, by so much did social Rome, after the reaction from glory and luxury had set in, plunge downward into the abyss of infamy. The depth to which she descended was as profound as the height to which she had raised herself was sublime.

No description may fairly picture to the understanding of modern times the nature and extent of the social degradation under the imperial régime. No page in ancient history is more gloomy and polluted, more saddening to human hope, more spectral with its tinges of blood and its shadows of horror than is that which contains the story of the social life of the Romans under the Cæsars and their successors. It was, so far as the private life of man was concerned, a dark and revolting epoch, in which there was sensuality without refinement, lust without relief, and violence without daring. Even the old-time courage of the race fell away from the manly contest, the sharp slaying of the sword, to the ignominious feuds of night and the stealthy stab of the dagger. The virtue of the Roman woman became a bauble. The very name of it was a mock on the lips of ad-

The family of Augustus typical of the age.

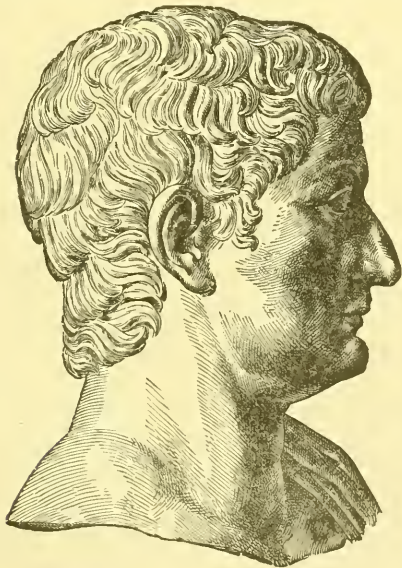
Height and depth of the development of the Romans.

Obliteration of the social and domestic virtues.

venturesses and courtesans. Nothing but the tremendous framework of that gilded imperial system was able to maintain above such a mass of crime the semblance of social grandeur and political power.

Turning from Roman high life, from the life of the Cæsarean court, from the recesses of the palace and the marble halls of villas, to the outdoor life, the common life, the country life of the Romans, we might hope to find the maintenance of the old-time virtues; but our hopes are disappointed. The disease was general. One may easily perceive that the poets and historians of the empire had lost all faith

Common people share the decline and corruption of the race.



EMPEROR TIBERIUS.—TYPE.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

in the integrity of man, and especially in the virtue of woman. Ovid does not hesitate to declare that every Roman woman had her price. This was not true. It was a poetical sarcasm. There were still faithful wives and virtuous sisters and sweethearts who kept themselves unspotted in the times of imperial corruption and gaudy vice. But the general tide set the other way. Even the coun-

try home was poisoned. Marriages were contracted and dissolved at the will of the parties; and the efforts of an effete senate by means of law to counteract the evil were made the subject of ridicule.

The early marriage of the primitive Romans was now postponed till late in life, and even to this celibacy came in as a professional method of indulgence without the responsibility of the family. Postponement of marriage indicative of depravity.

If we may trust the chronicles of the times, it came to pass that the Roman women, descendants, as they were, of those ancient matrons whose name and virtues have become memorable in all lands and languages, spent their time in planning and acting abominable intrigues, the repetition of which would be offensive to the ears of modern times. Above it all was that thin veneer of hypocrisy which human society in its epochs of decadence and disgrace is prone to cover itself withal, as if unwilling to recognize and acknowledge its own depraved practices and degenerate features.

To heighten the evil conditions which we are here depicting, the freedom of the life of the woman of Rome came in as a concomitant circumstance. Freedom of Roman women continued to the downfall.

She had never been a creature of restraint. In the days of her supreme virtue—those ancient days when the fame of the race was achieved—she had been a law unto herself, an example to the world, because she chose to be. As we have said, the Roman women went freely abroad to all public places. They shared with the men in festivals and banquets. They went upon the promenade and were borne in their palanquins by slaves through places of fashion. They sat in the open porticoes of villas and addressed their friends in the passing crowds. They went to the circus and theater, and

at length behaved in the great crowds assembled there with the recklessness and abandonment of men of the world. The women shared with men the almost insane passion of the Romans for public spectacles, especially the excitements of the combats and the struggles of the arena.

We may perceive the gradual hardening of the woman-soul under these influences. It is in evidence that the Roman

The soul of woman turns to pride and the circus.

ladies of the licentious era were as much exhilarated at the sight of the life-and-death struggles in the amphitheater as

were the men themselves. They applauded and cheered and wagered their money on the gladiatorial combats and races with utter recklessness and abandonment. From the perverted gratification of their pride and passion they turned at length to popular admiration as a source of pleasure. They sought to draw to them a miscellaneous crowd of admirers who might follow them from place to place with that insane devotion which such conditions are likely to evoke.

The prime lady of the hour fled from the circus to the watering places on the

The suitors follow vanity to the watering places.

coast only to be followed by her throng of suitors. Not that she cared to accept,

not that she cared to deny, but merely to be admired and flattered. All the male *dilettanti* of Rome followed in the wake of the accomplished and crafty women who led them thither and yon as though they were their suites. It would appear that not many of even the alleged statesmen and philosophers and soldiers of the day were free from the common insanity and its consequences. Only now and then, and under peculiar circumstances, did a flash of the old virtuous light shine out of the heavy shadows of dissoluteness and depravity.

It is said that in the time of the Antonines a peculiar insanity took possession of the women of Rome to introduce into their homes what was known as a house philosopher.¹ He was a salaried person, whose business it was to teach the domina in the matter of abstractions,

Advent of the house philosopher; his offices.

and, if possible, to supervise her principles and conduct by a sort of authority of right reason. At this time the coarse-brained Romans had undertaken the study of Greek philosophy. Of course the refinements of those abstruse and wonderful systems of thought which the Greek mind had evolved were too much for the understanding and application of the Roman race; but they essayed the task and talked philosophy after the manner of men.

It was the vanity of the times, and the women became infected with the popular vice. The house philosopher had the freedom of the Roman home, and took what license he would in the way of lecturing the self-willed and reckless beauties of the establishment. Primarily, his business was to teach them philosophy; but he must also answer the summons to read to the mistress from what manuscript soever she might call for, and also to assist her in composing and sending out her epistolary effusions to her friends, her relatives, her suitors. It was his function to supply her with a certain modicum of intelligence and learning which were requisite as a part of her equipment in the flashy and abandoned society of the day. To this end, he was much in the company of the domina. He must attend her when she went abroad in the city. If she journeyed down to Baïæ, he must have his place with the servants and care for the

¹ See page *ante* 257.



ROMAN BANQUET.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

paraphernalia of the mistress. Apart from his intellectual superiority and the necessity of his office to the lady in her social drama, the house philosopher was only a species of foil for her humors and caprices.

It is in evidence, however—such is the variety of human nature—that many Roman women of the period actually sought rest for their disturbed spirits in

piped their time with it for a season, and found some relief from the wasting follies and vices of the time.

It was at this juncture that the Roman mind began to reach out for some new religious doctrines to take the place of the old. The latter were now virtually abandoned. The restraints under which the Romans had been placed in

Roman mind
would find ref-
uge in Syrian
religions.

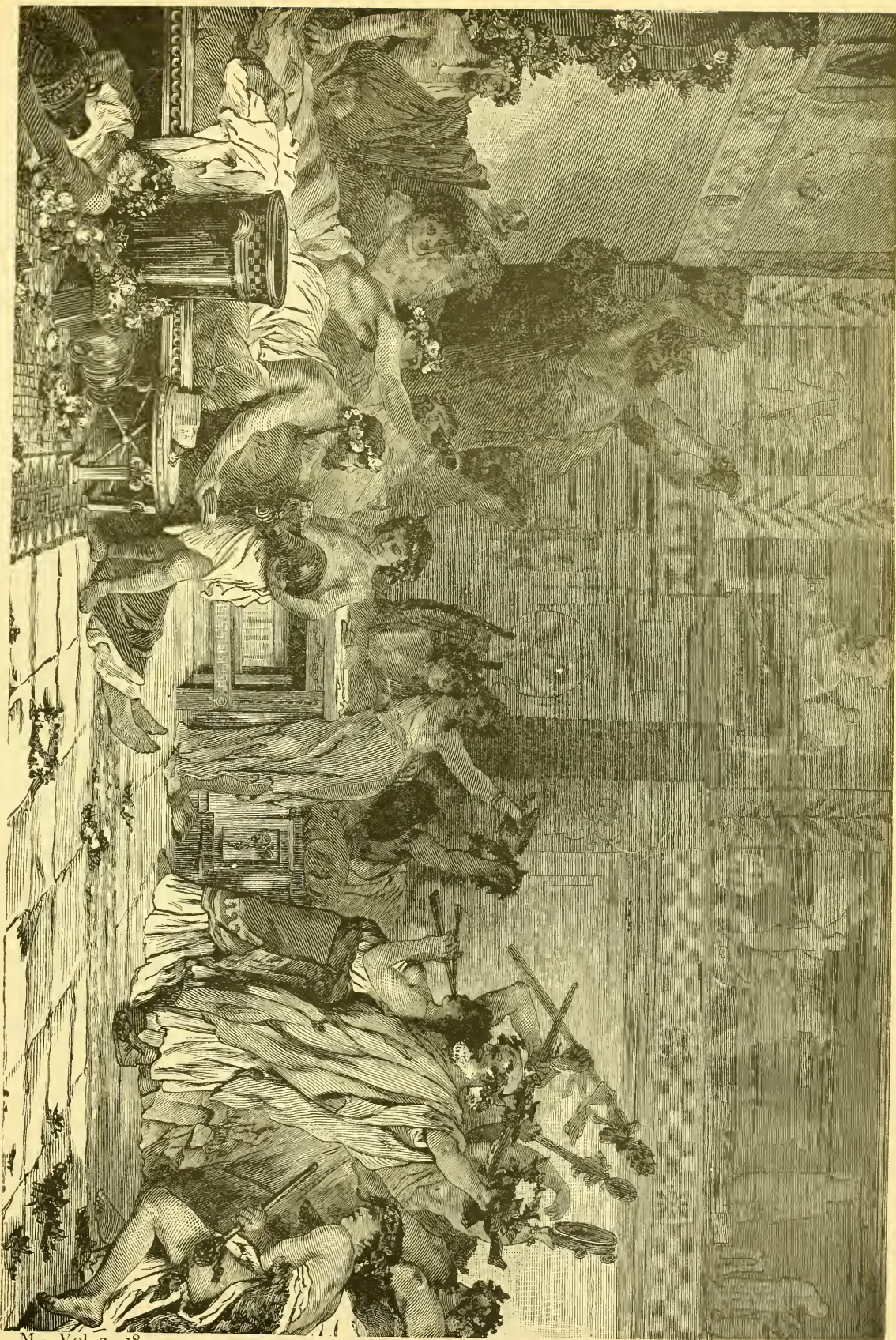


WATERING PLACES OF THE ROMANS.—BAY OF BAIE, WITH RUINS OF OLD VILLAS.—Drawn by L. H. Fischer.

the philosophy which had become the fashion of the day. They sought to think, to occupy their time, and, perhaps, to still their disquieted consciences with contemplation of the subtleties and mysteries of an intellectual system. It may not be believed that the Roman ladies, any more than their husbands, were able to grasp the profound things of the Greek philosophy; but they occu-

the early centuries of the republic by the sanctities and injunctions of their religion had now relaxed. In common with the other mockeries, the mockery of the old religion had risen from the deep and sat grinning in the circus, at the carousal, and in the portico of the villa. In fact, ancient Rome had passed away—all but the race whose vigor seemed to survive the destruction of institutions and the transformation of all

the better
women seek re-
pose in philoso-
phy



ROMAN CAROUSAL.—Drawn by C. Chertis

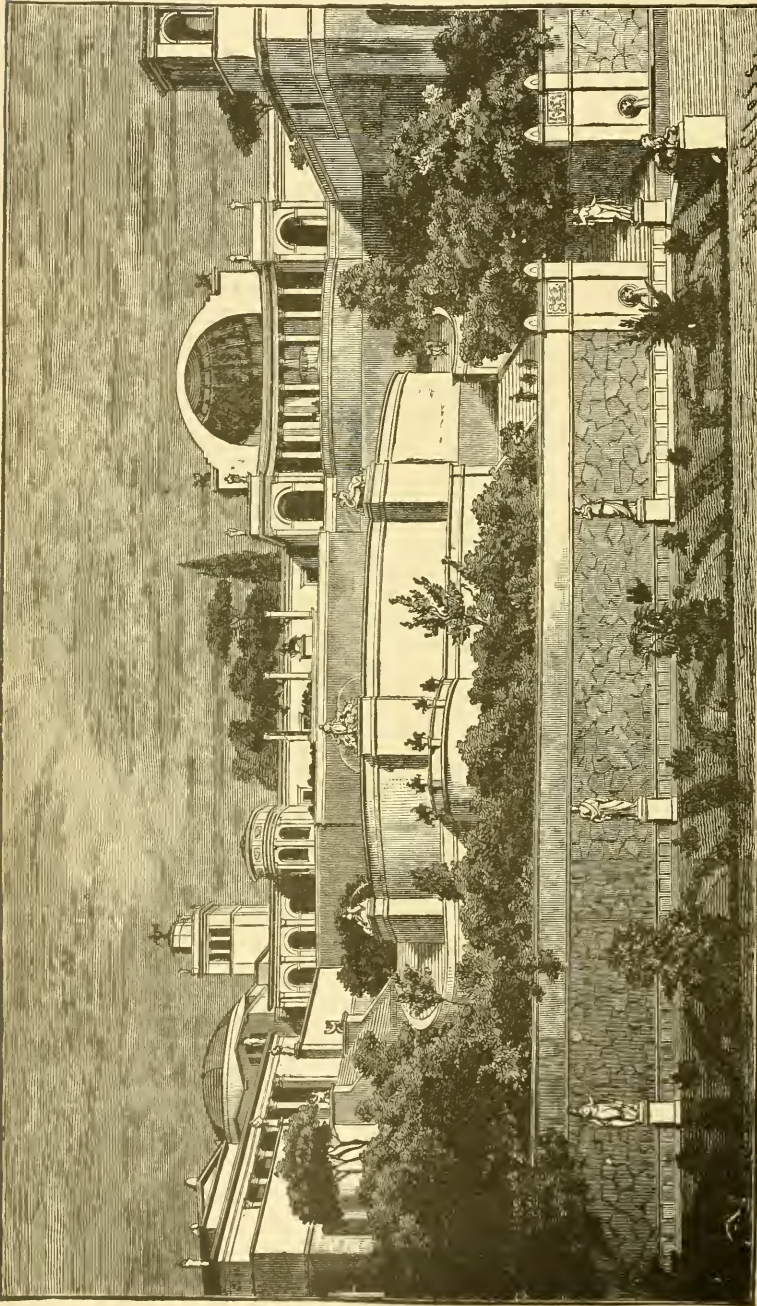
social forms. The conquests of the Romans had now made them familiar with the religious systems of the East. Asiatics had come to Rome, some in cap-

Astarte were known in the Capitol. Isis and Osiris were fashionable on the Aventine. Aye, more; Moloch and Priapus were heard of in the temples of Jupiter and Minerva. With this knowledge, too, much of the revolting ceremonial of the East had come along. Rome caught at the infection as an inebriate might clutch at the fiery bowl.

We may not know to what extent in the break and fall of the old religion—in the ruins of that mythological system which the Romans had accepted as true, and by which their religious instincts had been directed—the new sorcery of Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor pervaded the society of the empire; but it was certainly introduced and cultivated. It became one of those ever varying insanities which played in the kaleidoscope of imperial Rome, changing color and form with the passing epoch. The Roman women were more led off by the mys-

tivity, others by adventure, and had diffused a knowledge of the degenerate forms of Syrian Semitism. Baäl and

ticism of these foreign religions, by what they promised to do for their blinded and groping inner nature, than were

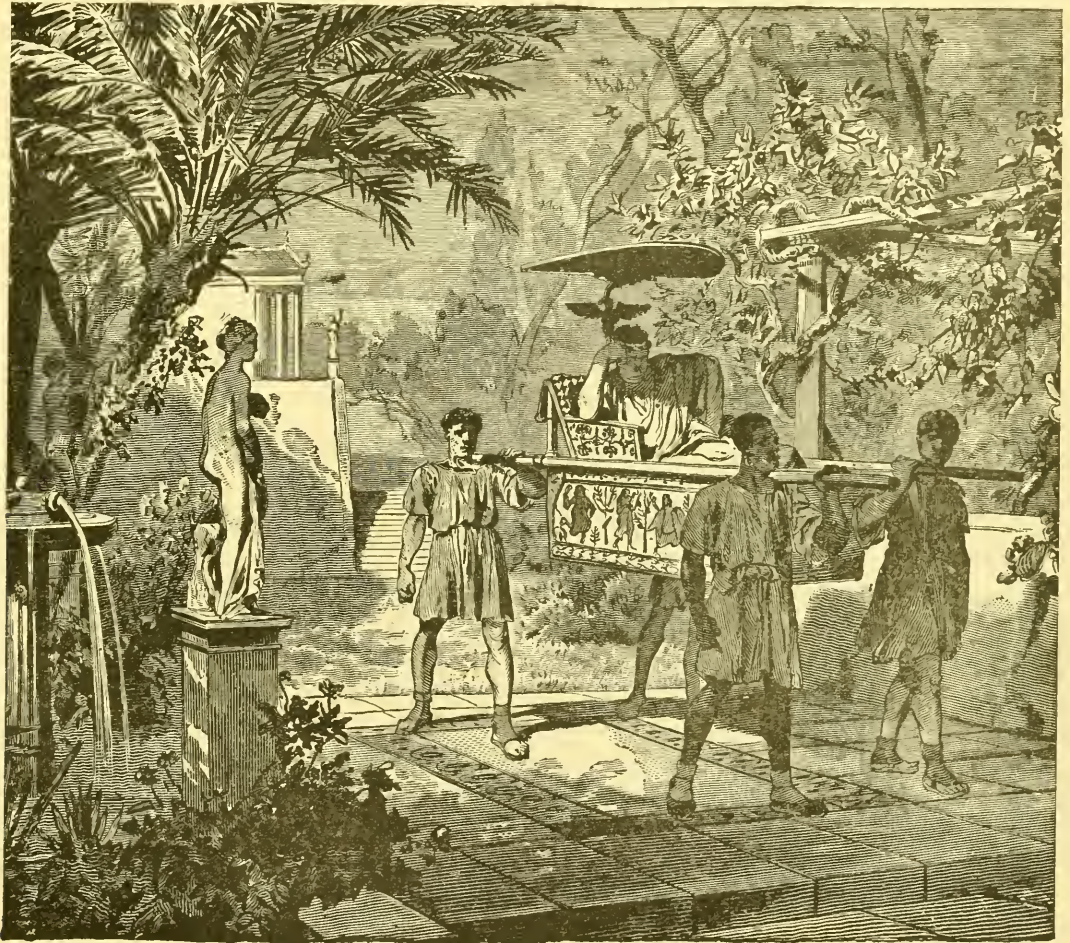


VILLA OF HADRIAN ON THE TIBER, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

the men of Rome, dulled as they were by dissipation and rendered indifferent by the hazards of perpetual insurrection and the perils of foreign war. It was a part of that general fact, the greater susceptibility of woman than of man to religious innovations and propagandism.

Woman leads in the acceptance of Eastern mysteries.

the Eastern religions which had been imported into the country. Then it was that corrupt priests and priestesses out of Egypt and Syria came to Rome and plied their calling. Then it was that strange altars, with stranger fires upon them, were lighted in the Eternal City. Then it was that orgies, to which the



SLAVES CARRYING THEIR MASTER IN THE GARDEN.—Drawn by P. Ritter.

Being woman, it was impossible that her better nature should not in certain individual cases and under peculiar circumstances revolt against the license, the ruin, and debauchery of the social system prevalent around; and in such times of re  ction the woman-soul tried to satisfy itself with the mysteries and novelties, even the obscurities and immoralities, of

Aryan race had hitherto been fortunately a stranger, were enacted in the darkness of the Roman night, in which the jaded imperial spirits of Rome—men and women—sought to drown themselves into oblivion of the horrors that were the order of the day.

We may well be surprised to note the fact that in the midst of this ruin of the

old estate of Rome, the *forms* of society and of social intercourse were measurably

Depraved society retains the old forms of intercourse.

preserved. It is but another illustration of the persistency, the immutability, of

custom. If we glance, for instance, at the manners of the household, their forms of address and salutation and courtesy, the terms employed in domestic intercourse, and what may in general be called the habits of the family, we shall find that the same had not been much changed since their establishment in the republican epoch. One may read the familiar letters of Cicero and of other writers of the century in which he flourished, or of the first century of the empire, and will find the same forms employed as of old. The Romans recognized all the family relations in their address. The father said, *Mi fili*, "my son," in addressing him. Sometimes he used the prænomen, saying, *Mi Marce*, *Mi Scribonie*. More frequently the gens name was used, "My Julius," "My Tullius," "My Cornelius," etc. The same method was extended in addressing the daughters and the other descendants and kinsmen of the family. In reverse order, the sons and daughters addressed the parents, recognizing their relation of fatherhood and motherhood. Nearly always in later writing the term *carus*, or "dear," was added, much after the manner of modern times. It is not needed to elaborate these hints of family intercourse and courtesy. The style was maintained through the age of imperial corruption, and it was well-nigh the only plank of the great ship of the past which was preserved and clung to in that boisterous, bloody sea.

We have spoken above of the symptoms of reaction which occasionally appeared in the age of imperial license. Further on these symptoms became

more pronounced. About the middle of the second century there was an actual reform instituted—a social reform—in which not indeed the pristine condition

Favorable reaction in the age of the Antonines.

of Roman society, but much of its essence and virtue, were recovered from the wrecks with which the world had been distressed under the Cæsarean régime. We speak here of the age of the Antonines. Marcus Aurelius sought diligently to reëstablish the virtues of the Roman race. In doing so he was but the exponent of his times. Men rarely hold other than exponential relations to the age in which they live. As the condition is, so is the ruler. He does not make it; he finds it. Perhaps he modifies it; for the agency of the individual man, especially the man in power, is able to accomplish thus much—nothing more.

If we look into the literature of the Aurelian period we shall find the infusion of sentiments which would have excited ridicule and scorn in the preceding

Literature of the Aurelian period indicates reform.

century. It is evident that the purer form of social and family life had been recovered, and that it was practiced, cultivated, praised. Terms of tenderness, of conjugal fidelity, of praiseful regard for virtue, of hopeful aspirations for a nobler personal life, are abundant in the correspondence and dramatic literature of the age. Nor have there been wanting many writers who have assigned this partial restoration and recovery of Roman virtue to the influence of the Christian teachers, who had now become common and influential in the Roman state. It is said that this influence again found its first vantage and fulcrum in the Roman woman, through whose sensitiveness to religious teachings the new faith worked

its way up from the lower classes among whom it was first disseminated, till it finally reached the palace and the throne.

Another aspect of Roman society peculiar to the times of imperial splendor

Later Romans
seek satisfaction
in Greek cul-
ture.

was its attempt to satisfy itself with things Grecian.

This is said more particularly of the Greek language, which was imported into Italy and became the fashion of the day. It was at first cultivated by the upper classes of Romans,

senators, and men of the patrician rank. These learned Greek in order to acquaint themselves with the history, the institutions, and especially with the statesmanship of Hellas. It became customary for the leading Romans to send their sons into Greece to complete their education. The thing done was after the manner of modern times. The young man of one country is sent to the university of another land whose learning is reckoned more varied and profound than the cul-

ture of the home country. It came to pass at length that the education of a young patrician was disparaged at Rome unless he had had the Grecian finish. Corinth and Athens were the principal seats which were visited by the Roman youth of the upper classes in their search for the intellectual refinements which they could not procure at Rome. All this led, in course of time, to the large infusion of Greek culture in Italy.

At the first, the vulgar Roman conquerors of the second century B. C.

brought home the learned Greeks as captives and commanded the service of their intellects much as they

might have employed a foreign steed which they had purchased in Cappadocia. At a later time, after the hardships of conquest ceased to be felt so keenly in Greece, scholars and philosophers of that land came of their own accord into Rome, and were much sought for their learning and didactic abilities. As we have said, the republican senators and patricians of the

Affectation of
Greek extends
to all classes.



ROMAN SCHOOLGIRLS—TYPES.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

old order availed themselves of these circumstances to learn Greek and to become imbued so far as practicable with the philosophical speculations of the Greek race.

At length this fashion fell to the women. Roman ladies began to study Greek and to make it a pastime. It was the proper thing for a patrician's daughter to be able to address her lover in Greek, and to say to him the polite little nothings of courtship in that refined tongue of multiform inflections and

light-winged particles. Those ladies who could not master the language as a whole did so in part. They obtained at length a smattering of Greek, and became capable of mispronouncing Greek phrases and of interlarding their conversation with Hellenic tidbits which they perhaps did not understand. It was the fashionable and ignorant woman of an American city talking adulterated and fragmentary French to a company of fops and dandies.

It is not our purpose in this connection to trace the course of Roman society downward through the ages of decline to

Transformation
of society into
mediæval type.

its final plunge into barbarism, or to note the tedious processes by which the

social forms of the Goths and those of Roman Italy were intermingled in the production of that mediæval society which feudalism inherited and ultimately sent to the Crusades. The careful reader, however, will have discovered in this sketch, taken as a whole, the elements of that dangerous and wicked condition peculiar to the institutions of Italy in the Middle Ages. Roman society,

properly so called, drew itself into the towns with the approach of the barbarians. There a strenuous effort was made to preserve the old urban activities of the race. It was a long time after all the country parts had fallen under the dominion of the Gothic invaders before the cities yielded to the impact and the northern tides rushed in.

The amalgamation then ensued out of which the mediæval Italian character issued. The society which sprang up at length was very different from that of

Mediæval Italians more Roman than Teutonic.

the Teutonic conquerors of Italy and also very different from that of Rome; but on the whole there were more of the ancient Roman features preserved in the new order of things than there were Teutonic features imposed upon it. It is not impossible to discover even at the present day among the Italians an occasional glimpse of the majestic form and countenance, the haughty manner, the imperious will, and even the audacity in action peculiar to the great ancestors of the race, the men and women of the republic and the empire.

CHAPTER LIX.—CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE.



IN the foregoing sketch of the social life of the Romans, we have thus far kept close to the sexual relation as the foundation of those phenomena which we

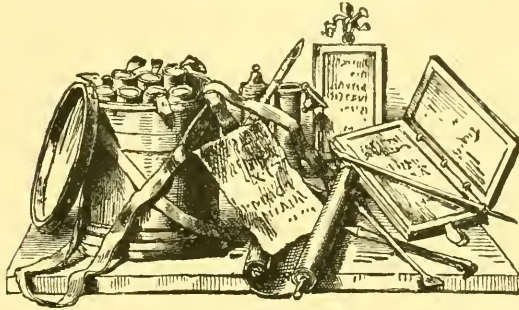
have delineated. We have looked at the strictly domestic and family life of the people, in those aspects of the same which were peculiar to the Romans. Alongside of the evolution which we

have thus traced from the germinal state to the expansion and decay of the social tree, many other forms of development were coincident. We have not thus far said anything, except in passing, of the Roman schools and other

The intellectual life grew with the growth of social forms.

means of mental and physical discipline. There was never a time in the history of the race when the Romans felt that insatiable intellectual hunger which impelled the Greeks to activity. The Roman

mind was heavy, colossal, dull. Indeed, it would be hard in the whole domain of ancient history to select two facts more strongly contrasted than the intellect of the Greek and that of the Roman. Nev-



WRITING IMPLEMENTS.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

ertheless, there was a certain measure of mind-power displayed by the man of the West.

We should look in vain in Rome for those gymnasia and other schools of enlarged and rational training which belonged to even the earlier periods of the Greek career. But in course of time the Romans sought the school as a means of bringing their sons to citizenship and their daughters to the estate of matrons. There were old Roman schoolmasters who gathered the children of certain families and taught them as a means of livelihood. They were not a respected class of citizens. The references to them in earlier Latin literature are generally sarcastic. There are hints that the primitive pedagogy was the *dernier* resort of eccentric and impractical spirits who were incapable of living by any other means.

In the first centuries of the republic there was no system of schools. Private enterprise was left to supply what the public had neglected. In many

instances the school was conducted in the family. Perhaps the children of adjacent households were drawn in by the master and taught with those of his patron. When the private house was not sufficient to accommodate the band of youth thus gathered, the pedagogue sought an open roof or some colonnade near by, and there delivered his instructions. There also he administered his punishments, which were as frequent and severe as the spirit of the austere age in which he lived. The bastinado was freely laid on the naked backs of all offenders, and the power of the rude master was next to that of the *paterfamilias*.

Sometimes these private schools were conducted in the open streets, in little recesses and squares which the exigency of building had produced. Never in old Rome were there any reputable buildings specially devoted to education. Nothing like an enlarged gymnasium,

School began with family; powers of the pedagogue.

No school buildings; sexes educated together.



SCENE IN ROMAN SCHOOL—THE BASTINADO.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

college, or university was thought of in those ages of war and physical conflict. As we have said, the sexes were intermingled in the schools, and there was

little distinction either in the curriculum or the discipline based on the fact of sex. It may be said that up to the time of the contact of advancing Rome with the Greeks, and until the culture of the latter began to be absorbed, either from Magna Græcia or from the home country itself, no such thing as higher culture was known among the Romans.

classes of teachers in Rome. The first class was composed of those rustic empirics whose rude methods had instilled into the primitive Roman youth whatever they knew of letters and numbers. The second class was made up of the imported element, who were really men of ability and learning. These soon gained a great reputation at the expense

of the former class. The common teachers were despised and treated as menials; but the Greek instructors and lecturers of the imperial age were many times held in the highest esteem.

In this age distinguished Romans had themselves acquired, doubtless in the first place by the aid of Greek instruction, the discipline and knowledge and methods of Hellas, and applied them as professional pedagogues might do



SENECA.

From Visconti's *Iconographic Romaine*.

It came to pass, however, as we have seen above, that the Greek was imported

to supply the want of intellectual acumen in the West. Greek teachers succeed the rustic pedagogues.

He came as a pedagogue. Perhaps he was also a slave. But his abilities were soon recognized, and he became thenceforth, even to the downfall of the empire, a necessity to the culture of Italy. There thus arose two

in their own country. Many names of illustrious Romans belonged by profession to this class of teachers. Verrius Flaccus taught the grandchildren

Roman professors also are known to history.

of Augustus, and received for his services a great salary. He was able to dictate to the emperor that his instruction should not be limited to the Augustan princes, but be extended to his whole

body of pupils alike, the princes included with the rest. Seneca was the tutor of Nero. Quintilian taught the nephews of Domitian, and Apollonius was the instructor of Marcus Aurelius. All these names have honorable places in the intellectual history of Rome.

In the Roman primary schools were taught reading and writing. It was ex-

The primary curriculum; wreckage on the grammar reef.

pected that every youth, boy or girl, should learn thus much of letters. Next came grammar. The Romans at large were never a nice people in the matter of accurate speaking. The scribblings of the young folk on the walls and porches of their houses have left many evidences of the reckless grammar which they employed. Nor is it likely that the old teachers themselves were wiser than their kind in the science of language. With grammar the student entered the higher learning. Now he fell under the instruction of some Greek master or his assistant, and was taught rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and finally philosophy—whatever that word may mean.

Of all these branches, the Roman mind took to rhetoric most kindly. The

Popularity and resulting influences of rhetoric.

rhetoricians were in great vogue in the city, and to be able to speak rhetorically was a high achievement in the estimation of the forum. Here we may see again the great difference in the acuteness and good taste of the Greek mind as compared with the noisy exuberance of the Roman. It is undoubtedly true that in all the nations of modern times which have taken the bottom principles of their jurisprudence from the Roman law, and from the mediæval schoolmen the beginnings of an educational system, the bombast and fury and effulgence of public speakings and writings

bear witness to the Latin origin of such phenomena.

Oratory may be said to have been a part of the Roman system of public affairs. It was the only branch of education for which any provision was made by the state. Importance attached to elocution and oratory. In the last century of the

republic and under the empire there was a statute for instruction in Greek and Roman oratory. There was always special stress laid upon the elocutionary art; and so far as the management of the voice is concerned, it may be conceded that the Romans excelled most other peoples. The construction and management of the periods was carefully attended to, and for this business, as we shall hereafter see, the Latin language offered special encouragement.

Besides oratory proper, the young patricians were drilled in the classics. This branch included a Studies of young patricians; Greek language cultivated. study of Greek and Roman authors, particularly the poets. The works of the latter were critically read under the ear of men who were certainly prepared to judge of the merits of such productions in an age when their beauties had not as yet been obscured by lapse of centuries and the interposition of strange tongues babbling on foreign shores.

It was the wont of young men who were expected to engage in public life, as all young patricians might be supposed to do, to commit largely from the poets and orators; and the public speech of the senate house and the forum was always largely interlarded with quotations and applications of the writings and orations of the masters. If the young man was ambitious to excel, as many were, he learned to speak Greek with facility and doubtless with some approach to vernacular purity. From



SENATORS ENTERING THE HALL.

the rostra and in the discussions of the senate house many passages and even whole orations were delivered in Greek, and were sufficiently understood to meet the requirements of effective argument. The language of the cynical Casca throws a beam of light on the usages of the last days of the republic:

Brutus.—"And after that he came, thus sad, away?"

Casca.—"Aye."

Cassius.—"Did Cicero say anything?"

Casca.—"Aye, *he spoke Greek*."

Cassius.—"To what effect?"

Casca.—"Nay, an I tell you that, I'll ne'er look you i' the face again: But those that understood him smiled at one another, and shook their heads; but, for mine own part, it was Greek to me."

We have remarked above upon the intimate interknitting of society, properly

Division of the Roman people into patricians and plebeians.

so called, with the civil and political structure of Rome. Still following this

clue, we come now to note a few of what may be called the general social aspects of the Roman people. Straining our vision till we discover the moving figures of the dawn, we observe at the very first a division of the Romans into two great social classes. These were the patricians and the plebeians, the privileged order and the common people. For centuries together the relations of these two bodies constituted the subject-matter of civil history in the state. At the very first the patricians were the whole *populus Romanus*. It is an instance of what is known as the nobility of priority. The nobility of wealth and the nobility of office are social phenomena of a later date.

Among all ancient peoples the claim to rank was instituted on the ground of priority. "We were here before you were; this land was ours before your

coming," was the form of the assumption expressed in language. This is the first method which men adopted of asserting a political legitimacy as against the doctrine of violence, which they are all anxious to disclaim. Even barbaric tribes are not willing to admit that their rights in a certain locality where they have fixed themselves are based upon violent occupation. Yet it is true that their rights—even as the rights of all—have such origin, and no other.

Ancient claim of rank on ground of priority.

The first attempt to avoid the open defense of such a claim is to assert priority. The *populus Romanus* claimed to be the true Roman folk whose fathers had built the city, planted the state. They were native and to the manner born. In early

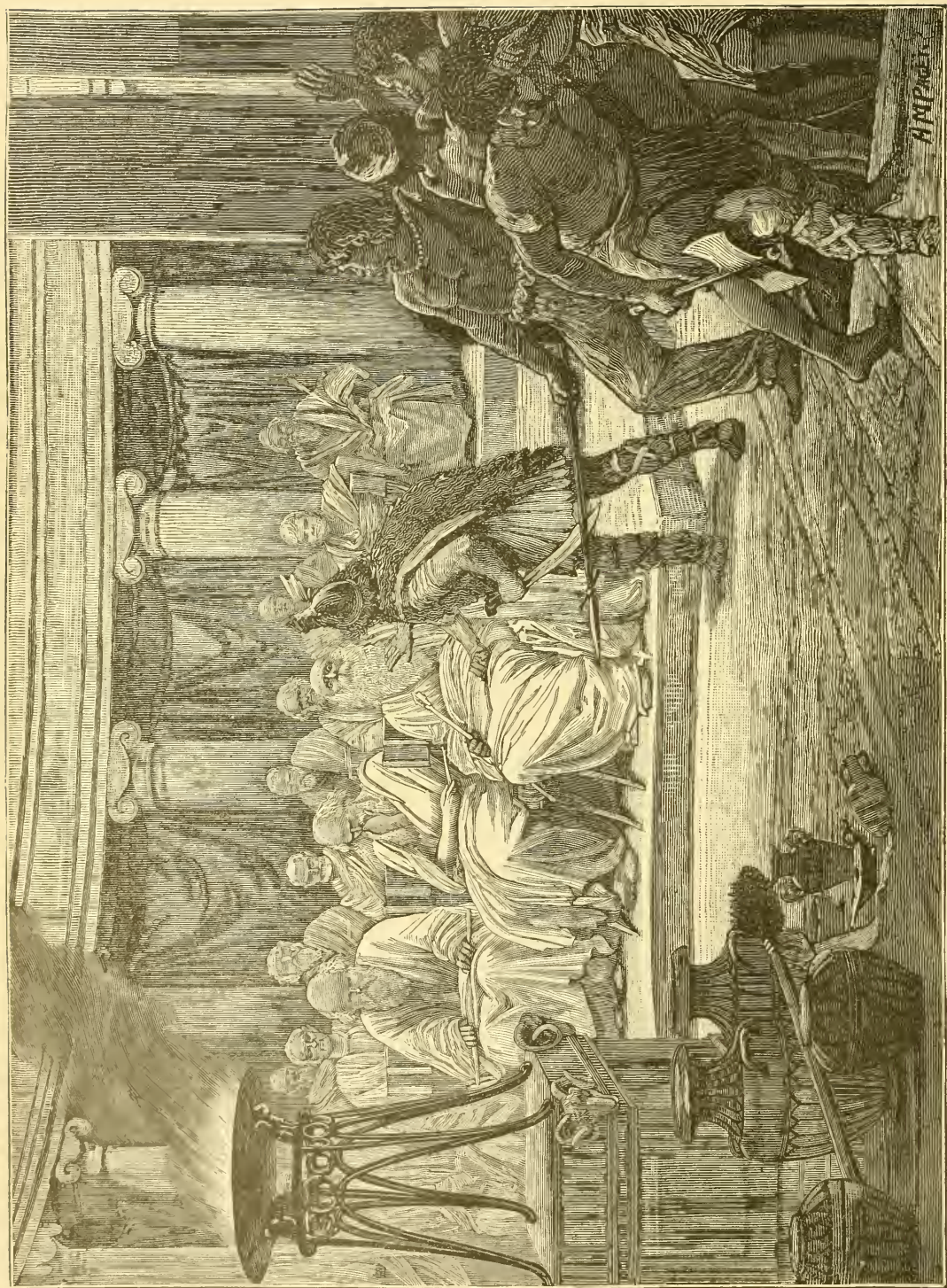
The *populus Romanus* lays claim to original possession.

times their claim was put forth modestly, as is shown in their names of *patres*, fathers. They were merely house-fathers, the goodmen of the colony. In a few generations, however, *patres* came to express much more; to signify that aristocratic order in whose hands the government of the state was lodged.

No sooner was the city founded than a second folk began to be gathered by accretion to the true *populus*. Other colonists came in who could not claim

First gathering of plebeian elements around the city.

the same rights as the originals. The organizers of a corporation in modern times do not admit the subsequent stockholders on the same basis with themselves. The *populus Romanus* had gone in on the ground floor, and all after comers must be *attached* to the primary body. Meanwhile neighboring cities were conquered, and new elements of population were drawn from this source. Not much further on, foreign war began by its agitations to bring increments into Latium, to Rome.



PATRES ROMANI.—VISITATION OF THE GAULS.

Many, indeed, were the sources from which flowed the streams of this secondary and subordinate population called the *plebs*, or common people.

The instincts of the Roman race were such as to intensify a distinction of this sort. Never in the history of mankind did an order of men contend with more persistency and determination and, indeed, savage ferocity for the maintenance of the rights claimed by their rank than did the patricians of Rome. On the other hand, the discrimination was felt most keenly by the plebeians. From the earliest epochs they saw themselves disparaged in everything, and from the first they began to reach up and to claim an abatement, a relaxation and abrogation of the restrictions, the removal of the impediments by which they were debarred from the full rights of citizenship. Here in this social condition were laid the foundations of that inevitable struggle which continued through centuries, and never reached its decisive and final issue until Julius Cæsar trampled the old aristocracy of Rome in the bloody mire of Pharsalia.

We here notice only the social aspect of this great question. With the process of time the pride, the arrogance, the power even of the patricians became fortified more and more in the traditions of the race and in all the precedents of Roman history; but at the same time the plebeians constantly increased in number. The disproportion between them and the patrician order became greater and greater. As we have seen in the Commons of England, wealth grew in the lower order. Adventurous plebeians, by commerce and adventure, became rich, and the pride of vulgar wealth was set up against the pride of

Beginnings of the struggle of social classes.

sort. Never in the history of mankind did an order of men contend with more

pauper aristocracy. This increase of the money power in the lower order of Roman society was perhaps the determining factor in its ultimate triumph over that illustrious aristocracy whose rank dated back to the founding of the city—aye, before the founding of the city; for it is claimed in the Roman traditions that Romulus himself had to face the problem of the patres and the plebs; that they were already in a state of belligerency at the time when the warborn whelp killed his brother for leaping over the walls of his city. Space does not offer here for tracing out the nature of the conflict, even from the social side, by which the lower order of people was carried forward to final victory over the nobility. It was essentially a struggle of the plebs to become *populus Romanus*, to reach an equality of privileges with the patrician rank, and particularly to share the public offices and have a part in the distribution of the *folkland*, or common domain, which the Roman state was constantly gathering by conquest.

The next aspect of Roman society as it presents itself for our consideration was clientage. The word is derived from an old Latin word signifying “to obey;” so that the primary idea in the relation was obedience. It can hardly be doubted that this relation was first instituted between the feeble and dependent plebs and a member of *populus Romanus*, patrician father. If, as we have seen, the term patres and *populus* signified at first the same social fact, we may easily discern how humble would be the first increments of plebeian society. Newcomers to Rome would be glad to *attach* themselves to any *pater* whom they could induce to look upon them with favor. There would arise in such cir-

Rise of clientage; philosophy of the system.

Conditions leading to the final victory of the plebeians.

cumstances a primitive, voluntary compact by which the stranger, helpless and dependent, would be bound in certain respects to the patrician who took him under his protection.

Modern society is not without its examples of such situations. They arise

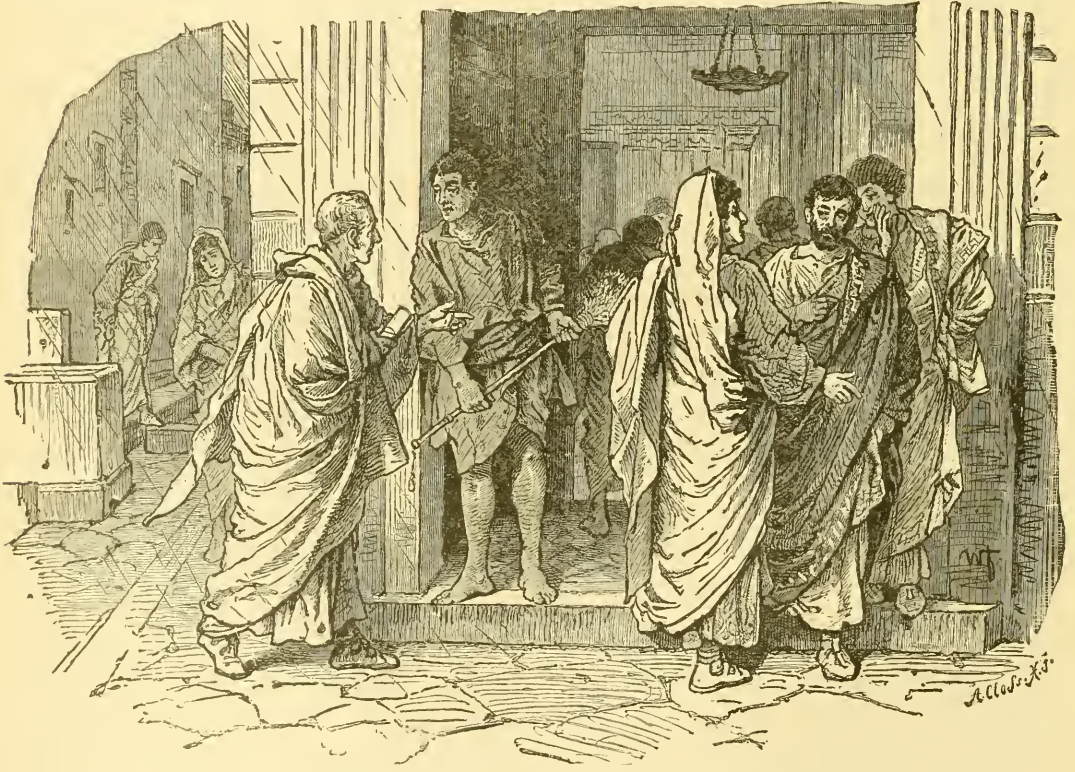
Recurrence of
like phenomena
in society of
modern times.

naturally. There is always a drifting and vagabond element in civilized countries, passing from place to place and

ment made between the dependent and the patron in Roman clientage.

Patronus was the name by which the superior party to the compact was known. *Client* was the name of the inferior. The house mother, an aristocratic lady, was *Matrona*. According to the Roman theory of society she stood for the patronus in his absence and exercised his prerogatives. To the first

Names and parts
of the principal
actors in client-
age.



SWARM OF CLIENTS.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

appearing at the gates and doors of the established people who own the soil and live by industry. The vagrant is in a half-starved condition. He is willing to enter service temporarily or permanently on condition of being attached to the household, clothed, fed, protected. He promises to perform certain duties in return for certain benefits. The situation is very real, and, *mutatis mutandis*, it is not unlike the first agree-

client was added the second, then the twentieth, perhaps the two hundredth. Around the patron were gathered a mass of these hangers-on. It was one of the most striking aspects of the society of Rome.

Meanwhile, however, clientage had departed from the original simple dependence of a plebeian upon a patrician, and had become an institution irrespective of the relations of the plebs and the

populus. Any rich man of any rank might become a patron, and any per-

The system extends and becomes the feudalism of Rome.

sions of the lower orders of society might attach themselves to him independence.

Patrons themselves of the smaller sort might become clients of some greater patronus. In fact, the whole of Roman society was involved in the system which was, in its full development, not dissimilar to the vassalage and lordship

It was intended that the clientage should give the patronus social importance. His rank among his fellowmen—we speak not here of civil rank—was determined in large measure by his client following. To have many clients was to be distinguished in society. To have few was to be obscure. On the other hand, the patronus had social duties with respect to the clientage. They had a character in society which he must



LAWYER AND CLIENT.—THE STUDY.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

of that feudalism which was destined afterwards to take possession of the countries once dominated by Rome.

In the system of Roman clientage we see again the interlocking of private and public life. Part of the duties which the clients were expected to render to the patroni were private, and a part were public. Some of the obligations were simply social, and others again were political, civil, juridical.

Clients must render both private and public service.

support and defend. The terms which we here employ to express the interdependence of the two parties are too exact and modern for the facts to which they refer. The relations of the clientage and the patroni were loose and in some sense voluntary. In course of time the law came in to define and regulate the intercourse and mutual obligations of the parties, but the system was never exact and definite as would have been the case if clientage had been

purely a civil institution rather than a social.

The manner and method of intercourse between the parties to this peculiar compact have been many times described. The client was not a member of the familia, but he was attached to the familia, more particularly to its head, as an outside dependent. The principal social obligation resting upon him was in the matter of that indefinite fact called *respect*. He must show respect to his patronus. The tie was personal. It was considered an evidence of social importance that with each morning the clients of a given patron should visit his residence. This act was a part of that respect which must be shown to the superior. The visit might be brief. Punctuality in this regard was stimulated by the daily distribution of what was called the *sportula*, or dole. This was the allowance of provision, or money in lieu thereof.

The client was by no means sensitive in these particulars. He accepted anything that the rich family had to contribute to his welfare. He took up the cast-off clothing and accepted the rejected food from the table of the lord. It was not allowable, however, for a client to make the morning call upon his patron without having attended to the formalities of society. He must put on his toga and make himself presentable. Otherwise it was not respect. The rule requiring daily attendance upon the patron was inexorable. Any neglect in this regard broke the relation. From these mere social aspects of the question the duties at once rose to a higher plane. If the master were going into the forum to deliver an oration that day his clients must all attend. They must be near

Manner of the intercourse between patronus and client.

Mutual duties and obligations of the parties.

him during the delivery of his speech and applaud to the echo, doing everything in their power to create a favorable impression as to the merits of their master's endeavor. Perhaps he was going to the court. Possibly a cause of his own was on trial. He must be attended thither by his dependents. Their presence in the court room gave influence and character to him whom they followed and a favorable bias toward his cause. In all this we see once more that compactness for which the social and civil structure of Roman society was so noted. It was interwoven in all its parts. After some centuries it will require the long and dreadful debilitation of vice to weaken this structure sufficiently that even the Goths may rend it asunder.

In the system of clientage there was much that was abject and degrading. In fact, there were points of view from which the clients were not far removed Degrading influences of the system of clientage. from slaves. Any infraction of the rigorous rules which determined their conduct subjected them to loss of place. They were treated with many indignities. In the gray dawn of morning, through blasts of bad weather, they must make their way to the outer porch of their patron and there stand shivering until his lordship should at length appear to bid them good morning. Meanwhile they were jeered at by the servants of the house. Internally, they were subject to all jealousies and rivalries which men of their class might feel. It was a great point to be first to attract the master's regard on his coming forth. To be occasionally invited by him to sit at the lower end of the table when supper was served was a mark of special distinction. As a rule, the crowd was dismissed after the salutations of the morning had been

interchanged; but if public service were required, then the dependents must be in readiness to follow at the nod of the patrons—an abject, miserable life, concomitant shadow of that brilliant and

showy patrician life of which old Rome was boastful. In such strongly contrasted conditions of old Roman society lay dormant the fruitful seeds of dissolution and death.

CHAPTER LX.—SLAVERY AND THE FAMILIA.



ABOVE the horizon appears the crouching form of the slave. Slavery was known even in primitive Rome, but it was not a prevalent system.

It required successful war to bring in the captives requisite for the slave market. With the increase of property, and especially with the appearance of luxurious and licentious tastes, slavery became popular, and slave labor was substituted for free labor in all the principal vocations of the Romans.

Origin and prevalence of slavery among the Romans.

As the republic became vast and powerful the tide of captives was swollen to a

flood. Thousands were poured annually into Rome and were bought for a trifle. Great foreign cities were taken by siege and their whole population brought into Italy for sale. The inhabitants of Numantia and Carthage were thus indiscriminately sold in the slave auctions of Rome. That which was an incidental and personal traffic at the first became at length one of the principal branches of commerce. The slave trade was organized as a business in all parts of the empire; and it is a mocking comment upon the transformations of ancient history that the island of Delos, mythical birthplace of Phœbus Apollo, god of light and music and art, became under the dominion of Rome the chief

seat of the slave trade of the Mediterranean.

There were two great branches of Roman industry which were prosecuted by means of slave labor: agriculture and mining. This division constituted the

Kinds of slave labor and manner of the service.

basis of distinction between the rural slaves and the *servi urbani*, or urban slaves. In the great cities also the servile class grew numerous. The household work of the Romans, done of old time by themselves, was remanded to slaves, and the retinue increased till it was not an uncommon thing for a wealthy citizen to have hundreds of these abject creatures in his service.

While performing their duties—we speak here of service in homes—the slaves were forbidden to speak or to communicate with each other. An overseer called the *silentarius*, or silencer, was appointed to watch over the horde and keep them in order. There was a class, however, called the *Vernæ*, that is, slaves born in the service of a given master, whose privileges were somewhat enlarged. They were permitted to converse, and this relaxation of the stress of servitude acted, as usual, in the manner of a vent through which the loquacity and scurrilous impudence of the *Vernæ* were poured forth into a sluice.

With the growth of the servile class degrees of skill appeared, and the slaves were separated according to their abil-



MANNERS OF ROMAN SLAVES.—STREET IN POMPEII.—Drawn by W. Friedrich.

ities and craft. An analysis of slave labor for the various departments of home industry was made out and legalized. The porter of the mansion was called the *Ostiarius*. It was his business to attend the door, and there he was frequently chained to the lintel. The care of the atrium was allotted to the *Atriensis*, while the inner chambers were kept by the *Cubicularii*. The storerooms in the basement were in charge of the *Cellarius*, while the names *Ornatrices*, *Cosmetæ*, and *Untores* were assigned to tailors, bathers, hairdressers, etc.

Some of the slaves became craftsmen, and manufactured for the Roman family nearly all articles of domestic use. In such instances the skill of the operative was monopolized at home. His workmanship was not offered for sale, nor was he looked upon as a profit-producing artisan. It was one of the odd spectacles of Roman society to see a slave called the *Nomenclator* standing beside his master in the porch, running with him in public, and telling him perpetually, in a low tone of voice, the names of citizens which the overfed lord had forgotten. For such was the business of that particular servant.

In speaking of the Iranic Aryans, we have had occasion to remark upon their excessive cruelty. There was an element of this, of heartlessness, of vindictiveness toward those who were in their power, among all ancient peoples; but in certain cases these qualities came out with unusual severity. We might expect, *à priori*, that the great warlike nations would be most cruel. Doubtless war aggravated the instinctive harshness of some ancient peoples, but

the characteristic was in other respects ethnic and instinctive. The Iranians, in their historical development as Medes and Persians, were conspicuous among the Eastern Aryans for their cruel dispositions. The Indic races were, as a rule, the gentler folk. Perhaps the war blasts of nature, the strong contentions of the material world, had not so much affected the mental and physical constitution of the races who were developed in the valley of the Indus and the Ganges. We shall have occasion further on to note the reëpearance of cruelty in its intensest form among some of the Semitic peoples, notably the Assyrians and the Jews.

Looking at the Western Aryans, the bad distinction of most cruel must be given to the Romans, and the quality has flowed down with the blood of the race until it is a conspicuous trait among nearly all the Latin families of the modern world. We speak here of the disposition of the Roman toward his slaves. He had over them the *potestas vite necisque*. He might destroy them with little fear of bad consequences to himself. They were his. The ancient theory of war made them so. His right extended to all manner of punishments. If all the tortures inflicted by Roman masters upon their slaves could be displayed in a picture, the world would be appalled at the scene. The Roman slave might be tortured merely to extract evidence from him in legal causes wherein he was merely a witness. A slave fugitive became a wild beast in the estimation of society and before the law. He was hunted down and taken by any means and every means at the disposal of the master, and when caught he was branded or put to death by crucifixion or other horrible torture, at the

The principal kinds and classes of slaves.

Degrees of skill among slaves; the nomenclature.

Cruelty among the Ruddy races; particular examples.

The Romans conspicuous for cruelty to slaves.

cruel caprice of his owner. It was no infrequent thing to bind fugitive slaves hand and foot, to carry them to the hills and expose them to have their eyes pecked out by birds of prey, and to be eaten alive by wild beasts.

The horrors of human slavery! The soul revolts at the sight of the spectacle! Of all the awful and grief-working phenomena of suffering human society, whether in barbarian ages or the civilized epochs of history, nothing comparable with this dark and malignant shadow has rested upon the landscape of life, poisoning and corrupting all fountains of love and hope, dropping its upas mildews on every blossom and fruit of happiness, making the world a desert and a hell.

Out of such a fact as the slave system of Rome all abuses would naturally arise. We should expect to see the obliteration of human lineaments in the relations of masters and slaves. Strange it is, however, that the system had its alleviations. These were discoverable in part in the occasional generousities of individual character, and at a later time in the relaxations of the severity of Roman customs and laws.

This is but another example of that universal fact of deducing from given historical premises too large a conclusion. The beginner in historical inquiry is ever prone to apply the Aristotelian syllogism to human affairs, and to gather therefrom a series of deductions, some of which are greatly too wide and others greatly too narrow for the actual facts of history. For a long time the mind is perplexed, embarrassed, almost angered with this disparity between actual conditions as they occur in the world and the conditions that *ought* to

have occurred according to the principles of logic. Indeed, history might almost be defined as the illogical science. In such definition it is by no means meant that events do not correspond exactly to their antecedents. The trouble lies deep. The antecedents are never fully apprehended. They are apprehended in *some* of their *leading* features. The historical vision being imperfect, these leading features are taken as a complete expression of the data, and are combined in premises. From these, as we have said, conclusions are drawn according to the rules of logic, and the latter are presently found to be wide of the facts.

From this consideration all true historical inquiry becomes a process of rectification between logical deductions and actualities. Let it not be understood that there is in this condition an element of caprice. The imperfections of human knowledge are such that historical premises are never complete. If they were complete, and if right reason were applied in their management, then logic and history would lead to the same results; but so long as they are incomplete and erroneous in statement it will be true, as Guizot has said, that logic is tortured by history—by which he means that the actual affairs of human society never correspond with rational expectations.

These reflections are world-wide in their application to human slavery. The system has always had in it the sum of horrors; that is, potentially. But in all ages and countries it has been alleviated by individual goodness and the advancing enlightenment of society. It has always been ameliorated by the pre-slave condition of many of the peoples

Horrors of human slavery; ameliorating features.

Danger of deducing too large conclusions in history.

Historical inquiry a process of rectification.

Slavery mitigated by humane dispositions of masters.

who have been given into bondage. It is true that in hundreds of instances the actual condition of slaves under servitude has been for a time and in special circumstances better than in that other state from which they were taken.

In Rome these alleviations were seen here and there. The household slaves

Special alleviations of slavery among the Romans.

grew up with the children of the family, and the latter, by the laws of human

nature, became attached to those who cared for them in infancy and youth. Afterward, when the Roman boy reached citizenship, the old ties continued between him and his favorite servants. The same happened in the case of slave women. It should be noted, however, that man-slaves among the ancient nations were always greatly in excess. It should also be observed that such was the condition of society as to discourage slave breeding. The absence or infrequency of that horrid fact was another alleviating circumstance. It was cheaper and easier during the ages of ancient warfare—and all ages were ages of warfare—to bring in new adult captives, adult but young and vigorous, than to bear the expense and endure the delay of breeding them from infancy. Still another circumstance added to the ameliorating conditions. The captives were frequently the equals of the Romans in abilities, culture, civilization. Sometimes they were greatly superior. Those that were brought out of Greece were, as we have seen, the schoolmasters of their masters.

It might well amuse, if it did not instruct, the modern inquirer to look into

Gain to the slaves from possession of superior intelligence.

a Roman family of good estate in the last century of the republic, and to observe the relations of the master and his slaves. Most of the Roman nobles had

a doctor, each of his own. The physician was a slave. Doubtless he was a Greek. A closer investigation of the case would show that this Greek family physician was a quack. He had the wit and craft of his race, and he turned his intellectual abilities to a good advantage out in the West. Italy was the West. The ignorant nabob who owned him did not know but what he was as learned as Hippocrates. Perhaps in his ministrations to the family in time of sickness and bone-breaking he did little harm, for his wit and slight empirical knowledge would carry him through.

The master had a library of manuscript rolls, written for the most part in Latin, but otherwise in Greek. The librarian was

Slaves serve as librarians and secretaries.

a slave and a Greek. He not only kept the library, but was skillful in its use. His abilities in reading and translating were his master's best resource of information. Not all physicians, not all librarians, were slaves; but the circumstance of their being so was exceedingly common. Every noted Roman, especially in public life—and what noted Roman was not?—must have a secretary. The secretary was a slave and a Greek. It will be seen that some of these relations were necessarily confidential, and where confidence is necessary cruelty can hardly be practiced. In these conditions we may readily discover the antecedent facts which led to frequent emancipations. The emancipated slave became a freedman. He at once associated himself with others, and the class of freedmen was thus constituted the *Liberi* of Roman society.

It will be readily seen that the institution of slavery in Rome, like several of the facts which we have been considering, had its political, or civil, as well

as its social side. The slaves were an element in society, and they were also an element in the state. In process of time the civil relations of Roman slavery became more important than even in its

Political and civil aspects of Roman slavery.

institution of slavery runs the same general course. It begins from the social side. The advantage to the individual man of having another to labor in his stead, the cupidity of the first and the

Historical course and end of the institution.



MEETING OF FIRST CHRISTIANS AT ROME.

social aspects. The great multiplication of the *servi*, the increase of the general slave increment among the Roman population, became a menace to civil authority and even to the perpetuity of the republic.

It is probable that in all countries the

weakness of the other are the bottom causes for the beginning of the slave condition; but these causes are common throughout the tribe. Slavery thus advances and becomes at length universal. Meanwhile the law must deal with the problem. Statute is added to statute. The

slave class becomes formidable. Perhaps the leading men of the state come to look with disfavor upon a condition which threatens the general welfare. The state in some form or other must finally deal with the whole question, and then comes the extermination of the system.

In Rome the agitation against slavery began with the reign of Hadrian. It is

Christianity seeks to mitigate or abolish slavery.

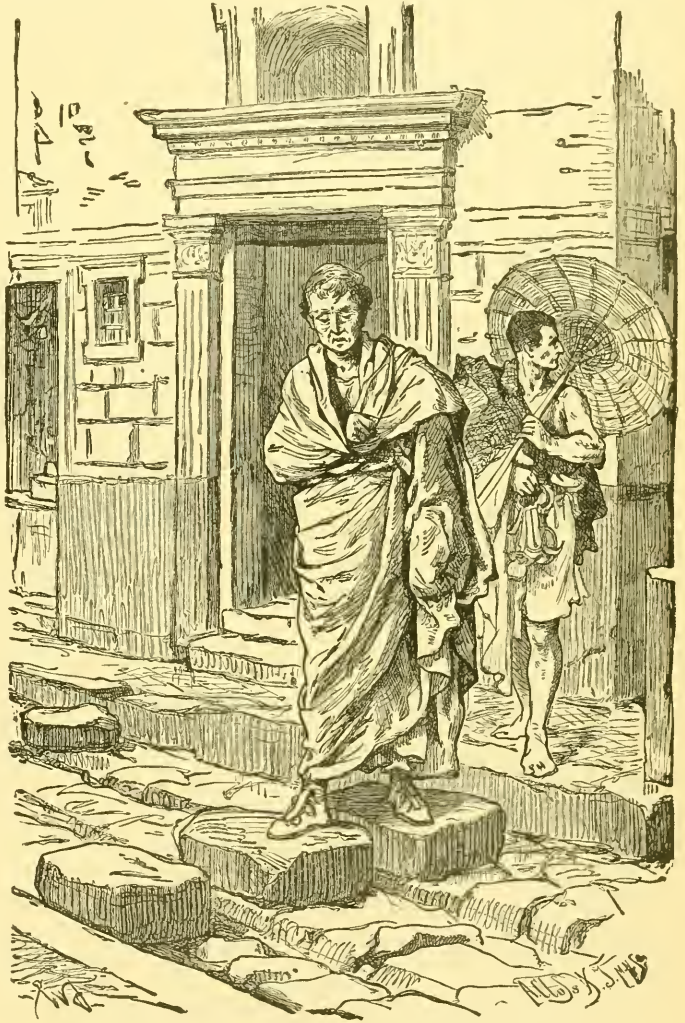
believed that the Christian teachers had now disseminated their doctrines and had inveighed against the system to the extent of weakening its hold. The practices of the new religion, especially that of the communion, required a certain equality which could only be attained by elevating the slave and abasing the master. The later legislation of the empire had many statutes against the abuses which had long existed; but no direct, or at least successful, efforts were made for abolition. The best that could be accomplished was to promote and multiply the means of manumitting the slaves and of raising them to citizenship.

We have here been considering those parts of Roman society which were not directly based on the sexual relation. We now add

Evolution of the Roman familia.

a fuller exposition of the *familia* as a part of the social system of Rome. This was an institution peculiarly Roman in its origin and development. It might be difficult to discover in any other ancient society a fact corresponding to the *familia*; and yet it

appears to be in its evolution natural enough, if not, indeed, inevitable. As we have said in a former part of the present chapter, the Roman *familia* had the family for its core. The family—using that term in nearly its modern acceptance—was the central and essential



PATERFAMILIAS.—STREET SCENE IN POMPEII.

Drawn by W. Friedrich.

part. That is, the union by marriage of the man and the woman, the primacy of the former as the head of the house, the birth, rearing, and authoritative subjection of the children to the monogamic pair, the aggregation around this stem of certain usages which gradually be-

came law and determined the form for all unions of like sort in the general society of the state, were the fundamental inner fact and vital life of the familia.

But around the family were gathered several increments in order to constitute the familia complete. First, Various social increments added to the family proper. there was the increment of the slaves. All the slaves belonging to the household were unified with the family to the extent of being put under the common social name—familia. The slave retinue grew in many instances to enormous proportions. It was no uncommon thing for the paterfamilias—and the materfamilias as well—to own an aggregate of hundreds of slaves. Not infrequently the horde extended to thousands. However extensive this mass of servi might be, they were a part of the given familia, the penumbra of which the umbra was the family.

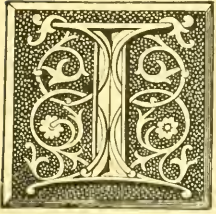
The second increment was the property, personal and real, possessed by the household. This, of The property feature of the familia. course, is only the extension of the idea already developed in the slaves. They, too, were property. They were chattels. They were designated as personæ, the real property and personality of the paterfamilias being designated as res. The two kinds came together under the common title of property; and both alike were parts of the familia. In short, whatever the paterfamilias owned or controlled in his

personal right as a Roman citizen, that was a part of familia—real property (res), slaves, all manner of things which he might rightfully claim and control.

Over and above this a third fact was necessary to round out and complete the familia, and this was to include with the living fam- The ancestral element in the institution. ily the dead family and families which had preceded the living back to a common ancestor. This was the historical increment. Ulpian, in his *digest* of the Roman law, says: “Familia is a term including the many persons who are derived by blood from some common primitive progenitor, as we say *familia Julia* ;” that is, the Julian family. He also adds: “But *the woman* is the beginning and the end of the familia.” This must mean that under some old theory or condition of Roman society the woman was the fountain head of its derivation.

To sum up, then, we find that the Roman familia was, socially considered, a wide term including the several items of family proper, slaves, personal property, rights, hereditaments, and the immaterial fact of ancestry back to the beginning of the name. Politically considered, the familia was the major division of the gens; and we have already seen how the gens was fitted into the structure of the state. Mark again the compactness of the building. Even the very slaves were bricks and mortar in the walls of that tremendous edifice destined to overtop the world.

CHAPTER LXI.—BATHS AND LUXURIOUS LIVING.



T has been customary among historians to divide human life into two parts, a public part and a private part, and to deduce all history from the former;

that is, from the *public* element in human conduct. It may not be difficult to find the cause, but it is certainly difficult to discover the reason of such a division and limitation. The cause is undoubtedly discoverable in the general fact that the public conduct of mankind appears to the common eye, the eye of sense, to be more brilliant, more tragic, more of an action proper than does the private life of man. Deferring to this popular concept, historians are wont to omit from the record what is really its most essential part.

Man-life embraces a private and a public part.

The truly vital thing in the course of this world is the individual life of man. The rest is evanescent and spectacular. The immortal part hovers close around the individual. The structural part in course of time collapses; but the living increment, that goes on through all the societies, gathering experience, growing in wisdom, extending its powers, and perpetuating whatever is good out of the past, is that private, personal, and fortunately indestructible part of human agency expressed in the individual life.¹

In the matter of ancient history especially this vice of making a drama of public affairs and inviting the modern nations to the spectacle has been conspicuous. It may be freely admitted

¹History is the essence of innumerable biographies.—*Carlyle*.

that such events as the heroic public episodes in the career of the Hellenic race, that such colossal structures as the Assyrian and Roman empires, are

History made to deal with public affairs and spectacles.

worthy of the admiration of men. At times the busy peoples of the day may, with infinite profit to themselves, sit down before the pictured pages in which the brilliant public life of the great nations of antiquity is displayed, and watch the metamorphoses as we note and applaud the changes and catastrophes of the Shakespearean drama on the stage; but the drama is not all, not even the principal part. On the contrary, the private life contains the germ, the essence, the flavor of all that is; and history is only in these last days beginning to learn that this private life must be elaborated and displayed for the real instruction and inspiration of mankind.

The student of history will not have proceeded far with his inquiries until he begins to feel the extreme difficulty of *realizing* the social aspects and conditions prevalent among ancient peoples. The eye, the ear, all the senses and faculties of the mind have been trained from childhood by observations and reflections upon the current aspects of human society. These aspects are named and described. The terms employed in this nomenclature and description are by historians used in naming and describing the societies of the ancient world; but the facts which answer to the terms in modern society are really so different from the corresponding facts in the ancient social landscape as to be utterly misleading to him who has not

Difficulty of realizing the social aspects of the ancient world.

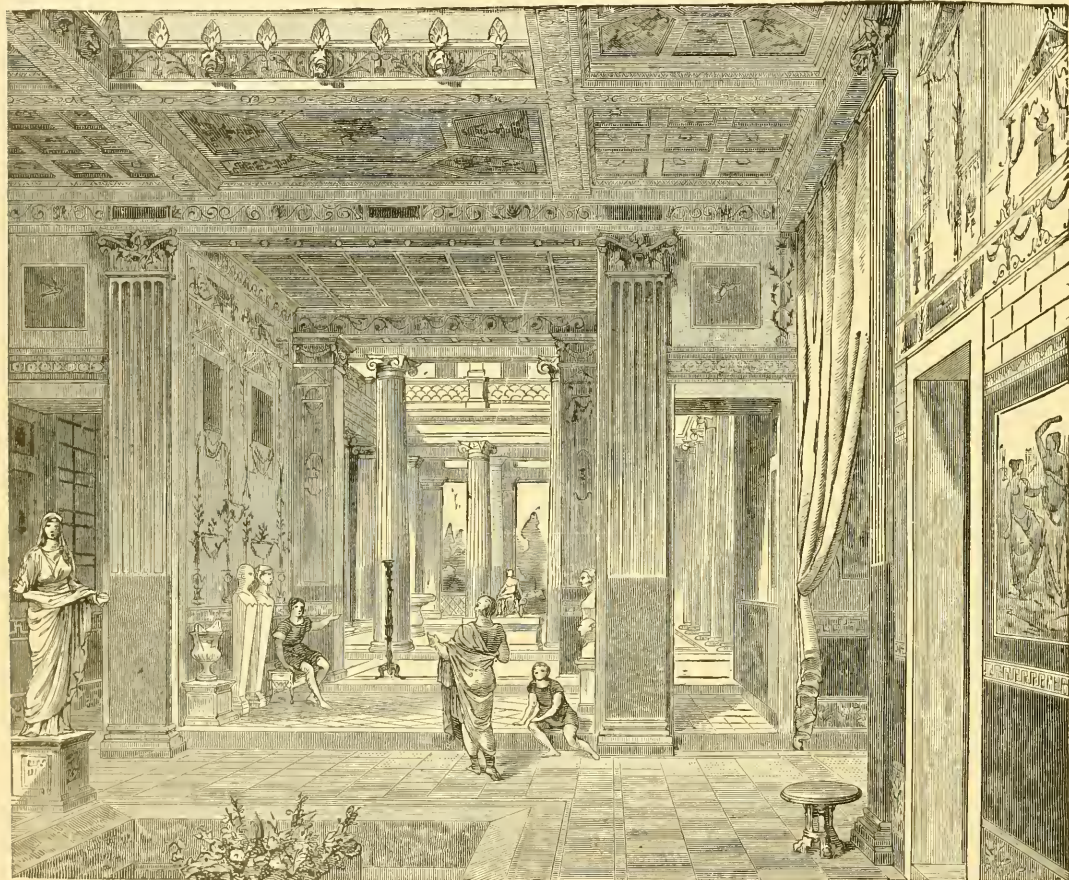
been taught to make an allowance for the evolutions and changes through which the private life of man has passed in order to reach its present condition.

Against these errors we here stand guard. We endeavor to gain a point of view from which a true perspective into the past may be obtained. We strive to

one circumstance in the nature of an instinctive refinement conspicuous in the Roman home. This was the disposition to bathe.

Instinctive disposition of the Romans for bathing.

On the whole, the ancient peoples were much more tasteful in this regard than are the moderns. If we make the circuit of the Eastern countries



INTERIOR OF ROMAN HOUSE.—SHOWING THE ATRIUM AND ALÆ; TABLINUM AND PERISTYLE, WITH FAUCES ON EACH SIDE, AND GARDEN TREES IN BACKGROUND.—Drawn by C. Reiss.

look at the past not with the eyes of sense wherewith the natural landscape of the modern world is discerned and analyzed, but with the eyes of the spirit and the understanding. Let us then look with this intense and divining gaze at some of the aspects of the everyday life of the Roman people.

The life of the Roman may be defined as large and coarse. There was only

from Egypt to Assyria, from Assyria to Greece, from Greece to Rome, compassing the better peoples of antiquity, we shall find the bathing habit universal among them. Notwithstanding the grossness of the Romans in many of their manners, they regarded cleanliness as an essential of everyday happiness.

We must bear in mind ever that the public institutions of a people are ex-

ponential of their private tastes and preferences. The principal buildings of a

Public baths attest the prevailing sentiment of the people.

city will always express the dominant ideas, desires, and passions of the inhabitants. The public bathing establishments of modern European and American capitals and resorts of pleasure would by no means compare in number and elegance with those of the ancient world. This is said absolutely of the character of the structures in question, and also relatively to their importance as balanced against other public edifices. In Rome the temples occupied the first place in grandeur, and after these the baths may be placed next. The latter were as elegant and commodious in their kind as were the marble palaces which the Cæsars and other Roman nabobs built for their own glory. As we have said, the public structure was merely expressive of a prevalent disposition among the people.

We must of course make some allowance on the score of climate. As we approach the equator we find barbarians

Climate suggests the bath; literary references thereto.

indulging more and more frequently in the pleasurable reactions of the bath, while in high latitudes such indulgences are neither desirable nor possible. Italy was sufficiently warm to intensify the instinctive dispositions of the Romans in this respect, and it is doubtless true that under the imperial régime the voluptuous habits, the gormandizing and consequent corpulency of the people provoked the frequent repetition and long continuance of bathing. We here speak, however, of the habit among the common folk. The Roman houses, like those of the Greeks, were, even in their humblest estate, provided with a bath, and to this the occupants were constantly resorting. In the country regions the

plunge into the river or lake was an excitement universally desired. In the history of the mythical times, before the establishment of the republic, we find frequent references to swimming as an accomplishment. The soldiers must be able to swim. In such historical allusions we can always discern the excitement and enthusiasm consequent on plunging into the water. Shakespeare has caught, as usual, the real spirit of the ancient narrative in the speech of Cassius descriptive of his swimming contest with Cæsar:

Cassius.—"For once, upon a raw and gusty day,
The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores,
Cæsar said to me, 'Darest thou, Cassius, now,
Leap in with me into this angry flood,
And swim to yonder point?' Upon the word,
Accoutred as I was, I plunged in,
And bade him follow: so, indeed, he did.
The torrent roared; and we did buffet it
With lusty sinews; throwing it aside,
And stemming it with hearts of controversy.
But ere we could arrive the point proposed,
Cæsar cried, 'Help me, Cassius, or I sink.'"

The private bath was a *balneum*. Its importance in the household and in the city may be inferred from the vocabulary which it produced. The *baluator* was

Nomenclature of the baths and the managers.

the bath keeper. Neptune was facetiously called the *balneator frigidus*—the cold bath keeper! The *balneaticum* was the piece of money which the bather must pay; for the term *balnea*, or baths, was soon extended from the private homes of the Romans to the less pretentious sort of bathing establishments in the city; and for using these the bather must pay. The woman bath mistress was called the *balnatrix*, for the women as well as the men of Rome had the passion of the water. The baby bath was the *balneolum*, while the utensils peculiar to the bathing house were described as *balnearia*. Even the witti-

cisms in which the bathers indulged—albeit Roman wit was always a clumsy phenomenon—had their descriptive phrase, being called *balneæ joci*, or bathing jests.

The habit of the bath among the Romans was undoubtedly at the first merely for health and cleanliness; but with the advance of society and the acquirement of leisure, which some have reckoned to be the end of human endeavor, the bath

Bathing passes from sanitary to luxurious motives and habit.

they appear to us in the great days of imperial splendor. They were called *thermæ*, and in the course of time constituted, as we have said, a large part of the architectural grandeur of the city. Long before this, however, all the refinements and associated pleasures of the bathing house had been introduced. It is doubtful whether any Turkish or Russian bath of modern times is more than a feeble imitation of the elaborate and

Establishment of the public baths of the city.



MENTONE.—Drawn by W. Hatherell.

came to be sought simply for the pleasurable reactions which it afforded. With this came the introduction of hot and cold baths. Nature had, indeed, forerun the art of man in these respects by scattering hot springs in Italy, and to these were added mineral waters, the health-giving properties of which were eagerly sought by the people of the Roman race.

With the progress of luxury the bathing establishments were extended, and soon became public institutions such as

careful reactions which were planned and produced in the great *thermæ* of Rome.

In a former chapter we have remarked upon the general absence in the Roman state of the artificial means of physical culture. The Romans were never a game-some folk as were their kinsmen, the Greeks. This is said not of their disposition to *witness* games, but of any subjective passion for gymnastical sports. From

Ethnic disposition of Romans to witness contests.

the primitive times certain games at ball were prevalent, and the body was sometimes developed by the swinging of clubs after the manner of the gymnasium. It became the custom of the Romans to follow the indulgence in physical sports with the indulgence of the bath. This was but the suggestion of nature common to all men and to all animals to enter the water after exercise. In connection with the bath houses, both *balnea* and *thermæ*, galleries, open spaces, and transepts were provided in order that games of ball and other exercises might be had before the bather should enter the water.

A complete Roman bath consisted of several parts. The bather was first taken through the caldarium, or hot bath. Here he was passed through the sweating stage. By means of steam and hot water he was made to perspire until his huge, strong body was streaming with sweat. Then came the tepidarium, or middle stage, in which he was let down from the excessive heats of the caldarium and thoroughly washed. Finally, he was taken to the great marble basin of the frigidarium, where he was plunged into swimming baths of cold water. Here there was ample room for him to exercise in the great caldrons which were constantly supplied by conduits from inexhaustible reservoirs. There were spray baths and shower baths, cascades through which the bather might run, broad marble steps going down into ample basins, and, in short, every appliance that human ingenuity could invent. The whole process was carried on in a series of apartments which for architectural splendor and artistic decoration could hardly be surpassed in Rome. So far as the public baths were concerned, it was generally after noonday, when the busy life

of the streets and forum had subsided somewhat, that the crowd of bathers began to fill the thermæ. The exercise was long continued. It was performed in a leisurely spirit, and the whole tendency was to encourage the luxurious habit into which the Roman race rapidly declined after the institution of the empire.

An easy index of the dominant dispositions of a people may always be found in the means adopted by public men to promote their own popularity and influence. The wealthy citizen caters to the people. He knows instinctively what pleases them most and in what way their applause may be most easily and enthusiastically provoked. In an age of pagan glory temples are built to the gods. In a country where ancestors are worshiped, pyramids are built over their bones. Mediæval Europe is filled with cathedrals. In a scientific age academies and seats of learning are established. In Rome the seeker for popular favor built *thermæ*, and opened them to the citizens. It is proof positive of the passion of the Roman people for the peculiar excitements and pleasures of the bath.

Out in the Field of Mars, near the Pantheon, Agrippa built the first of those great thermal structures for which the city became famous, and of this he made a free gift to the populace. The Emperor Titus emulated the fame which resulted from this enterprise, and reared a great bath house which took his name. Afterwards, Caracalla, Diocletian, and others carried forward the work of rearing in Rome those magnificent thermæ, the ruins of which to the present day astonish the traveler. In the days of their glory these splendid abodes of rest

Method of bathing; different kinds of bathing appliances.

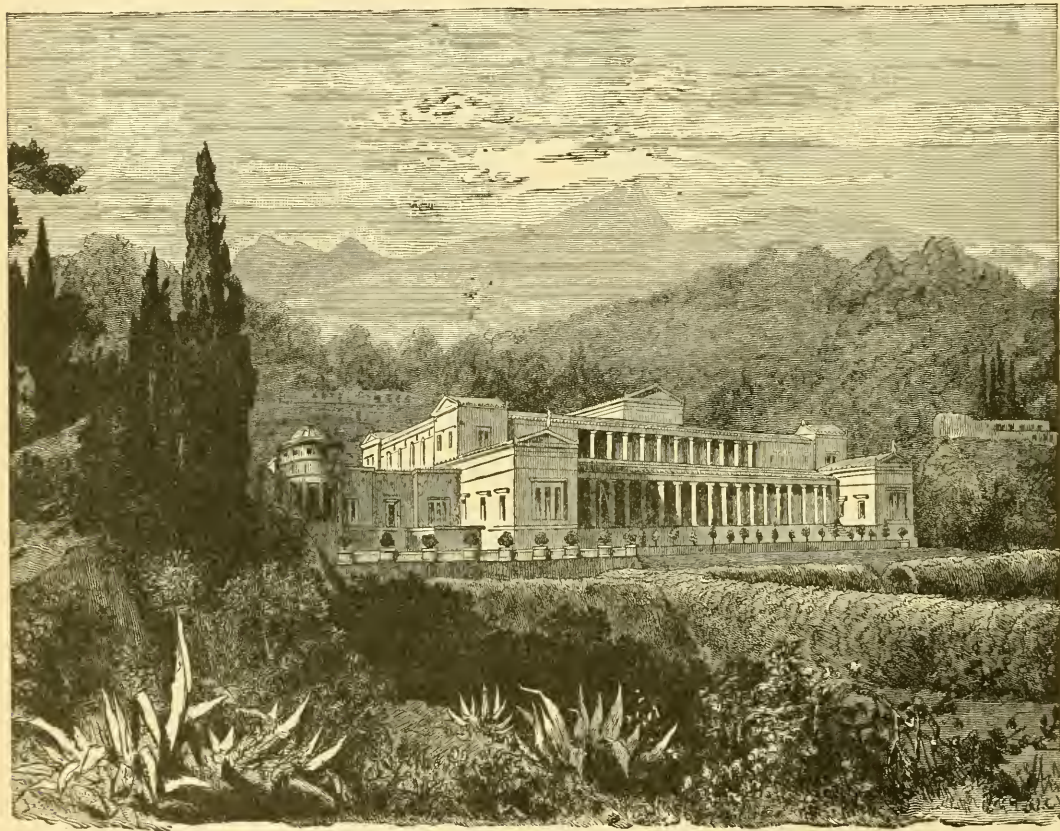
Building thermæ as a means of securing popular favor.

Emperors seek in this manner the applause of subjects.

and recreation were thronged with the lords and ladies of Rome, who came thither in the afternoons to enjoy the luxury of lassitude and the quickening of cold water. In the Roman *thermae* the apartments for men and those for the women were separate and under the management of different superintendents.

beach sloped gently to the sea. On the countryside there were hills to be crowned with villas. Near by was the Lucrine lake, and as the central fact, the famous warm sulphur springs pouring out their volume of steaming waters.

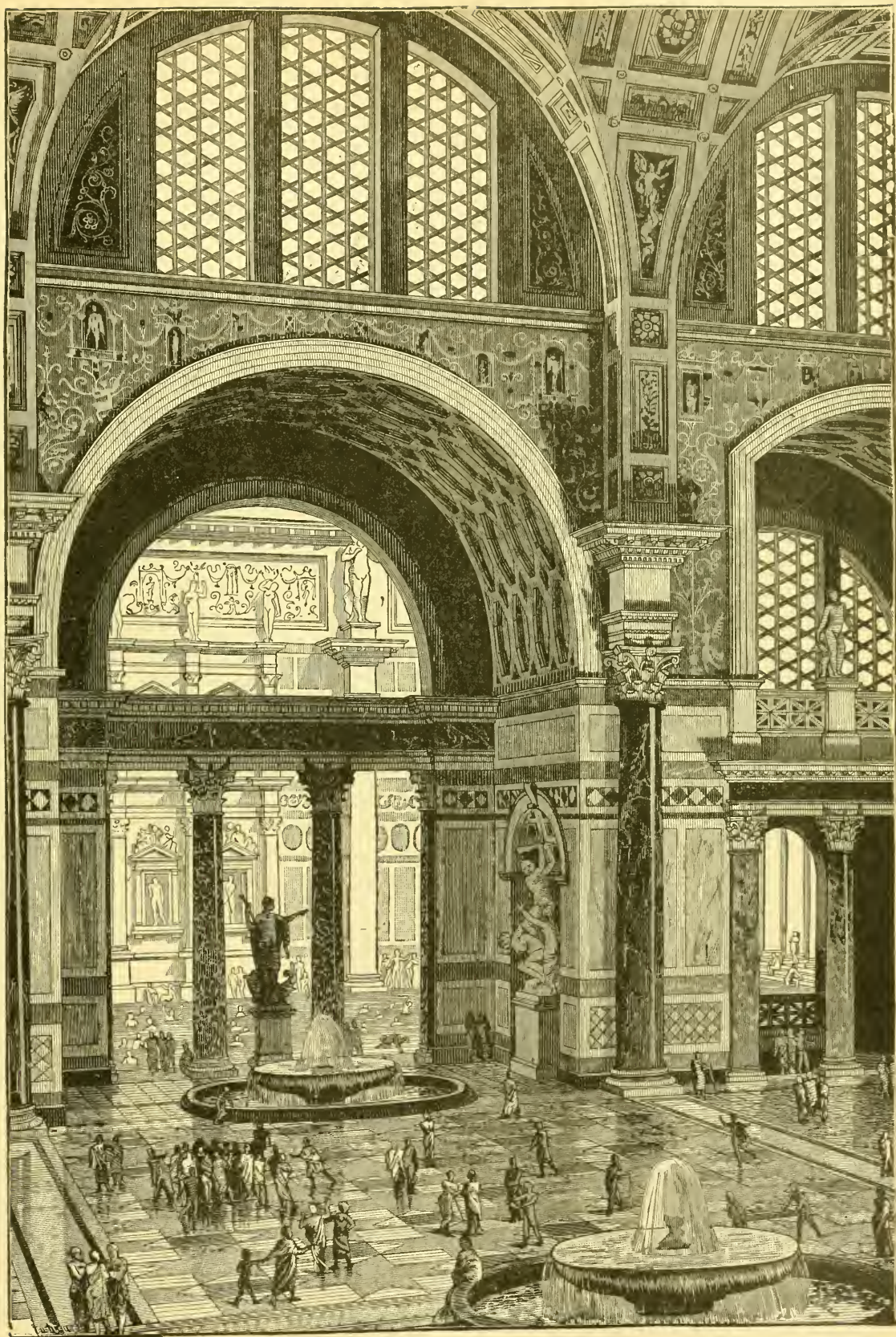
In the early days of the republic the Romans, as soon as they had accumulated sufficient means, began to resort to



VILLA OF THE YOUNGER PLINY, RESTORED.—Drawn by R. Puttner.

The pleasures of sea bathing were recognized by the Romans from the earliest ages. The character of the coast and the temperature of the Tyrrhenian sea invited the inhabitants into the blue waters. The coast of Campania was the most favorable of all. Here was the celebrated bay of Baiae, one of the most beautiful and placid bodies of water in the world. The

this coast, at first for the recovery of health, but soon afterwards for pleasure. There was an instinct in the race which led to the selection of such localities even in distant provinces as the basis of enjoyment and of intercourse. It is likely that this disposition to seek out charming and peculiar places, and to resort thereto for the pleasures of temporary residence abroad, had its origin among the Roman people, and that the corre-



BATHS OF CARACALLA.—Drawn by F. Tiersch.

sponding habit among modern peoples is traceable to the example of Rome.

The bay of Neapolis, not far away, was only second to that of Baïæ, but

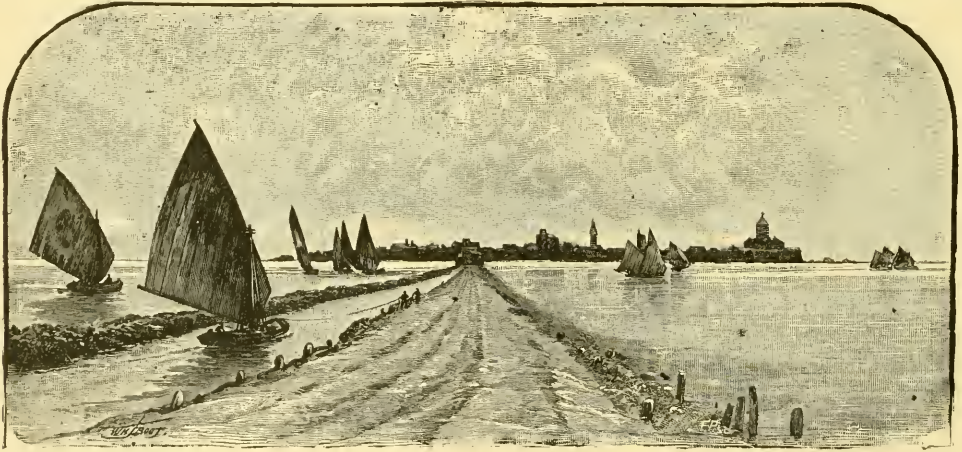
Neapolis rivals
Baïæ as a pleas-
ure resort.

the habit of resorting thither rose at a later date.

In course of time the younger resort became the more famous, and Baïæ declined in popularity, but in the latter epochs of the republic it was still the most famous seat of recreation known to the Roman race. Cicero narrates that in his day the shore was adorned with palaces. The neighboring hillcrests were crowned with marble

The Lucrine lake also, not far from Baïæ, was alive with pleasure-boats. These were as costly and as varied in fashion as the ^{Scenes of fashion and dissipation of Lucrine lake.} most elaborate yachts of the present day. On deck, under the

awnings, sat companies of the most distinguished people of the ancient world. There they fanned themselves, smiled, and talked in sonorous Latin of the latest pleasure, the newest sensation of the times. Here they were attended by slaves, brought capriciously from unknown regions of the earth. Here they were supplied with banquets, and here



PLEASURE BOATS OF COMACCHIO.—Drawn by W. H. Boot.

villas that lay slumbering like visible poems in the Italian air. Elegant structures were from the seaside seen in all the landscape. Down hither in summer season came the great senators, the famous generals, the millionaire grandees of magnificent Rome, the emperors themselves with their retinues. Here they disported themselves and lavished their thousands in procuring all manner of pleasures which the race of Romulus had been able to discover. Here by day the sleepy sea was whitened with sails, drifting drowsily before the almost imperceptible breeze that ruffled the surface into a smile.

they sipped the choicest wines which the rich grapes of Southern Italy could yield. Here were music and song and dance. The revelers filled the hours of twilight, giving themselves without restraint to every luxury and every rapture which the uncurbed will and desire of the great can purchase or prepare in the days of splendid vice.

We may here be said to have reached the extreme evolution of the Roman race. It was the period of ^{Contrast of imperial splendor with democratic simplicity.} greatest expansion and development. Gibbon has selected the middle of the second century of our era as the time at which

mankind in the world appeared for a season to enjoy the richest abundance and to be most happily organized into a great community. Great was the distance into the past from this epoch of social splendor to the primitive age in which Roman society began its growth and progress. It is the distance from a bowl of porridge in the hands of a peasant to a golden platter filled with broiled

the Sabine farmers to the Julian basilica and the thermæ of Caracalla; the distance from rude customs permeated with patriotism to the pompous lawmaking of Augustus and Trajan; the distance from the humble procession of matrons and republican citizens bringing their offerings to the altars of Jove and Minerva to the long lines of Cæsarean triumphs, winding with *Io triumphes* through



TRUMPETS AND TRUMPETERS OF ROME.—SCENE FROM THE JUGURTHINE WAR.

tongues of nightingales or the brains of flamingoes in the hands of an emperor; the distance from the maiden Virginia, standing by the butcher's stall awaiting the quick stroke of her father's dagger, to Messalina procuring the destruction of the daughter of Germanicus; the distance from the Horatii to the Prætorian Guards; the distance from the rustic prayer of the Latin shepherd to the lascivious songs of Horace and Juvenal; the distance from stone huts where lived

the resounding streets of marble-built Rome.

With the possible exception of the Assyrians, the Romans were the people of strongest passions

known in the ancient world. This quality of character began at bottom with a ravenous appetite. All the Roman appetites were wellnigh insatiable. If we begin with mere eating, we shall find that the characteristic was excess. It may not

Excessive appetites and passions of the Romans.

be clearly known that the elder Romans indulged their voracity as did they of a later age; but from that time forth, at which authentic sketches of the daily habits of the people may be recovered, we find the passion for food to be unquenchable. This is true not only of the quantity but also of the variety of foods consumed by the Romans. In the later times it might also be said that they lived to eat. Even the prosecutions of campaigns into foreign countries had for their rationale the enlargement and variation of the food-supply of Rome. Not that Rome was suffering from scarcity of provisions, but that her stomach and lust were without limit.

It became a part of the public consideration of the emperor and his obsequious senate and court how —by what agents—additional luxuries and stimuli might be procured for the already engorged and inflamed physical nature within. It would appear that the coarse, vigorous, and sensual nature of the Roman found its only satisfaction in gormandizing. Out of the necessity of things this aspect of the social life was most pronounced in the upper classes of the metropolis. The village and countryside always preserve a modicum of oldtime temperance and chastity. It is in the city's heart that excess reaches the maximum of apoplexy or the heat of spontaneous combustion.

The Roman nature thus became the vortex which swallowed up not only the abundance of the earth but the flotsam and jetsam of all seas. No other nature of man was ever so consuming, so

profound and unquenchable in its lusts and appetites. This quality of life extended not only to the single sense of taste but to all the senses alike. The Roman ear was not so much pleased with tender music, the low wail of the Æolian harp, the soft song of love and sorrow, the soulful melody of the lute and harp, but rather with the ringing clangor of broad cymbals, the shouts of victorious multitudes, the wild cries of beasts and men in conflict, and the roar of battle. Even their ointments and perfumes were strong and odorous, as if the sense of smell must be drunken with the pungent distillations of the East.

As for the sense of sight, nothing could satisfy—nothing appease. Far back in the times of the republic the disposition to witness some stormy and bloody scene appeared among the Roman people; and from that time forth all the milder aspects of nature and of life were disprized and neglected. We are here on the threshold of Roman amusements. We speak of that artificial and scenic method of entertainment which the ancient world invented and the modern world has perpetuated as a means of reäction against the heavier cares and duties of life. In the Roman nature the reäction must be produced by some extraordinary force capable of arousing that heavy and energetic being into excitement and fiery heat. Lethargy can only be awakened by the shock of fire or the blast of snow; resistance to environment is the beginning of ethnic power.

Unquenchable desires; quality of musical taste.

Emperors seek to procure the materials of gluttony.

quious senate and court how —by what agents—additional luxuries and stimuli

Extraordinary spectacles necessary to arouse Roman interest.

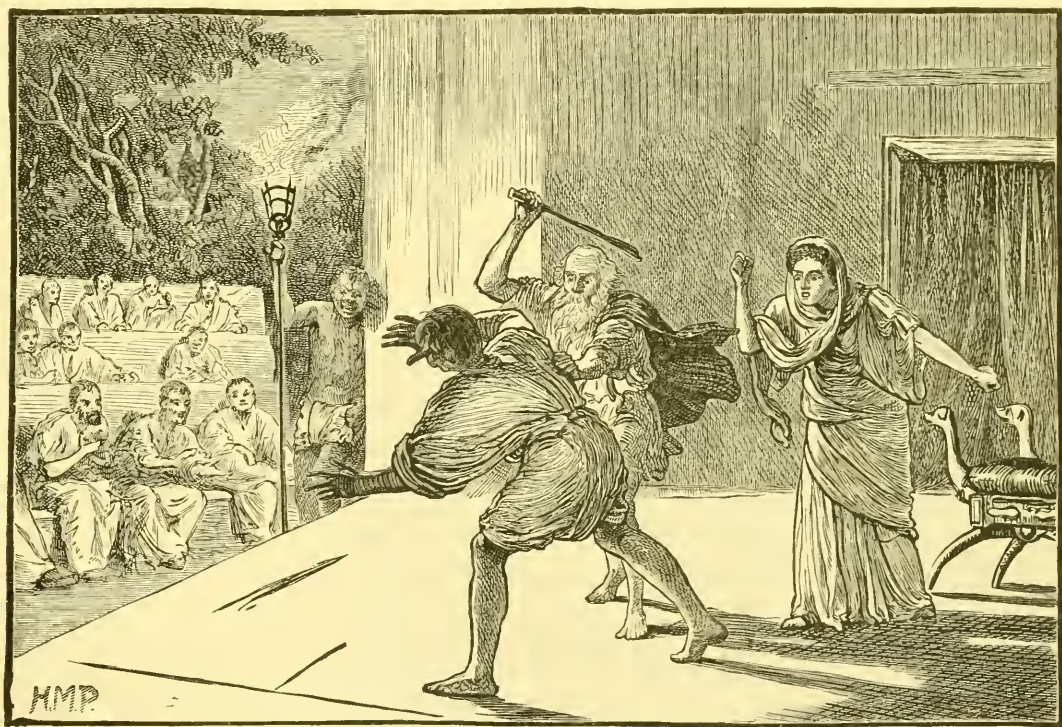
CHAPTER LXII.—DRAMA AND OTHER PUBLIC SPORTS.



IN the primitive ages the Romans either invented for themselves or, what is more likely, learned from their neighbors in Magna Græcia the art of dramatic representation on the stage. The drama proper was introduced and enacted

for the Roman nature. The play-house never held an important place in the architecture of the city. Such buildings were comparatively small, and indicated in all their accessories that the populace were not much interested in spectacles on the stage.

The same may be said of musical entertainments, or concerts proper. In



A ROMAN COMEDY.

ed somewhat in the manner of the Greeks. Musical entertainments of a simple type were also in vogue before the Punic Wars. The theater was a part of at least the city life of the Romans at a time when they were still struggling for the ascendancy in Italy. But the theater did not long hold its place in public esteem. The mimic action was not sufficiently ex-

this respect again the Romans rose as high as the Greeks, but rose only by imitation. We have not as yet said anything in extenso about the unorigina-
 tive character of the Roman people. The music of the time of imperial glory had not advanced beyond the simpler forms of concerted piping and harping peculiar to the ancients. The mere melodies and harmo-

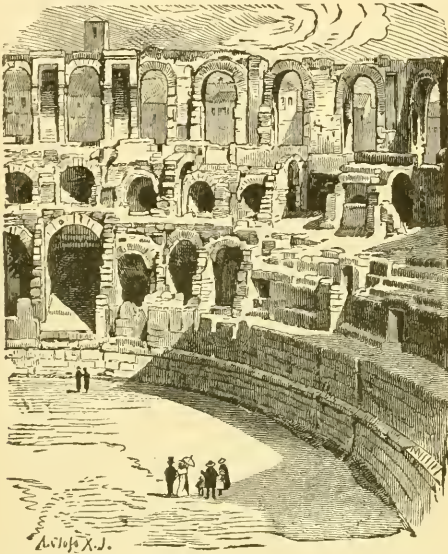
The unorigina-
 tive character:
 music of trump-
 et and battle.

Beginnings of
 the drama and
 theatrical repre-
 sentations.

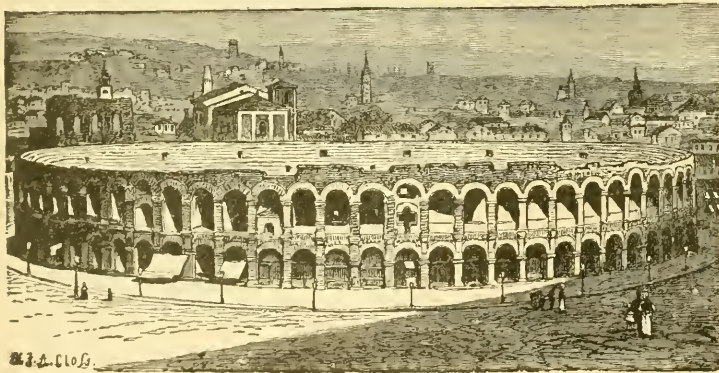
nies which were heard in the atrium or portico of the patrician's house, or in the market place or private assembly rooms of Rome, were too gentle to awaken the strong emotions of the people. It required the blare of a brazen trumpet, flinging its echoes far down to the Alban

his moods of relaxation, he continued to attend the playhouse and to amuse himself with comedy. There was a peculiar burlesque drama said to have been of Campanian origin, and called the *atellana*, with which the people amused themselves. There was also the *mimus*, another variety of low spectacle, a sort of licentious farce which appealed with considerable force to Roman taste. In these comical productions all that was crude and coarse was poured out on the stage. Perhaps human life never displayed itself with more recklessness and abandonment than in the audacious obscenity of the Roman farce. The only redeeming feature was that the Roman ladies of good repute would not attend the *mimus*, leaving it to the rabblement that hooted and yelled itself into silence at the scurrility and naked shame of the show.

Kinds of stage performance appreciated by the Romans.



ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT VERONA (INTERIOR VIEW).
Drawn by R. Puttner.



ROMAN AMPHITHEATER AT VERONA (EXTERIOR VIEW).
Drawn by R. Puttner.

hills to set the Roman blood aflow and to kindle within him the fires of sympathetic action.

At bottom it was inability to appreciate the artificial and representative panorama of the stage that led the Roman to prefer the real spectacle of the circus and the arena. For a while, and in some of

It were a whole history to narrate the evolution of the Roman circus and amphitheater. It can not be doubted that the passion for the fierce contests with which imperial Rome was wont to delight herself was dormant in the race from the earliest times. To witness a struggle might be said to be the one universal desire of the people, but in the primitive times the

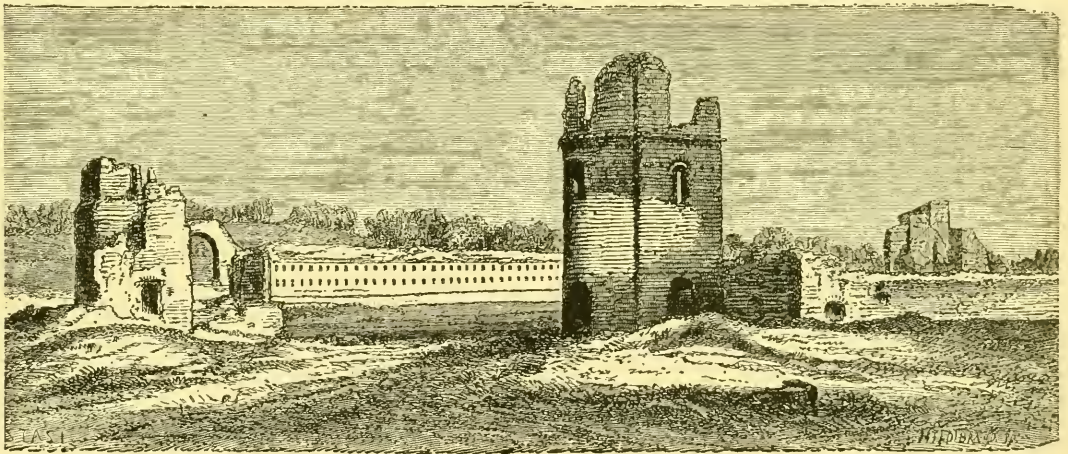
Evolution of the circus and the amphitheatre.

desire was satisfied with those bloodless contests which appear to have had their origin in Greece. They had been borne thence to Magna Græcia, and the early historical contact of the Latins with the people of Southern Italy had carried back a knowledge of Greek sports and the disposition to imitate them.

Before the expulsion of the Tarquins, the open valley between the Palatine and Aventine hills had been converted into a rude open-air circus. Here were celebrated the games with which the still heterogeneous people of the kingdom amused themselves in the intervals of civil insurrection and tribal warfare abroad. The structure of this ancient circus was of wood, consisting of mere scaffolding, platforms, and framework running back from the level grounds where the games were celebrated. It is of record that on several occasions the woodwork was burned, but was speedily

accommodate one hundred and fifty thousand spectators. Thus it was in the times of Cæsar. In the reign of Titus the expansion had gone on until two hundred and fifty thousand persons could be seated at one time. Still the passion grew, and in the age of Constantine there was room in the Maximus for three hundred and eighty-five thousand spectators! Without doubt, this was the largest and most commodious single arena that ever drew together the masses of the people in any nation or any age of the world.

Here were celebrated those great



CIRCUS OF ROMULUS.—Drawn by A. Anastasi.

restored and constantly improved. The space was enlarged, and stone was introduced as the building material.

The popularity of the scenes witnessed here provoked at length the enter-

Growth of the
circus commen-
surate with the
republic.

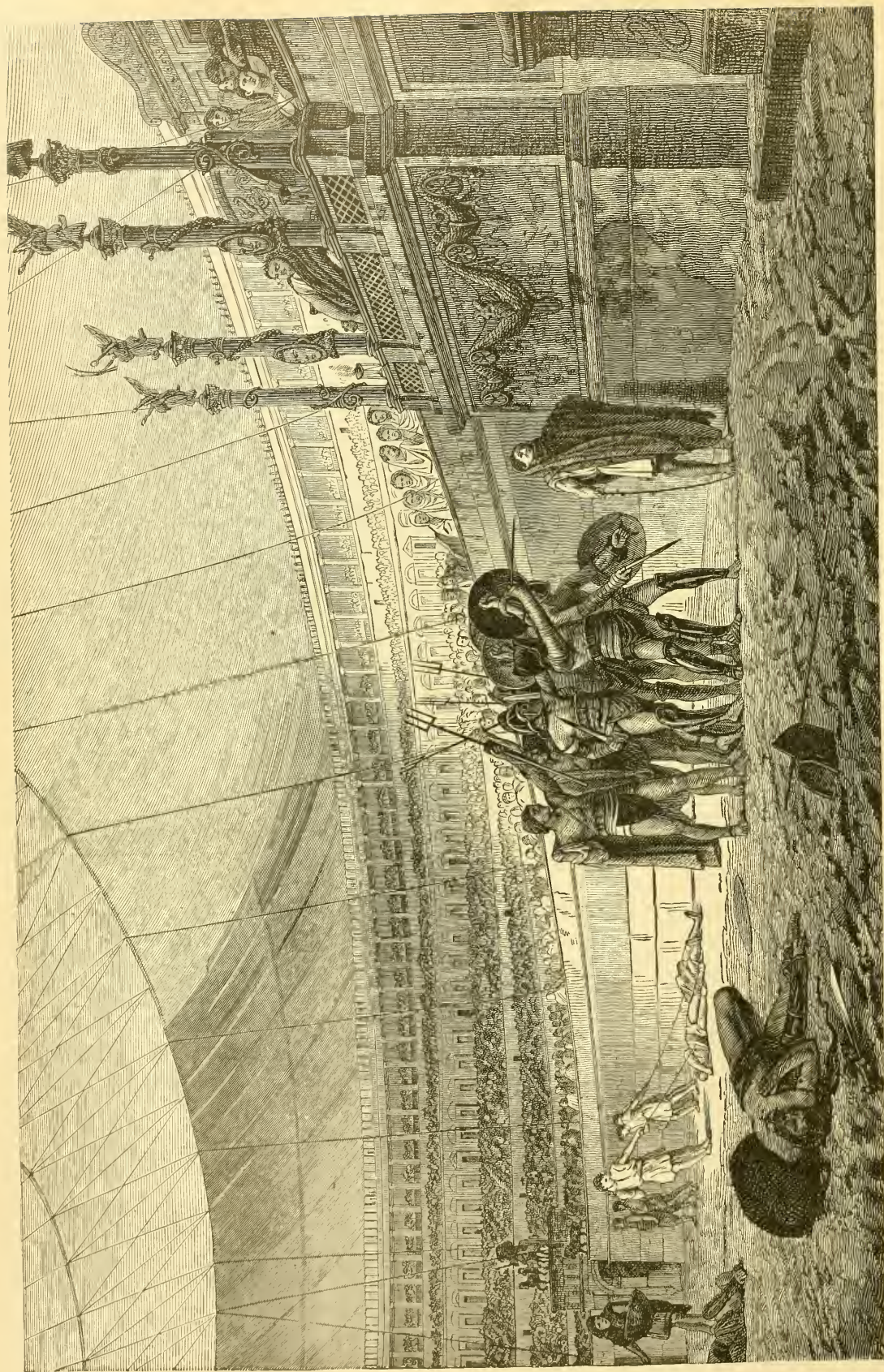
prise of the senate, and the circus expanded according to the growth of the

city. As the republic grew great, so also were the means of amusing the public enlarged and perfected. The wooden circus of the primitive ages grew into the stone-built circus, and finally into the Circus Maximus. By the closing years of the republic the seating capacity had been enlarged so as to

games and contests which have made the Roman amphitheater famous through all ages. It is not our purpose to describe these

Amphitheater
becomes coex-
tensive with
Roman rule.

contests. Such was their magnitude, elaboration, and ferocity, such was their institutional character, that they may no longer be regarded as a part of the private, but rather of the public life of the Roman people. From the beginning of the empire to its final collapse in the middle of the fifteenth century, first at Rome and afterwards at Constantinople, and indeed wherever the Roman power had its principal seats, the circus became



MORITURI SALUTAMUS.—GLADIATORS SALUTING THE EMPEROR BEFORE JOINING COMBAT.

the arena not only of spectacles and shows the like of which have not been elsewhere seen in the world, but also the seat of great political movements, intrigues, and catastrophes. The story of the circus is a part of that external, tangible history which involves the civil institutions and political transformations of that great people.

Looking at the social side again, however, we may for a moment enter the

Aspects of the
Maximus on a
day of great
games.

Maximus in the time of its glory and consider the spectacle. It is the day of one of the great gladiatorial contests.

Almost the whole population of Rome has been drawn thither in multifarious streams all tending to this common sea. Here is a sea indeed, a veritable gulf of humanity, into which have been poured all of its affluents, however turbid. The arena is an ellipse. In the center is an elongated area, covered with obelisks, columns, trophies, and small structures of marble where the managers may take their station if they will, and from which the games must be controlled. Around the arena is a wall of marble, and from this, ascending at an easy grade, rise the marble seats of the spectators.

The lowest tiers are reserved for the emperor and his court, for the senate, and for those nobles and grandees who are close to the imperial household. Next above are seen the equestrian order of the Roman people; those whose descent may be traced to the ancient and noble *Equites* who played so important a part in the early constitutional history of Rome. Beyond and above are the seatings of the Roman populace; that is, the great composite

mass which constitutes the muscle, the brawn, and bone of proud and licentious Rome.

It is a reckless and innumerable throng, swarming there in the upper arcades, passing in and out, turning into the stalls to eat and drink, and returning to

The Roman populace gather in the upper benches.

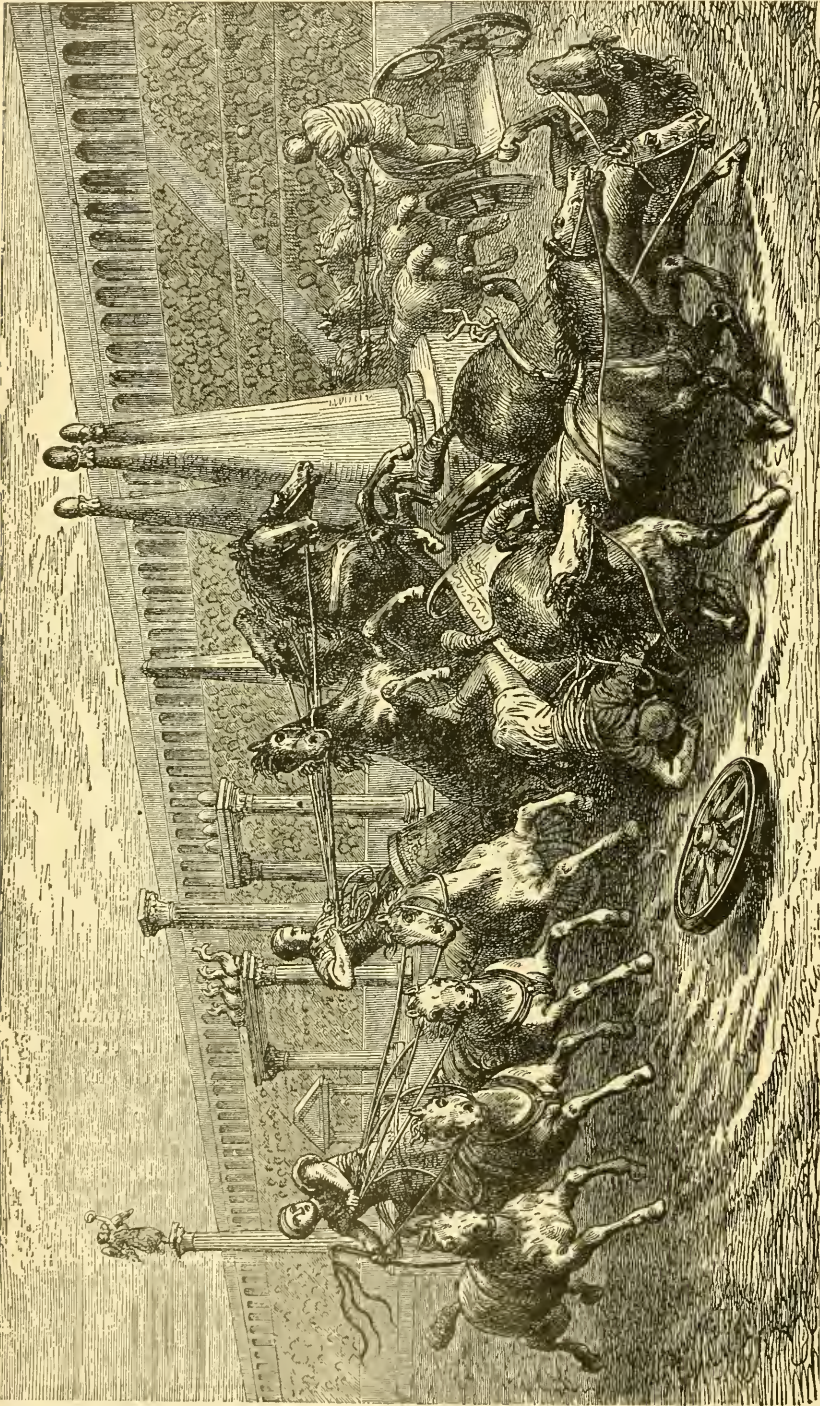
behold the continuance of the spectacle. The men and women are crowded together. There is no distinction of condition or rank in this tremendous background and aggregation of the Roman people. Provision has been made for the maintenance of the crowds through



SCENE IN THE CIRCUS MAXIMUS—GLADIATORS IN COMBAT.
Drawn by P. Beckert, from a wall painting at Pompeii.

the day and night. Loungers may remain about those upper seats for a week together without journeying five rods from where they sit or sleep in the intervals of the spectacles. Here, too, is a ministration to all the appetites and lusts and passions that inflame the bosoms of a reckless populace. Abandoned women mingle with the throng. Buyers and sellers of wares pass to and fro. Jugglers and fortune tellers ply their trades and gather handfuls of sesterces from the rabble. Gaming is here; carousing, gluttony, debauchery,

every species of excitement, and every kind of crime; but so vast is the space | who sit next to the arena. For them there are gay dresses, gallant attendants, and bouquets of roses.



CHARIOT RACE AT THE SECULAR GAMES, ON THE THOUSANDTH ANNIVERSARY OF ROME.—Drawn by H. Leutemann.

and so perfect is the management that these muddy bastions on high drip not their filth on the noble lords and ladies | either won a thousand denarii from her father or lost two thousand to her lover; for she has bet with both!

At no other epoch in the history of the world was so great attention paid to

Professional preparation for the chariot races.

public sports as in the age which we are now considering. Take a single in-

stance, the preparation of the chariot race. Months of careful training were required before the steeds were ready for the trial. The drivers themselves must be professionals, matured in their skill by every species of experiment and vicissitude to which the race course is exposed. To train the coursers requires stable room, workshops, a retinue of hostlers, and veterinary surgeons. The preparation of horses for the modern race, which is simply a trial of speed, is as nothing compared with the painstaking discipline to which the animals were subjected for the great trials in the arena of the Maximus.

The institution of racing was originally Greek; but passing into the hands

Difference between Greek chariot racing and Roman.

of the Romans, along with other phenomena of the social life of the Hellenes,

it took on a development and character different from what it had possessed in the hands of the originators. Indeed, the whole spirit of the games had been changed in the transfer from the eastern to the central peninsula of Europe. We have remarked upon the predisposition of the Greeks to participate in person in the national sports. It was an honor to do so. Nobody but an untainted Greek could enter the Olympic games. They were national, and to win in the contest added to the renown of Greek citizenship. But the Romans were indisposed to take part personally in the public sports. It was only in rare instances that Roman citizens engaged in them at all. Such descent of Romans, whether of high or low estate, into the arena was a circumstance of scandal

rather than of honor. It was only in the times of extreme degradation, of the complete perversion of the true Roman instincts and habits, that some of the emperors gratified an insane ambition by participating personally in the gladiatorial combats. The Romans desired to look on and enjoy a spectacle of blood which those whom they had vanquished in war or trained in servility were obliged to celebrate for the amusement of their masters. The passion for it was diametrically opposed to the enthusiasm of the Greeks for their national games.

But we were speaking of the race course and of the preparation of the steeds. So great was the demand for this kind of contest that private enter-

Companies organized to provide for the race courses.

prise could no longer supply the horses and paraphernalia. Companies were accordingly formed, with a large capital and working force, by which means skillful drivers were procured from foreign parts and others trained for their work. Chariots were also provided in this way, and all the costly apparatus necessary for the games. The steeds must be splendidly caparisoned for the race and the drivers gayly dressed. It thus happened that the wealthy Roman, whether he were a political aspirant or merely a rich nabob descended from the old nobility, instead of preparing his own racers, went to the livery companies and hired at an enormous cost everything that was requisite for the race.

The populace was then advertised of the time and circumstances of the trial. While the first grandee would go to one establishment and hire his outfit for the contest, a second would visit another company and supply himself in like manner. It was with these companies

Adoption of colors to designate the factions.

that the celebrated "colors" of the circus originated. One company would adopt white as its badge, in which case the drivers and chariots and chargers would be adorned with white ribbons and rosettes. Another company would select red, another blue, and another green, as its distinctive badge. This device furnished an easy means to the crowds in the circus of laying their wagers. The betting was done *on the color*, from which it always happened that a great party in the circus would have money at stake on "the Blue," while another faction would wager on "the Red" or "the Green" or "the White." It was of the greatest importance to each company that his own supply of racers and drivers should be of the highest quality of speed and skill, to the end that the fame of the establishment might induce the excited bettors to lay heavy wagers on the color which designated that company. As the contest ebbed and flowed, so the different companies were able to charge their wealthy patrons a higher rate for the services rendered.

It was thus that the Roman populace was supplied by the ambitions of the great with free amusements of the most exciting character. The competition among those who provided the games and sports led to higher and higher developments, and Rome surged from side to side as new methods of amusement were proclaimed. The time of which we here speak was that of Caligula and Nero. It was discovered presently that the intensity of partisanship in the circus might be increased by reducing the number of colors; and so the parties of the White and the Red gradually dropped out of existence, the Green and the Blue continuing.

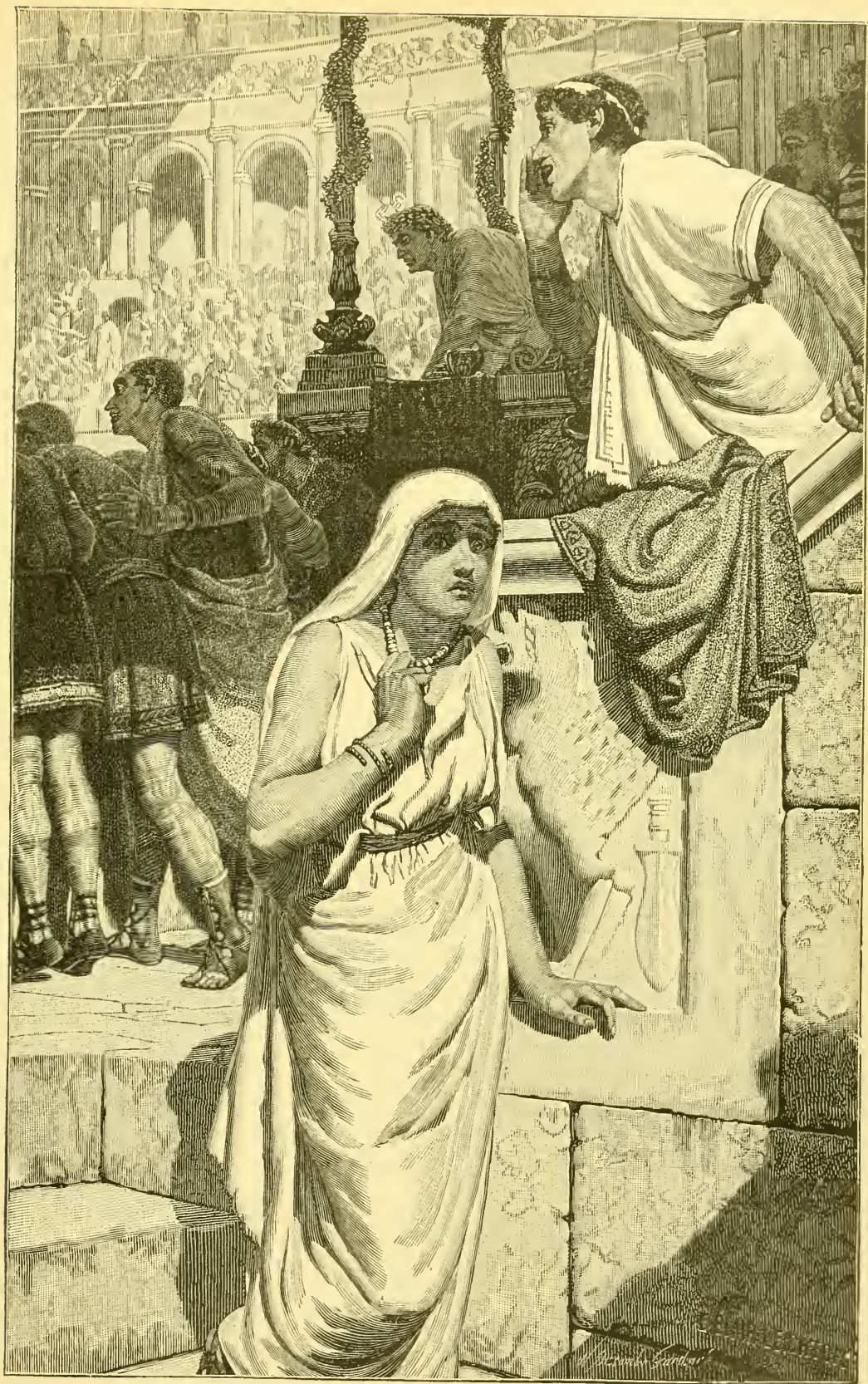
The bitter rivalry represented by these colors continued during the last two centuries of the empire; and when the House of Theodosius went down under the assaults of the Visigoths, the games and amusements of the West took flight to Constantinople. In that city the same species of amusements was restored, and the same rivalries which had shocked and torn the society of the Eternal City reappeared in the city of Constantine. Here it was that the factions of the Blue and the Green—as is well known to the student of history—became the prime forces in those wild insurrections which broke out from time to time in the capital of the Eastern Cæsars.

If on the hill of the capitol in the early morning the traveler should have taken his stand on the day of a great race in the circus, he should have witnessed a scene of the greatest excitement which the social life of man has ever displayed. The old pagan mythology still held out its spectral hand from the superstitious shadows of the past over the imperial city of the Tiber. She had demonstrated her right and prerogative to be empress of the Mediterranean nations, but had not renounced pagan deities. The priests came forth at an early hour bearing the statues of the old gods of the race and other symbols of that robust heathenism which had once dominated the beliefs and practices of the Roman people. A religious procession was formed. Cars and chariots were arranged in the order of their importance. The rich and ambitious giver of the day's spectacle was placed at the head in the most gorgeous car. He had the place of honor. He was clad in a purple robe. Priests, of-

Serious political results from the contests of the circus.

Aspects of the populace on the day of contest.

Competition of the great to provide games and sports.



THE GLADIATOR'S WIFE.—From the painting by E. Blair, Royal Academy, 1854

ficers, clients, and friends surrounded him, shouted their applause, and fell into the procession. Bands of musicians were set at the head of the column. Down from the capitol hill moved the cavalcade, through the forum, into the circus.

Thither already all the tides of Rome had poured their floods. The marble benches, tier on tier, rising

Scene in the circus; manner of the races.

till the eye was pained with the distance of the upper wall, were black with tens of thousands who now took up the shout of welcome as the procession moved around the arena. Thus it was that the giver of the spectacle drew to himself the attention and the plaudits of all Rome. Then with a signal the race was on. Four chariots abreast, each drawn by two, or more frequently by four, horses were arranged for the race. Oblivious are those proud animals to the gathered multitudes, but not oblivious to the contest. They rear and plunge for the best place in the starting. All the energies of the drivers are concentrated upon the work before them, and away they go.

The arena is broad and the race is long. Seven times must the great circle be made before the contest is decided; but at length when the issue is seen, when the victorious charioteer dashes madly across the determining line, a roar of applause which contains the composite shout of all Rome hails the triumphant driver. There shall be twenty-four races to-day, varying only in the incidents and details of the contest. By such means from morning to night the excitement is maintained. The old battle cry of the Roman warriors in the primitive times, the cry for liberty, for emancipation, for triumph, for the domination of the Roman race in Italy, has come to *this*: the shout and

uproar of the brazen throat of Rome in the Circus Maximus.

Rome invented one thing—the bloody combat. It can not be ascertained at what time in the history of the people this species of horrid amusement originated. Greece knew it not. Nor does it appear that any other branch of the Aryan race fell to the sport of blood. But the Romans sought it first by the preference of nature and afterwards by the force of habit. The blood appetite is perhaps the strongest passion known to man. Even when man hunts the beasts of the forest his excitement is intense and all of his powers are inflamed. What, then, shall be said of the man-hunt?

Two circumstances may perhaps be adduced as the bottom causes of the bloody instincts of the Roman race. The first was that subjective realism of character which demanded that everything should be revealed to the natural eye, and nothing to the eye of the spirit. The Romans were the least ideal of all the great peoples of antiquity. All merely representative exhibitions appeared to them dull, weak, lifeless, inane. The thing must be an actuality if it aroused the energies and passions of this strong people. The greatest of all actualities is blood. The blood is the life. To shed it is to squander life—to pour it out on the ground. It is a thing horribly realistic, and must needs please the strong, coarse nature of the Roman race.

The second causative circumstance was found in the long-continued struggle, first of the Latins for the mastery of Latium, and afterwards of the city and state for the mastery of Italy. This conflict extended through several cen-

Rome invents the bloody combat; actual fighting demanded.

As war recedes the bloody sports abound.

turies. It was a battle that knew no compromise, no diplomacy. It was simply blow on blow, and wherever the iron sword fell blood poured forth; either blood of the Roman himself or of the fierce Italian peoples with whom he contended for victory. The process of destroying life became habitual, and when the field of actual war occasionally failed, and more particularly when the line of

contests of speed and other forms of action took the place of merely dramatical entertainments; just as the great Maximus came to be preferred to the narrow theaters of Old Rome, so in course of time the amphitheater, with its arena of true combat, the actual struggle of beast with beast, of man with beast, and finally of man with man,

Preference of the Romans for combats and blood-shedding.



GLADIATORS FIGHTING WITH WILD BEASTS.—From a basrelief found in the theater of Marcellus.

warfare rolled back from the city, first to the confines of Italy and then to the horizon of the Mediterranean, some artificial process must needs be invented in order that the old race, with its seat on the Seven Hills, might still be gratified with the spectacle of fight, with slaughter and butchery and blood.—Such is the genesis of the combat of the Roman arena.

Just as the games of the circus, the

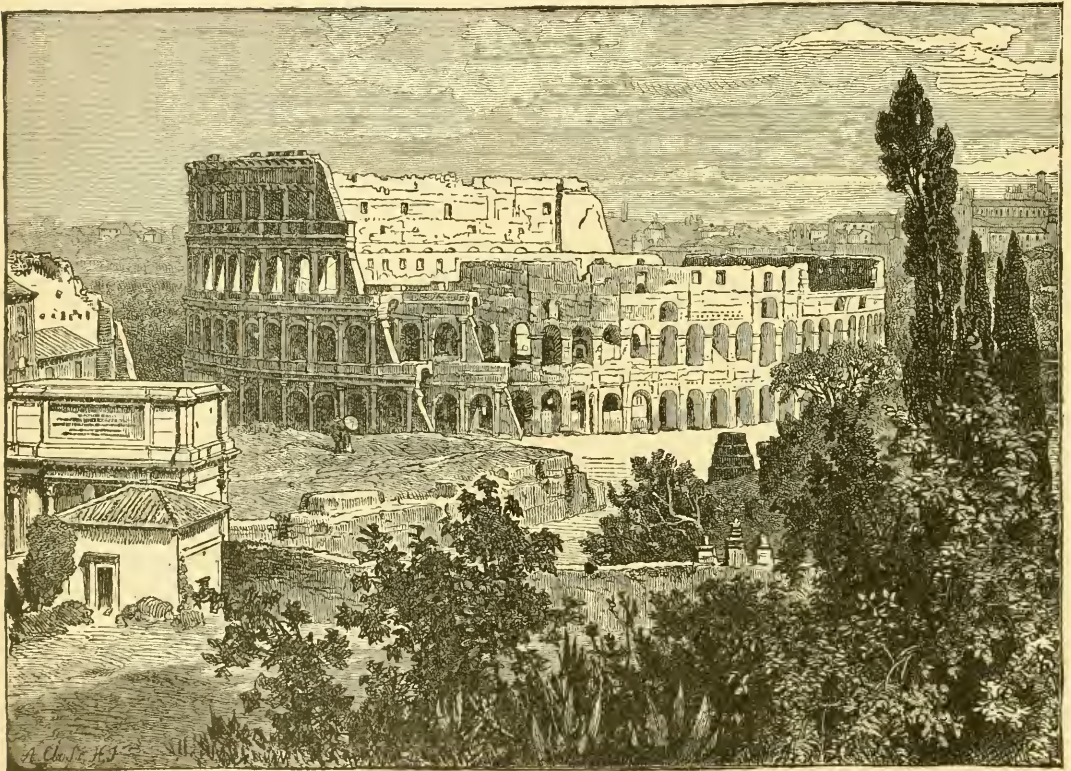
rose to the first place, gaining a preference over the circus in the esteem of the populace. For in the arena of the amphitheater the actualities of war and bloodshed were spectacularly displayed in ever varying forms of conflict adapted to the changing tastes and passions of the hour. The reader of history knows full well the story of these combats; how at the first the Roman generals brought home from distant regions the

wild beasts which were unknown in Italy; how these fierce creatures were displayed in the triumphal processions with which the conquerors were honored on their return to the capital; and how, after they had subserved this purpose, they were made a spectacle by turning them together to destroy each other in fight on the sands of the arena. So delightful to the Romans was this sport that

beasts was no longer sufficiently exciting, then for the first time the man was sent into the arena to contend with the hungry four-footed monsters of the den.

Progressive stages of the gladiatorial shows.

At first, the man was a captive. Perchance he was sent to the sand as an easy method of destroying him when he was no longer useful as a spectacle or valuable in the market. Rare sport it



COLISEUM FROM THE PALATINE.—Drawn by R. Puttner.

it was soon sought after and promoted as a specialty of public amusement. Then it was that the wild woods of distant Europe and Asia and the desert wastes of Africa were traversed by hunters sent out from Rome for the express purpose of taking and bringing back wild animals for the combats of the arena.

The development of these bloody and brutal sports is a good illustration of the progress and expansion of all human institutions. When the fight of wild

was when the Roman discovered the fierceness of the captive's battle, as he was permitted to know that freedom would come with victory. Then he fought not only for life, but for the liberty to go free. This wage of freedom was commonly placed on the victorious fight of the man with the beast.

At times a supply of captives was wanting. Why not, under such circumstances, offer freedom in like manner to any slave who would hazard his life in

the arena? Many slaves would do it. For they were not by any means the humble, half-savage slaves known in modern times, but high-spirited captives brought from civilized states and sold in the market to coarse and ignorant masters. Soon it was known through all the under side of Rome that freedom from galling servitude might perhaps be purchased by the victories of the amphitheater. From that day forth the gladiator came as a part of Roman society. Wherever he could he trained himself for the business of the sword. The one great hazard of all hazards might be his skill in a single thrust sent home into the flank of a Bengal tiger or the woolly breast of a Hungarian bear.

Still the Romans demanded more. Suppose two gladiators, instead of one gladiator and a lion, should be turned in together?

The man super-
sedes the beast
in the arena.

Royal suggestion! Happy addition and precious bloody increment to the pleasures of Rome! We may already see to what it will lead. A single pair at first, two pairs, twenty pairs, a hundred—swords, daggers, spears, pitchforks, like those of Neptune, snares, hobbles, masks, blindfolds, all manner of combat and all shapes of bloodiness, in a horrid and continuous spectacle, with which the élite of Rome, the masters and the matrons, the young men and virgins regaled their vision, and over which they shouted and clapped their hands in the ecstasies and frenzies of delight. The passion for witnessing gladiatorial combats consumed all classes, and there seems to have been compunction in the breasts of none.

As is well known, the principal scene of these savage spectacles was the Coliseum. This was the largest structure of the kind ever constructed. It was

built by Vespasian, or at least begun by him to be completed by others. It had a seating capacity for eighty thousand spectators, and is to the present day one of the best preserved monuments of pagan Rome. Around the arena were arranged the stone dens in which the wild animals were kept and fed or starved according to the exigencies of the battle. This place was the very vortex of the passionate savagery of Rome, where the populace assembled daily to witness the wildest and bloodiest combats which the ingenuity of man has ever prepared and exhibited.

Vortex of Ro-
man life in the
Coliseum.

“ ‘Twas here the buzz of eager nations ran,
In murmured pity, or loud-roared applause,
As man was slaughtered by his fellow man.
And wherefore slaughtered? wherefore, but
because
Such were the bloody circus’ genial laws,
And the imperial pleasure.”

We have thus attempted in the preceding pages to depict some of the leading aspects of the social life of the Roman people. All such sketches are necessarily imperfect. Nor may we hope, after a lapse of two thousand years, to evoke from the dust of the dead metropolis of the ancient world the real figures that moved in the streets, crowded the forum, and thronged the circus. The skill of man had not yet, in ancient times, invented the means of preservation which so abound to-day. The daily life of a city and people was not then, as now, recorded in a thousand journals and delineated in a thousand photographs. We are left to manuscripts, inscriptions, and the occasional notices of historians, to the comedies and tragedies of the dramatic poets, and the work of sculptors and artisans. Out of this, however, we may

Much of the
daily life of the
Romans has
perished.

restore at least an outline of that great race by which all the countries of Southern and Western Europe were subjected to a common sway and dominion, to a common form of civilization and gov-

ernment, at a time when England was still inhabited by wild Celts dwelling in the fastnesses of the oak woods, and when the New World existed only in Plato's dream of the Atlantis.

CHAPTER LXIII.—LINGUA LATINA.



E shall in the next place turn to the language employed by the Roman people as their means of intercourse. We shall consider this famous

tongue in which the ultimate jurisprudence of nearly all modern nations is recorded as an instrument in the hands of the Roman race, an element of its progress and development.

The Latin race was borne, as we have seen, out of Asia Minor and westward through Thrace and Illyria to its destination in the western part of Central Italy. It can not be doubted that the tribes which thus carried with them to the West the potency of the most powerful nation of antiquity were associated on a large part of their migration with the Æolic Greeks. We have had occasion in a former part to speak of the close affinities of Latin with the Æolic dialect in Hellas and the Ægean islands. This circumstance is indeed the strongest proof which we possess of the common derivation and common movement of the two peoples before the beginning of the historical era.

We have also observed above that Æolic Greek was by no means so completely developed as the Doric and Ionic dialects of the same language. The process of free linguistic evolution did

not continue to so late a period and reach such elaborate results as were attained in the languages of Central and Southern Greece. This feature of arrested development is the one by which the kinship of the Western tongue is established. We may look at Latin fundamentally either as the most deteriorated form of what may be called the classical Aryan tongues of antiquity, or else as the least developed. We may easily perceive that the slow progress of the Latin wave through Europe and the hard circumstances of the settlement which was ultimately effected in Latium were highly unfavorable to the growth and expansion of the dialects of the Latini, and to this must be added the somewhat forbidding climate through which the nation passed in its journey to the West.

For language is a physiological phenomenon. There is always a relation between the speech of a given people and the latitude in which that people dwells. More particularly is there a relation of the speech with the general climatic conditions, as to moist or dry, rigorous or mild, equable or stormy. If we look at the dialects of Greek, we shall find that the efflorescence of the Ionic speech was proportional to its position in the most favored part of the country climatically considered. True,

Latin furnishes an example of arrested development.

Significant affinity of Latin and Æolic Greek.

Correlations of language and climatic environment.

the rougher and stronger Doric was spoken in the south, but its forms had been already established before the migration out of Doris. Æolic Greek was still less evolved from its ruder and more barbarous forms and sounds than was either Doric or Ionic; and Latin represents a still lower type of linguistic evolution. It was doubtless the result of the rough climatic conditions to which the migrating Latini were exposed in the migratory period and to their general frontier character. We shall in the detailed consideration of Latin find many features which were undoubtedly attributable to the hard life through which the language passed in its youth.

The bottom reason in this variety of linguistic growth must be found in the elasticity, freedom, and activity of the vocal organs under the influences of a mild climate, particularly where the country in question is subjected to soft breezes from a warm sea. If we were asked to select from all possible geographical localities known to men that particular position most favorable to the complete evolution of a language—we speak here of the physiological evolution—we should with little hesitation choose the coast and islands of the Grecian archipelago. All the conditions are here present for the most easy, rapid, and perfect action of the human voice, and of all the organs subordinate thereto, that are known to exist anywhere. On the contrary, in Thrace and Illyria we are in at least the edge of those harsh conditions of climate which have given to the languages of Northern Europe their guttural and chuckling character.

Through this region the Latin language was carried on the tongues of its progenitors until it was stiffened into that

inelastic and inactive form of speech which we discover in the age of Latin letters. It was able to pre-serve much of its sonorous vocalic quality, but not all. For the vowels were sharpened from the corresponding sounds in Greek, the epsilon (ε) and the omicron (ο) of the latter language rising into *i* and *u* on the tongues of the Latini. This phenomenon is precisely what always occurs in the progress of a race to the westward, or more particularly from a milder into harsher climatic condition. Whenever a colony is sent out from a mother country to a region higher, drier, and colder than the original seat, the tones of the language thus borne away rise to a shrill and piping utterance unlike the parent speech. Without any serious loss of consonantal strength, the Latin tongue

Primitive Latin stiffened and sharpened in its progress.



WALL INSCRIPTIONS FROM POMPEII.
Drawn by C. Reiss.

did lose much of the musical vowel element for which the developed languages of Greece were so noted among the dialects of antiquity.

Doubtless the primitive Latin tongues—for there were several—recovered under the mild conditions of Central Italy something of the elasticity and growing force which had belonged to the Aryan languages before their chill in the north. But the recovery was never complete; and the Latin speech might never branch and blossom and bear as did the language of the Hellenes.

If we take our stand in Central Italy two or three centuries before the founding of the city, and glance to the various quarters of the peninsula, we shall find the larger part already occupied with

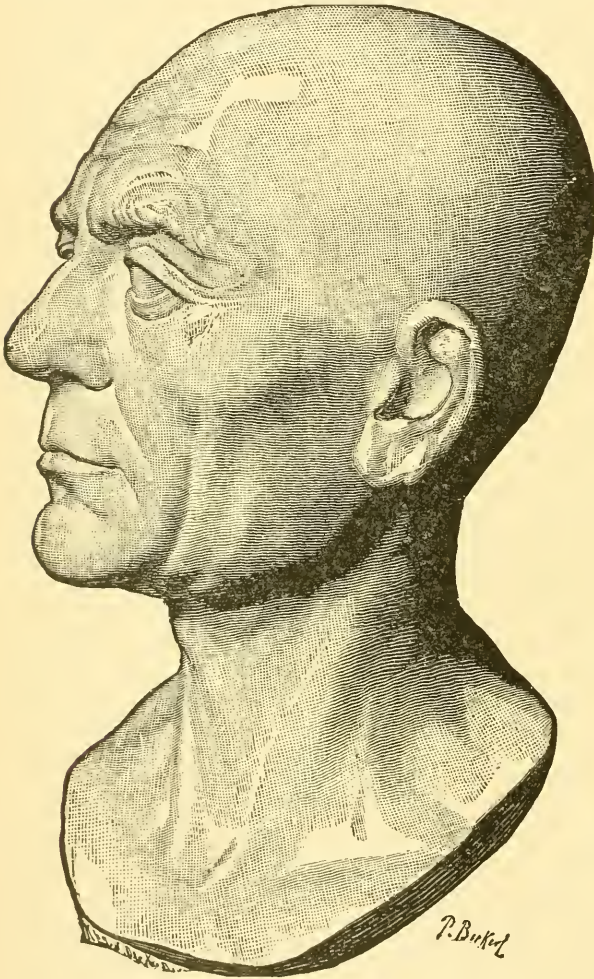
tribes speaking Aryan dialects. To this fact, however, there are two conspicuous exceptions. In Etruria, in the valley of the Po, and in the district of Campania another tongue is heard unlike the speech of the Latins and Umbrians

Primeval linguistic conditions in Central Italy.

Messapian has been given, and of which certain inscriptive forms still survive. From these modern linguists have deduced some features indicative of kinship with the Albanian variety of modern Greek, but the affinity is by no means certain. These two foreign languages apart, all others spoken in ancient Italy may be grouped together as of common Aryan descent. They were, at the time of which we speak, dialects in different stages of divergence and development. Latin was one of these, and to several of the others the generic term Umbro-Sabellian has been applied. From this situation the Latin tongue proper began its development as early as a thousand years before our era. This development continued in Latium until the third century B. C., when the Latin tongue became general throughout Central Italy.

Latin becomes the language of the Italian races.

In the other parts of the country the Umbro-Sabellian languages had continued to be spoken, but none of them seem to have made the progress toward the complete forms of a rational language which was evidenced in Latin. In the third century B. C., however, when the conquests of the Latin race brought the other peoples of the peninsula into subjection, the Latin began to be extended as the common language of the whole country, from the Po to Calabria, and from Liguria



OLD ROMAN TYPE—SCIPIO AFRICANUS THE ELDER.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

—so unlike as to note unmistakably the presence of a different race of men. These are the Etruscans, whose probable ethnic affinities have been pointed out in a former chapter.

In the extreme southeast of the country still another foreign language is found, to which the name Iapygian or

to Bruttium.

Scholars have been able to discover in the history of the Latin speech three distinct stages of development. The first presents the language in its preliterary, or archaic, aspect, before literature appeared in Central Italy. The second

The three stages in the evolution of the Latin tongue.

stage reveals the language in process of literary development—a period during which we may suppose a divergence between the colloquial and the literary forms of the language, the latter passing into the evolutions of a complete and rational grammar and vocabulary, and the latter running on in the old, barbarous channels in which it had flowed from the times of the primitive settlements of the tribes. The third stage is marked by the reëpearance of the folk-speech, or true vernacular, in the literature of Rome. It would seem that in process of time, with the general diffusion of letters, the knowledge of reading and writing among the Roman people, the folkspeech was sufficiently improved to solicit at the hands of authors a re-incorporation of its stronger elements with the politer, but weaker, forms which had been cultivated in literature.

We may liken this transformation to that which has occurred since the close of the so-called Augustan, or classical, period of English writings, which reached its climax near the close of the eighteenth century. After the times of Pope, Johnson, and Gibbon a reëction took place which consisted essentially in dipping up from the great river of popular speech those natural elements of language which had long been corrupt and rejected as unworthy of literary effusion. In Latin the transition from the second to the third stage in the history of the language was more marked, however, than the transformation to which reference has just been made—so marked, indeed, as to recast and remold the Latin tongue in many of its essential features.

Nature of the transition from second to third stages.

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Our real knowledge of the archaic Latin of the first age is extremely limited. A few actual specimens of the old

tongue, which may be called the Anglo-Saxon or Latin, have been preserved in inscriptions and in quotations made by the Roman grammarians and rhetoricians in illustration of the ancient forms of the language. In recent times, since the development of philology as a branch of scholarship, we are able, by reasoning backwards, by deductions from the current forms of speech in the age of Latin literature, to determine what the original forms were before the beginning of the evolution. By all these methods combined the linguistic scholar may restore with tolerable satisfaction the archaic Latin which was spoken by the men of Romulus, which carried the message of defiance to Porsena, and with which Cincinnatus was hailed from his plow.

Small knowledge of forms and structure of archaic Latin.

The first epoch in the development of the Latin tongue reached to a much later period than might have been supposed. The republic was already drawing to its close before the archaic Latin ceased to be the vernacular of the Roman people. It was the age of Ennius, who lived from 239 to 169 B. C., which closed the old and introduced the new era. He was the Chaucer between the barbarous and inorganic forms of the old speech and the literary forms of the new tongue, which he may be said in some measure to have created. As we have said, the specimens of the primitive language which have remained to us are few and unsatisfactory. It is a striking example of the recovery of the seemingly impossible that in times most recent some choice fragments of the archaic speech have been exhumed from the dead world underlying modern Italy. In the spring of 1880, in the valley between the Quirinal and the Viminal, an

Limits of the first period; recent discoveries.



AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE THEATER.—From the painting by Alma Tadema.

earthen vessel of a peculiar triune form was dugged up, which held an inscription fairly to be regarded as the very oldest example of the tongue of the Latin race. Even the unlearned reader can but be interested with the transcription of this writing placed alongside of the corresponding forms of the literary age, and its rendering into English. The first of the following lines repeats the ancient inscription, and the second is the translation into Latin:

Jovei Sat deivos qoi med mitat nei ted endo
Jovi Saturno divis qui me mittet ne te in te

cosmis virco seid asted noisi Ope Toitesie pacari
comis virgo sit ast nisi Opi Tutesie pacari

vois. Dvenos med feced en manom: einoin dze-
vis. Duenus me fecit in manum: enim die

noine med maaostatod.
noni me mano stato.

Which may be rendered with tolerable certainty into English thus: "If any one brings me to the gods Jupiter and Saturn, let not any maiden be kindly to thee, except thou wilt offer a sacrifice to Ops Tutesia."

In the larger part of the tablets and potteries bearing the inscriptive work of the Old Romans, we find a large admixture of foreign elements. It is evident that there was to a considerable extent a jumble of tongues. The Umbro-Sabellians were intermixed with the Latins, and perhaps excelled them in linguistic utterance. No doubt, moreover, in the primitive ages of which we speak many forms were common to the peoples of Central Italy which presently disappeared from Latin and were retained only among the Samnites and other Sabellians; but the example given above may be regarded as pure Latin in

its most ancient form after the introduction of writing.

The original of the upper line contains at least three characters which subsequently disappeared. These we may regard as either a part of the primitive Latin alphabet, or else foreign characters which at that time were incorporated for convenience. The first of these archaic letters is 9 for R, the second is the substitution of I for Z, and the third is the old *koppa* 9 for Q. To this we may add another peculiarity, which is the giving of a fifth stroke to the letter M—thus, W.

We have spoken above of certain examples of antique Latin which the Roman authors themselves preserved by copying into their works. Thus did

Preservation of
examples of an-
tique Latin.

Varro in his treatise, *De Lingua Latina*. He repeats two fragments from the *Carmina Saliaria*, which have been regarded as the oldest extant fragments of the primitive speech of Latium. But they are now known to be so much corrupted with foreign elements that the first place ought to be given to the inscription which we have quoted above. The Twelve Tables which contained the laws of Old Rome, memorable in the history and tradition of the jurisprudence of all modern nations, were written originally in the speech which we are here considering; and it may be regarded as a misfortune to the science of language as well as to archæology that the original tables and all the earlier copies of the same have perished. We are therefore left to consider not the linguistic forms in which the laws were originally written, but only modernized expressions of the same as they were afterwards transcribed in the later and classical ages. By this means all the interesting archaic elements were eliminated

from the original tables, merely their meaning being preserved in modern | we may see clearly the deterioration of the vowel sounds of the Latin language. Those who are acquainted with even the elements of Latin and Greek will readily perceive that the elder

tongue has virtually pre-
Deterioration and sharpening of the Latin vowels.

served the Greek vowels, while in the standard Latin they have been sharpened into that shrill and piping quality which we have already remarked. Thus *divos* has become *divis*, *goi* is *qui*, *nei* is *ne*, *manom* is *manum*, *einoim* is *enim*, etc. The rich diphthongs of the original have sunk into simple vowels, and the latter have flattened through one or two degrees of deterioration.

The beginning of the second epoch in the evolution of the Latin language, that is, the literary
Historical relations of the second linguistic epoch.

epoch, was nearly coincident with the conquest of Greece by Rome. Ennius died in 169 B. C., and the capture of Corinth by Mummius, with the consequent conversion of all Greece into a Roman province, took place in 146 B. C. Already for nearly a century the intercommunication between the two peoples by peace and by war had been almost constant; and while



QUINTUS HORATIUS FLACCUS.
From the painting by A. von Werner.

translations. Each age produced its own rendition of the famous statutes. | Greece felt more and more the weight of the iron arm stretched out of the

west, so Rome felt more and more

the subtle infections of Greek thought, | The dropping of final consonants was the influences of the art and learning of | in obedience to the Greek principle those whom they conquered.

Meanwhile, for centuries the same fine infection had been going on from the side of Magna Græcia. The culture of the Greek cities in Southern Italy had moved northward like the snow line of spring retreating before the returning sun, and had penetrated with its warmth and light the towns of the Umbrians, then the Latin cities, and finally those of the Oscans. But the great metamorphosis took place rather suddenly, about the middle of the second century B. C., and may be said to date from the poems of Ennius.

If we look at the merely physical changes by which the linguistic evolution was effected, we shall find

Various features of the linguistic changes. them to have been principally the shortening and corruption of the vowel sounds as above noted; second, the dropping of the consonants with which Latin words had formerly terminated; and thirdly, the forcing back by rule of all Latin accents to a position as remote as possible from the ultimate. The shortening of the vowels was particularly noticeable in the final syllables of

words and in the reduction of all diphthongs to a simple vocalic character. | which required as many open vowel sounds at the close of words as could



PUBLIUS OVIDIUS NASO.
 From the painting by A. von Werner.

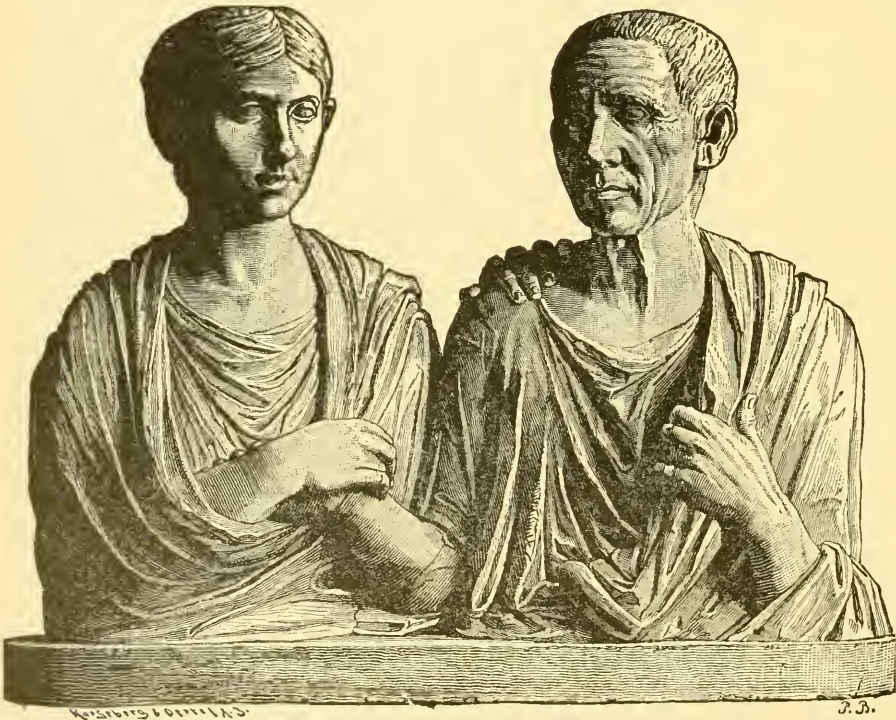
be obtained in that position. It was an effort to produce in Latin something of the musical quality for which Greek was so noted. Doubtless the Roman literary folk of the last century of the republic sought to imitate the "open close" of Greek words, and to this end threw away, wherever it was practicable to do so, the firm final consonants with which their own primitive language had abounded.

the linguistic change from the old to the new form of Latin had not proceeded far until the rule was fixed that no word in the language should henceforth bear an accent on the last syllable.

One of the main features of the change from the old to the classical Latin was the general reduction of the *quantity* of syllables. The whole tendency was toward the shortening of

Process of reducing the quantity of syllables.

vowels and the consequent multiplication of the number of syllables called "short" in prosody. This change is one that is common to all languages in certain stages of their evolution. Primitive peoples are of a slow temperament, and their speech partakes of the



CATO AND PORCIA.
Drawn by P. Beckert.

As to the falling back, or forcing back, of the accents from the last syllables of words, it is difficult to determine by what principle the same was effected. While the Greek language preferred an early accent, that is, an ictus on one of the first syllables of the word, it also freely retained an accent on the ultimate. It seems that Latin in its literary evolution adopted the first of these principles and rejected the other. At any rate,

Recession of Latin accent from the ultimate.

general intellectual character. The tongue dwells long upon each syllable as though it were a separate word. But with the rising heats of national life the tongue quickens its pace in common with the other nervous phenomena of the human animal, and in order to quicken it the vowels must be abbreviated and flattened. It becomes desirable to pass lightly over many short syllables, giving accent and quantity to only a few, on which emphasis is demanded.

The degree of nervous excitability in any people can be invariably measured by the prevalence or absence of long quantities and heavy accents on the syllables of the language spoken. At the very top and extreme of this tendency to abbreviation and lightness stands modern French. The airy, accentless quality of French is as truly exponential of the nervous state of the people who speak it—that ultimate evolution of the Gaulish race—as was the broad-jawed, deep-throated speech of the Anglo-Saxons, slow and ponderous, the true index of the sluggish and heavy intellectual action of our barbarian Teutonic ancestry. The old Latin possessed all the baritone elements of the tribal language from which it was descended, but the literary Latin moved forward under the influences of Greek culture and imitation into a more rapid and elegant form of utterance.

The change in question was effected between the middle of the third and the close of the second century B. C. It began with the writings of Nævius and Plautus, was carried rapidly forward by Ennius, and was perfected by Cato, Terentius, Pacuvius, Accius, and finally Lucilius. With the latter author the change into the true literary form may be said to have been complete. The refinements of the language, however, belonged to the next, or so-called Golden Age of Latin letters. This began with Varro and Cicero, and ended with Ovid and Livy. Chronologically speaking, the period extended from the beginning of the first century B. C. to the first quarter of the first century A. D. Within these limits are embraced those great classics which exemplify the character of the Latin tongue in its best estate. But

immediately after this greatest development we discover the premonitory symptoms of decay. Hardly was the empire established until not only the decline in literary work, but the deterioration of the language itself became manifest. Suetonius has given an account of the conversation of Augustus, and has preserved a long list of the plebeian and vulgar words which that imperial personage was wont to employ. As the court does, so do the imitators of the court.

For a while Latin literature continued to be reputable. Through the period known as the Silver Age the language was written with tolerable purity. Seneca, Persius, Petronius, Lucan, Pliny the Elder, Martial, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, Tacitus, and Juvenal are the great representatives of the literature of the early empire, and their works are the mirror of the linguistic changes which were in progress.

As is known to all, the language along with the literature reached its maximum of variety and power in the latter years of the republic, and in the hands of Cicero. We should not be far wrong to couple with his name the name of Julius Cæsar. For in reality the Latinity of the latter, though much more restricted in its scope, is scarcely inferior to that of the greatest of the Roman orators. From the fact that Cicero, as a writer of orations, as an essayist, as a philosophical commentator upon the affairs of his own age, and as a critic of literary productions in general, reached the high-water mark in the literature of his race, it has become customary to measure the divergence of all other Latin productions from the Ciceronian standard as by so much a departure from the

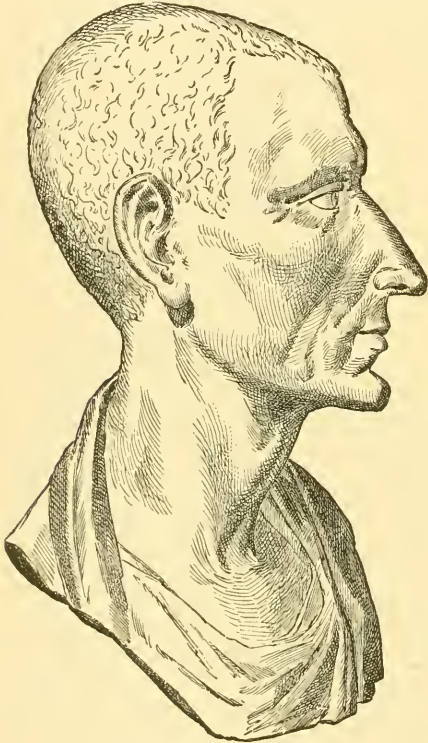
Relations of utterance to the nervous tension in man.

Representatives of Latin literature in the Silver Age.

Beginning and culmination of the literary epoch.

Establishment and perpetuation of the Ciceronian standard.

highest linguistic literary form of which the language was capable. With the virtual reduction of the Roman senate to the rank of an advisory body under the empire, the orator's vocation was gone; and since the orator had in the days of republican glory constituted the leading figure in the state, the highest type of citizenship, his decline marked



CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.
Drawn by G. Theuerkauf.

a corresponding decadence in literary production.

If we turn to note the actual circumstances by which the Latin of the Golden

Circumstances
leading to the
corruption of
the language.

Age was degraded and finally destroyed, we shall find, first of all, that the ruin

was effected by the introduction of foreign words and idioms. We have seen how Rome brought back to Italy all manner of products from all manner of states and countries. Among these was a portion of the language and the

thought of the conquered peoples. They yielded to Rome, and sent her a revenue of corruption. In the age of imperial vice the great men of the Cæsa-rean system became infected with foreignisms. They began to cultivate the fashions, manners, and to a certain extent the speech, the accent, and the literary styles which they had caught from other peoples, especially the Greeks.

The infection in the next place passed into the grammar and rhetoric of the language. The precise framework of construction which the classical authors had employed with such force and elegance was neglected, and the true grammatical fittings of the language fell away. Many efforts were made by Roman scholars to check the process and dam up the sluices of waste; but their work was unavailing. After the age of the Antonines it can not be said that pure Latin was ever spoken or written except by scholars who cultivated it as a mere literary vehicle. The Ciceronian standard had gone down hopelessly before the assaults of foreign influence and internal decay.

We may pause for a moment to look at a few salient features of Latin, such as strongly discriminate the language from others of Aryan descent. As we

Lack of particles in the Latin tongue.

have said, it was the best example furnished by ancient tongues of arrested linguistic development. This was shown in an especial manner by the poverty of Latin in the way of particles. There was a fair assortment of conjunctions, conjunctive adverbs, and prepositions; but the particle element had none of the abundance and delicacy displayed in Greek, or even in several of the modern languages. In rendering Greek into Latin the student is perpetually surprised by the dropping away of the untranslatable

parts of the former. Latin had neither a definite nor an indefinite article. The noun stood alone, with no indication as to whether it should be used in a general, an abstract, or a definite relation. *Puer sequitur patrem* was literally "Boy follows father." The meaning was: "The boy follows his father," "The boy follows the father," "A boy follows a father," "A boy follows the father," or any other of the varying general or specific propositions which may be evolved out of the three principal words. There was not the slightest indication as to which of the senses was intended. In fact, so blunt and indiscriminative was the Latin mind that the differences in thought, to which we have referred, had evidently not been discerned; else we might reasonably have expected that in the highly elaborated literature produced by the race some signs of such mental discrimination would have appeared in the language. This is all the more marvelous when we reflect that the Greeks, by the use of their articles and their indefinite pronouns, had, centuries before, devised a scheme for the careful distinction of the various thoughts referred to.

While the paucity of the particles and the absence of articles in Latin left the language like a tree stripped of its foliage, the speech was nevertheless strong in demonstration. By this we mean that these elements of language which modern grammarians call demonstrative pronouns, were largely developed and exact in sense. Not Greek itself was more perfect in what may be called the *pointing out* of things than was Latin. The close framework of Latin grammar, the unequivocal meaning and back references of the parts were largely effected by means of those unmistakable words,

hic, is, ille, iste, ipse, driven like iron pins through the syntax with a force and precision which bound the whole heavy sentence into a colossal unity.

The Latin tongue as compared with Greek was weak in composition; that is, in the free production of compound words. The wonderful facility with which the Greek author could put together the roots of many words, forming a compound expressive of the most complex idea, was wanting in the Latin tongue. Lord Bacon has pointed out the fact that the artistic and imaginative peoples cultivate the compound element in speech, whereas the practical races prefer simple and concrete verbal forms. To the latter type belonged the Latin. Its power of combination was kept within very narrow limits. The large dimensions of Latin words must be referred to the colossal root-elements which were indigenous to the language rather than to ease of combination.

This predominance of the simple and concrete over the artistic and imaginative quality of language gave to all Latin writings a realistic turn and an ex- attitude of expression in strict analogy with the character of the Roman race. The Latin vocabulary was expansible only to a slight degree. The language never showed the quality of spontaneous generation as did the Greek. It stopped short with a brief and masculine out-branching, putting on no gaiety of efflorescence. There was that in the genius of the tongue which resented even the introduction of foreign elements. Such importations were not readily incorporated, or at least not readily assimilated, with the native structure of the language. Foreign words floated around in the stream of Latin speech, but they were

Philosophy of
the compound
element in hu-
man speech.

Severe aspect
and practical
character of
Latin.

Strong develop-
ment of the lan-
guage in demon-
stratives.

as oil to water. The foreign flavor, the alien aspect remained in all such parts of the language as were brought from abroad, and continued to testify of their extraneous character.

The polysyllabic framework of Latin words and the scarcity of diphthongs by which the vocalic elements were reduced in number, and the fixity of the accent on one of two syllables only in

Monotony of Latin; its sonorousness and dignity.

Fondness of the Romans for sound and cadence.

lic utterance; not indeed for its argumentative capacity or its refinements or for its musical variety, but for the high-sounding strain and tremendous cadence of the periods.

The Latins themselves were not unacquainted with this element, this ponderous declamatory power in their speech. They were proud of the resonance of their orations, and gave more

attention, perhaps, than any other people, with the possible exception of the Greeks, to the method and manner of delivery—to that elocutionary part which most peoples have considered of secondary importance. In the age of Cicero the sonorous quality of the language and its colossal constructive energies had been brought to the highest stage of perfection, and the roar of the orator's superlatives and gerundives as they resounded in a majestic swell to the close of the paragraph might well draw from the crowds in the forum an outburst of applause which no perfection of argument or vehemence of invective could have elicited.

The Latin language was distinguished above all other tongues of antiquity for its di-



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.
Drawn by H. Volz.

every Latin word, gave to the language a certain monotony. It was but little varied in utterance. That is, the tones were limited to a narrow range. But the very qualities which we have here cited added weight and dignity, gravity and sonorousness to an unequalled degree. It is for these characteristics that the Latin tongue has been most celebrated in all subsequent ages as a vehicle of pub-

rectness and force. Latin prose, such as it was under the stylus of Cæsar or Cicero, had a certain clearness and cogency and precision—to say nothing of the cadence of the periods and the billowy form of the sentences—which made it, par excellence, the language of business, of legislation, and of war. There was a concrete energy and lucid-

Directness, force, and concrete energy of the language.

ness of meaning and a directness of aim in every well constructed Latin paragraph which pointed unmistakably to the robust power, the vigor in action, and the continuity of purpose of that great race which issued by descent from the Albanian fathers and by locality from the walls of lofty Rome.

Considered as the continent of thought, the Latin language was an

Latin speech an example of linguistic architecture.

architectural rather than a vital phenomenon. It

was made, but grew not.

Beginning with the subjective idea, or thought, the Greek sentence sprang up as the vital, visible, growing symbol of what the Greek mind would express.

The thought within drew to itself what verbal elements soever were necessary to give complete and artistic embodiment to itself. The Greek sentence

sprang, as it were, by visible expansion and outbranching from the ground of consciousness. It was the verbal emergence of Minerva. But in Latin it was

a process of building—sheer building by force of masonry and skill of the masons. Here is the thought to be expressed. Here is the Latin language

with which to express it. The problem

is to construct a building that shall hold the thought, no more, no less. It may

be a wall, a pavement, an arch, a column, a rampart, a façade, a whole temple, but the process is always architectural. The sentence is of vast and solid

masonry. There is neither break in the stone nor crevice in the cement. It fits everywhere. There is no weakness, no

flaw; for the square has been laid upon it, and the stonemason's hammer has brought the surface to perfection.

This Latin language became under the domination of Rome the medium of communication among the Mediterranean kingdoms. It was the vehicle of

intercourse by which the tremendous will of Rome was carried out through provinces and states to the remotest borders of her dominion. There was in

A fit instrument for the diplomacy of the Romans.

the language a quality of stately precision which rendered it in the highest degree a fit instrument for the diplomacy which Rome must needs conduct with the subject nations. At bottom there was even a deeper quality which made the Latin language the language of law, of lawmaking, of the application of law by those processes which had suggested themselves by experience to the Roman people.

It were difficult to explain how it is—or was—that principles of jurisprudence took on so easy and accurate

a statement in the forms of the Latin language.

Jurisprudence found in Latin a natural vehicle.

Perhaps the explanation is found in the fact that that jurisprudence has been inherited by all the modern nations of Western Europe, and that the principles of the Roman law must needs have been coëxistent in their origin and coëxtensive in their development with the speech of the people. It might be that the principles which underlie the constitution of Asiatic empires could not find easy expression in Latin, but certain it is that the fundamental elements in the codes of all those kingdoms and states with which we are acquainted in the West flow naturally into the Latin mold, and are therein embodied in unmistakable forms.

To understand the preponderance of the Latin tongue in all Europe during the Middle Ages, we must remember the extent and variety of the Ro-

man political power before its failure in the fourth

Rome plants her language among the barbarian races of Europe

and fifth centuries. Rome had carried her conquests across the Alps and made her way northward to the Baltic and

westward to the British islands. Her legions had completed the circuit of Western Europe. The Spanish peninsula had of old time been hers. We have seen how various branches of the Aryan race had extended like wild vines into all the territories to which we here refer. Barbarian states had been established throughout the North and West.



VANDALS ON THE MARCH TO ROME.

Drawn by F. Schoenberg.

They had grown into power, and were really formidable antagonists even for the armies of Rome.

But all went down under the impact of the Roman legions. The territories of Europe west of the Rhine became provinces of the empire. Latin institutions were established, Latin usages promulgated, the Latin language and laws introduced among the conquered

peoples. The reader of history is well acquainted with the means by which Rome sought everywhere to incorporate the conquered countries and to make them one with herself. One of the principal agencies which she adopted was the dissemination of her language. Young barbarians of promise were seduced into her schools and taught the

speech of the schoolmasters. In course of time Latin was thus disseminated throughout the North and West, as it had been already disseminated in the East.

Everywhere there was a mixture of the vernacular with the tongue of Rome. Each province began the development of a speech for itself, the bottom element and grammatical framework of which were Latin; but a large part of the vocabulary and mere verbal peculiarities of each were barbarian.

Here we discover

the undoubted antecedents of the so-called modern languages of Western Europe. The Franks learned Latin—learned it in their own way, modified its composition, changed its pronunciation, filled its vocabulary with new terms, and presently christened it *French*.

In what manner Romance languages emerge from Latin.

South of the Pyrenees native Gaulish

tribes, Iberians, Basques, and others handled in like manner the language

Spanish, Provençal, Portuguese, and Italian spring up.

which they had received from their conquerors, and *Spanish* sprang up as a dialect.

Provençal also appeared in the south of France, under like conditions of barbarian admixture with the tongue of Rome. The Western peoples of Spain gave a peculiar development to the mediæval speech, producing in course of time *Portuguese* as another dialect of the original stock. Meanwhile, the Western empire had gone down under the assaults of the Visigoths, the Heruli, the Vandals, and the Lombards. More particularly the Goths had gained the ascendancy in the central peninsula from which the Roman dominion had extended its iron arms in the days of power and glory. But Latin held its own against the rough jargon of the invaders. The composite process began, however, and resulted in the production of *Italian*. On the Danube a sixth and last evolution had taken place by the combination of another Germanic tongue with the Latin stem. Here in the province of Wallachia a variety of corrupted Latin was instituted which possessed the elements of growth and expansion out of which has sprung a modern language, the *Wallachian*, of considerable extent and influence in that quarter of Europe.

Surveying the whole field, we find no fewer than six principal tongues springing like waterspouts around the old stump of Latin, prodigious in dimensions and deep-rooted in centuries of time. These are Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Provençal, and Wallachian, several of which, as for instance the French, have branched into subvarieties, such as that Norman French of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centu-

ries, which was destined to give to our own ancestral tongue the greatest modification which it has ever received from any foreign source.

It is not purposed, however, in this connection to do more than intimate the vicissitudes of Latin and its distribution as a parent speech into the countries of Europe. It is more germane to the current inquiry to note the dissemination on these multifarious linguistic streams of the jurisprudence of the Roman race. Everywhere the laws of ancient Rome, her customs, her usages, her principles of political conduct, her methods of administering justice, her theories of the rational construction of civil society, were borne afar until they found lodgment among the remotest peoples of the West. Those influences, moreover, which were wafted by means of the Latin language into foreign parts, had in them the elements of perpetuity.

It was a severe and dubious task to attempt to account for the extreme pertinacity of Roman customs and laws, transplanted as they have been to distant shores and inhospitable climates; nevertheless, the fact remains. As we have said above, the very family which is the bottom unit of all society, as it is constituted among the nations of the West, is derived from Rome. The principles of its organization are fundamentally Roman, rather than Greek or Asiatic. The small facts of political organization, such as the township, the county, the oppidum, the urbs or city, every variety of municipal construction, are likewise deduced from Roman precedents. The process of making laws is Roman in every stage and every essential.

However varied may be the theo-

Laws and constitution of Rome borne abroad by Latin.

All features of Roman organization thus disseminated.

ries of modern society in countries some of which are monarchical, some aristocratic, some democratic, some republican, we find everywhere the same bottom constitution as it relates to legislative methods and the processes of law. The legislature, the commons, the upper house—whatever that may be—the checks between them, the process of election, the methods of organizing, the veto, the executive office, the court beyond—all, all are Roman in their origin and in their distinctive features. And underneath this vast structural system

Prevalence of Roman forms throughout modern society.

that has by its adaptabilities and, perhaps, its common sense been forced upon, or at least accepted by, almost every state of Europe and the New World, there flowed the river of Latin speech. It was on this stream that the ships which carried the institutional forms of the Roman republic into distant regions have been borne safely to their destination and moored in all the harbors of modern politics, from the Baltic to Gibraltar, from the Rhine to Ireland, from Hudson's bay to Uruguay, from the Atlantic coast to the sunlit valleys beyond the Sierra Nevada.

CHAPTER LXIV.—THE ARTS.



N attempting to draw a realistic outline of the character and life of the Roman people, we shall in the next place consider their technology and their arts.

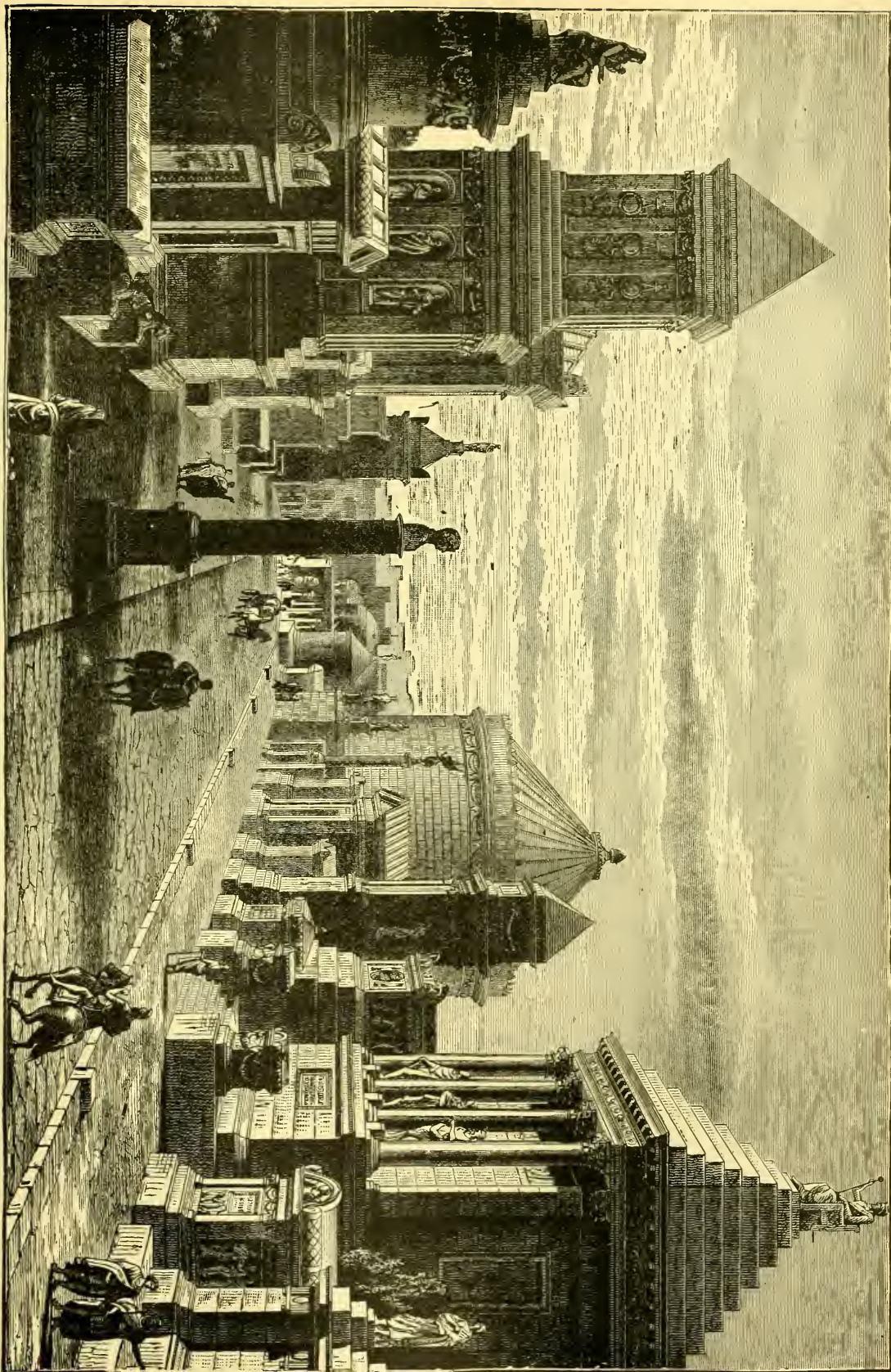
Whoever has not carefully studied this subject, who has not reflected upon the data accessible until he has discovered the actual condition of Roman life and activity with respect to artisanship and art, must needs be surprised, astounded, at the revelation which awaits him. Among no people of the ancient or modern world, with the possible exception of the Greeks, was there a greater superficial manifestation of constructive energy, of intellectual and executive grandeur, than among the Romans; and yet the appearance was specious in the last degree. It was superficially drawn from the aspect of things, and not from their essential nature. The Romans were, in brief, *the least creative*

The Romans the least creative of the great peoples.

of all the great peoples with whom they competed for predominance in the ancient world. It might almost be truthfully said that they created nothing. But at the same time it must be allowed that they constructed everything. It is with this fundamental difference between creation and construction clearly in his mind that the reader must approach the consideration of all the outer, and more particularly the artistic, manifestations of the Roman genius.

It would appear that the whole power of the Roman race flowed into a few simple qualities, such as strength, adaptive capacity, working force, and the constructive concept with respect to both men and things. For the Romans were as much the builders of political society as they were the builders of aqueducts and roads and temples; as much the masons of human life as of the Appian Way and the Coliseum. So powerful was the flux of the whole Roman nature in the direction of the

Constructive capacity of the race; want of ideality.

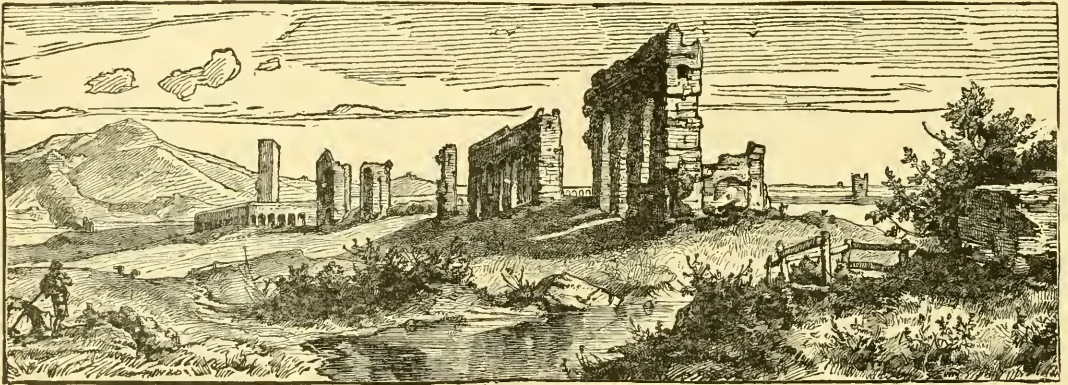


THE APPIAN WAY, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhmann.

tangible activities here referred to that nothing remained for the imagination, the fancy, the poetic flight. The Romans were the least inspired of all the great peoples of the world. The fact is that inspiration was to them a *word*, and not a *thing*. They were capable of the intensest excitement, but of no enthusiasm. They had all the realistic faculties in excessive development, but were strangers to ideality. The very slumbers of the race were overshadowed with the actual, and the Roman's dreams were visions of the forum, of the copper mine, of the legion marching, of

Should we glance into Latium about the mythical times of the founding of the republic, we should see on the hillsides, half-cleared of the original woods, the hut of the Latin farmer. His home was typical of all the rest. It was rudely built of wood or stone, with little attention to elegance of structure or tastefulness of situation. It was only after Rome was founded and contact with the Etruscans had made the people familiar with the architecture of the latter race that a better style of building was introduced. For

The Etruscans bring architectural skill to Rome.



RUINS OF ROMAN AQUEDUCT—ALBAN HILLS IN THE DISTANCE.—Drawn by F. Preller.

stonemasons building an aqueduct, and of a flood in the Tiber.

The practical issue of these subjective traits in the Roman race was that from the first the men of Romulus borrowed everything and invented nothing. A modern witticism has gained currency to the effect that the French nation has not invented anything except the right of insurrection. Taking the witticism seriously, we might find its origin in that greater race from which the French are descended. The Romans invented not, but sought from the inventions of others to appropriate such elements as might conduce to their own benefit and renown.

The Romans borrowed all and invented nothing.

centuries together the Etruscan masons and architects were necessary to the progress and development of the city. Every great work required this foreign skill for its conception and execution. Strange spectacle to see the Roman patrician victorious over the superior people north of the Tiber and compelling them to build and adorn his city!

From Cyprus, from Phœnicia, from Carthage, from Ionia, and Greece the primitive Etruscans had brought to the Western peninsula the rudiments of skill in construction and in art. These elements were combined by the genius of the people, and considerable progress was made toward the creation of an Ital-

The conquerors drain the countries of the Mediterranean.

ian architecture different from that of the East. It were vain to conjecture to what this tendency might have reached but for the domination of Rome. Certain it is that the architectural skill of the older people had expanded into fair proportions before the days of Romulus. It was the historical contact of the Latins with the builders of Veii, Volsinii, and Falerii that gave the first impetus to building in Rome and throughout Central Italy. The old Sabellians had also made some progress in architecture at a very early period, and from them also the Latins gathered both the knowledge of the building art and its practice.

At the first the people of Latium had no temples.

Romans dependent on Etruscans for their first temples. no effigies of their gods.

They were indebted for the introduction of these symbols of religion to the Etruscan artists. The first temples built in Rome were designed and erected by foreigners, and it was the mid-epoch of the republic before the plan of the Roman temples and their principal features passed from the Etruscan to the Grecian type of architecture. The old temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was built and adorned by Etruscan architects. The *Quadriga*, or four-horse clay chariot, with which the pediment of the temple was adorned, was executed by Volcanius, an artist from Veii. He also produced

the clay statue of Jove which stood in the interior.

But, as we have said, Etruscan art, properly so called, was far behind the strictly architectural development of the



BACCIC VASE OF ETRUSCAN PATTERN.
Drawn by Charles Gutzwiller, from a photograph.

people. The oldest images and vases recovered from primitive Rome have all the features of the corresponding works found in Etruria. The bad drawing, the disproportion, the crude coloring, and

the staring expression of fright with which the faces of the images are disfigured all bear evidence that Rome had neither art nor architecture of her own.

As soon as intercourse was established with Greece the discrepancy between the rude work done by the Etruscan for-

had been put in place as a fitting concrete upon which to rear the glory of the future city. By the middle of the fifth century B. C. the passion of the Romans for honoring their great men with statues was displayed, though not at first in full force. It became customary to set up in

Rudeness of the primitive arts of both peoples.

Dependence on Greece for memorials and statues



ROMAN SHIP, WITH GRAPPLING IRONS.—From Trajan's Column, Rome.

eigners in Rome and that of the Hellenic artists was discovered; and as early as the days of Servius Tullius importations of skill and of actual art works began from the Greek cities.

Meanwhile the solid basis of Old Rome was laid by the Etruscan artisans. The huge stones, many of which are still unmoved from their ancient foundations,

the streets of the city memorials to such of the great men of the race as had distinguished themselves in battle or in the senate. But the work could not be done by Roman hands. They had power, but no skill. Such statues were imported from abroad, from Greece; and in course of time the artist himself was imported likewise. What Rome could

not produce she could command; and what she could command she ordered.

On every side we discover, even from the primitive ages, the unoriginate character of the Roman people. The ideal and creative faculties of mind were wanting in the race to such an extent that originality, or what is called somewhat vaguely by the name of genius, was virtually an unknown quantity. What we have said of the early dependence of Latium upon Etruria and Magna Græcia for the elements of art and artisanship may be repeated of the middle age of republican Rome. Sometimes in an emergency the Romans were driven by sheer stress of circumstances to produce for themselves, but the effort was laborious in the last degree. When any such contingency arose, it was evident that the work was looked upon by its producers as something marvelous. Certainly it should not be thought wonderful that the Romans should be shipbuilders. There the peninsula lay fairly projecting far between two placid seas. To east and west the Mediterranean constituted an easy thoroughfare to all the surrounding kingdoms. As we have said, the absence of harbors on the Italian coast might account for the backwardness of the race in maritime adventure, but could not wholly explain the absence of shipbuilding skill among the great people who had arrogated to themselves and had taken by conquest the right of governing all Italy.

The student of history will recall the fact that at the outbreak of the Punic Wars the great advantage of the Carthaginians over the Romans lay in the possession of fleets and a marine soldiery by the former, and the absence of the same on the side of the Romans. More par-

ticularly he will recall how at the epoch of the second Punic War the Romans roused themselves to compete with their enemies on the sea, and how they were driven to seek a model for a war ship in the wreck of a Carthaginian vessel accidentally driven ashore by the storm. The unskill, too, of the Romans in their management of ships in the ensuing war was conspicuous. But though the race could not invent, it could learn. It was not long after the first fleet had been created until the Roman sailors were a terror even to the sea veterans of Carthage.

Even in the details of such matters the same wonder is expressed by the Romans in their occasional contrivance of some effective thing. Remember the grappling hooks. The thing in itself was not a prodigy. It was certainly no stroke of genius to observe how easily one ship might be bound to another in battle, allowing the soldiers to pass from deck to deck, until the issue of the fight might be decided by such prowess as the legion displayed on land. In such an emergency the grappling hook would suggest itself to the dull brain of a common blacksmith. But when Rome invented for herself this clumsy, but effective, contrivance of holding fast her enemy's ship, it was reckoned so mighty a work of genius that it passed into history and song as one of the triumphs of the race.

In all departments of artisanship the same backwardness of adaptation appeared. It was only under the compulsion of some necessity that the Romans showed themselves capable of producing the commonest contrivances. They looked with wonder upon the multifarious industries which were plied in the countries and by the peoples

Emergency compels invention; shipbuilding lags.

Slow production of Roman fleets; the grappling hooks.

The Romans wonder at the skill of other races.

whom they conquered. It was almost a barbarian sentiment with which this vigorous, warlike race contemplated at first the splendor of achievement which was discovered in Greece. But it was in the nature of Rome to discern advantage, and to gather even from the ends of the earth all things and processes soever that might benefit herself.

quering Italy. Historians and moralists have been wont to call Rome a robber. It was appropriation as much as robbery with which she enriched herself. It is true that she transferred the actual properties of all foreign states with which she came into contact to her own dominions. In this she simply adopted and applied the war code of the ages in



ROMAN BAKERY, RESTORED.—Drawn by W. Friedrich, from the original at Pompeii.

If we could at this late day enter the shops and manufactories of Rome, and had we in the meantime acquainted ourselves with the nature and extent of the industries which were prosecuted by the Eastern peoples from the fourth century B. C. to the third A. D., we should be amazed to see how completely such industries had been transplanted to con-

which she flourished. But to transfer an invention, a contrivance, a method of industry, a means of accomplishing something—in short, an art, whether industrial or polite—was to appropriate rather than to rob. Such gathering up from foreign nations of their skill, their inventions and arts, did not deprive those nations of the right to continue their industries and artisanship as be-

Knowledge of
practical arts
imported from
alien races.

fore, but merely weakened them by the diffusion of their special powers into a foreign state.

In all this we are able to discover a striking example of what has been frequently seen in the history of the world, namely, the evidence of a general civilization through all time, all countries, and all conditions by successive special contributions of each people in its turn. May we not discern the agency which Rome is now to exercise in diffusing to every part of the Mediterranean regions, and ultimately to all Europe and to the Western world at large, by means of her greatness and the avenues of her power, all the local results which she had gathered from the various races with which she had come into contact? Rome was destined to scatter what may be called the physical apparatus of civilization and a civil organic structure, just as Greece had been destined to diffuse the light of learning and the beauties of art to the ends of the world. It is by such gatherings up and subsequent dispensations of civilizing elements that all the nations of the world must ultimately be enlightened and brought from barbarism into the civilized estate.

Since one of the three principal means of maintaining human life in the earth is shelter, and since all architectural achievements may be said to spring from this simple necessity which bears upon the primitive state of man, we may expect to find in every powerful state an architectural element of vast importance. If we look at that of Rome, we shall discover a most striking example of the nature and extent of the dependence of the people upon foreign artists and artisans for their achievements. If in

Rome first gathers and then distributes civilization.

Ability to build the strongest trait of Roman genius.

any part of the industrial and artistic life of the Roman people they may be said to have invented, it was in architecture. In so far as invention consists in the combination and development of existing elements, the Romans did, to a certain extent, devise new methods of structure and new styles of building. In several particulars we find in Rome—even in primitive Rome—the evidences of important departures from the prevailing methods in the architecture of the East and South.

Take, for instance, the *arch* as an element of structure. It was thought for a long time that the Egyptians were entirely ignorant of the value and applications of this device. Recent investigations have tended to show, however, that at a

Evolution of the arch as an element in structure.

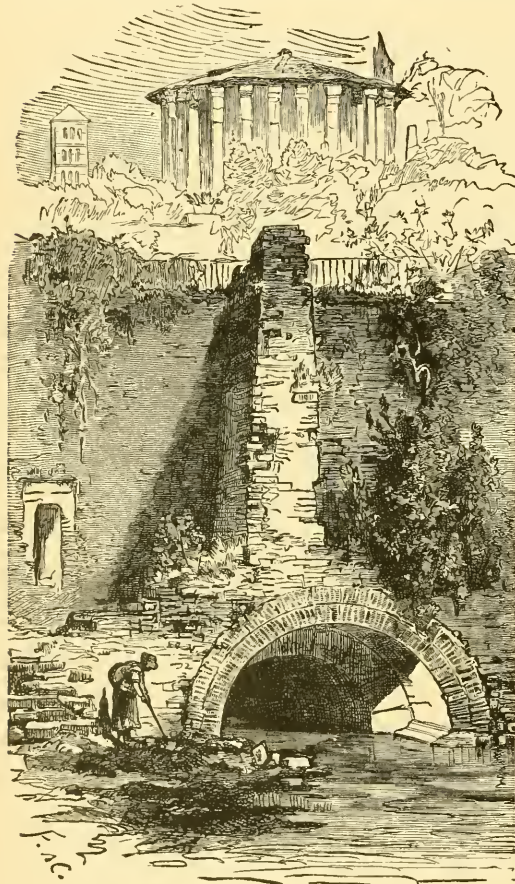
very ancient period the builders of Egypt had some knowledge of the arch, but that for reasons which do not sufficiently appear, it was not employed by the great builders who produced the granite wonders of the Egypt of the Pharaohs. Neither were the Greeks acquainted with the arch—or, if acquainted at all, such knowledge was here again referable to a very early period. The entrance to the treasure-house of Atreus, uncovered by the workmen of Schliemann in our own generation, is a pointed arch; but the later works of the Greeks did not perpetuate this element of building. On the whole, it may be safely conjectured that there was something in the arch which offended the severe taste of the Egyptian and Grecian builders, and that for this reason it disappeared wholly from their styles.

In Rome we have the same early appearance of the arch; but here it was retained and developed, and ultimately transmitted to modern Europe. The Cloaca Maxima, to which we have fre-

quently referred, is an enduring proof that the arch was known and skillfully employed in Italy at a very remote period. It thus remained for the Romans to adopt, perpetuate, amplify, and improve a principle of architecture which had been known, but rejected, by the Egyp-

The arch adopted and perfected by Roman builders.

expanded with a view to permanency and strength, notwithstanding its rejection by the finer taste of the Eastern builders.



OLD ETRUSCAN MASONRY—MOUTH OF CLOACA MAXIMA
AT THE TIBER.
Drawn by R. Puttner.

tians, the Greeks, and even by the Assyrians. If the reason above assigned for the rejection of the arch by the Greeks be correct, we may discover also the reason of its retention by the Romans. The latter people were not likely to sacrifice *strength* for *beauty*. So valuable an element of structure as the arch once introduced would be retained and

expanded with a view to permanency and strength, notwithstanding its rejection by the finer taste of the Eastern builders.

Such facts as that to which we here refer may sometimes appear of minor importance to the reader of history; but not so. Observe how the fact in ques-

Relation of the arch to the civilization of the Romans.

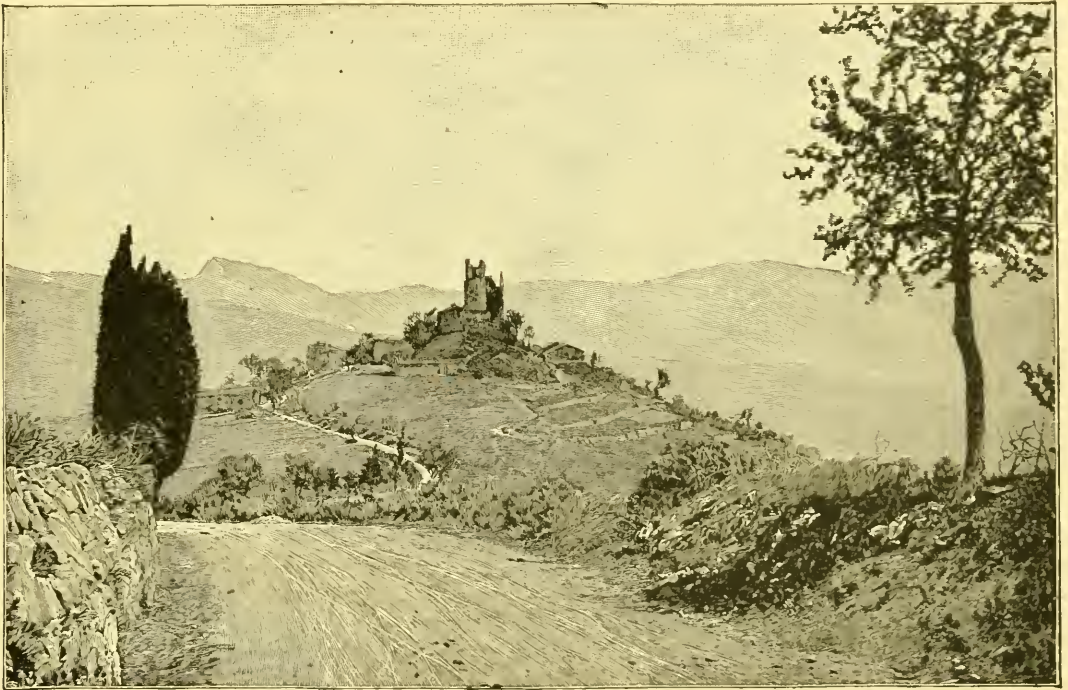
tion enters into the whole civil polity of the Roman republic and the empire. One of the means by which Roman authority is to be disseminated and maintained in its integrity, even to the borders of Europe and as far east as the Euphrates, is the construction of roads. The student knows well how far from Rome her great thoroughfares were carried. He knows how those imperial highways were built, how broad and straight they were, how they were paved with immovable stones, how the roadway was graded across hills and valleys and over roaring rivers, to the end that the legions of the republic might march forth with clanging tread, and return when the war was over with ease and expedition and proper triumph to the central city.

But how should Rome carry her great roads across valleys and lowlands and over rapid rivers?—how, but by means of tremendous causeways supported by the arch? As matter of fact such were the means adopted; and at this day in many parts of Europe the remains of the tremendous energies displayed in the Roman roads testify to the wisdom of the builders in the employment of the arch as an element of the greatest durability and strength. The very same thing was done in constructing those enormous and everlasting aqueducts with which Rome was wont to supply herself with wholesome water. By Rome we do not mean the capital city only, but all of the great

Evidences throughout Europe of Roman structure.

cities which were brought under her sway, not only in Italy, but in the East, and also north of the Alps. It is the exception for the modern traveler not to find in connection with the sites of the ancient imperial cities of Southern Europe the ruins of one of those mighty aqueducts through which in times of Roman grandeur the floods of fresh water poured a limitless supply into every metropolis—and every aqueduct was sup-

over into Latium their ancient style, and this became for some centuries the prevailing type of structure in the city. To a certain extent the Roman builders modified, but can scarcely be said to have improved, the Tuscan style. The old theater of Marcellus at Rome, especially the lowest story, and the temple of Cora, forty miles distant, have preserved for modern inspection specimens of this oldest type of building.



ROMAN HIGHWAY AND RUINS OF CASTLE.—Drawn by Bocher, from a photograph.

ported by the arch as its principal element of structure, as its main assurance of strength and durability.

To this extent, then, the architecture of Rome may be said to have been original; but in all of its other leading particulars it was derived: derived first of all from the Etruscans. For from that people, in the beginning, the Roman style of building, mean and low, called Tuscan, was deduced. The primitive architects from beyond the Tiber carried

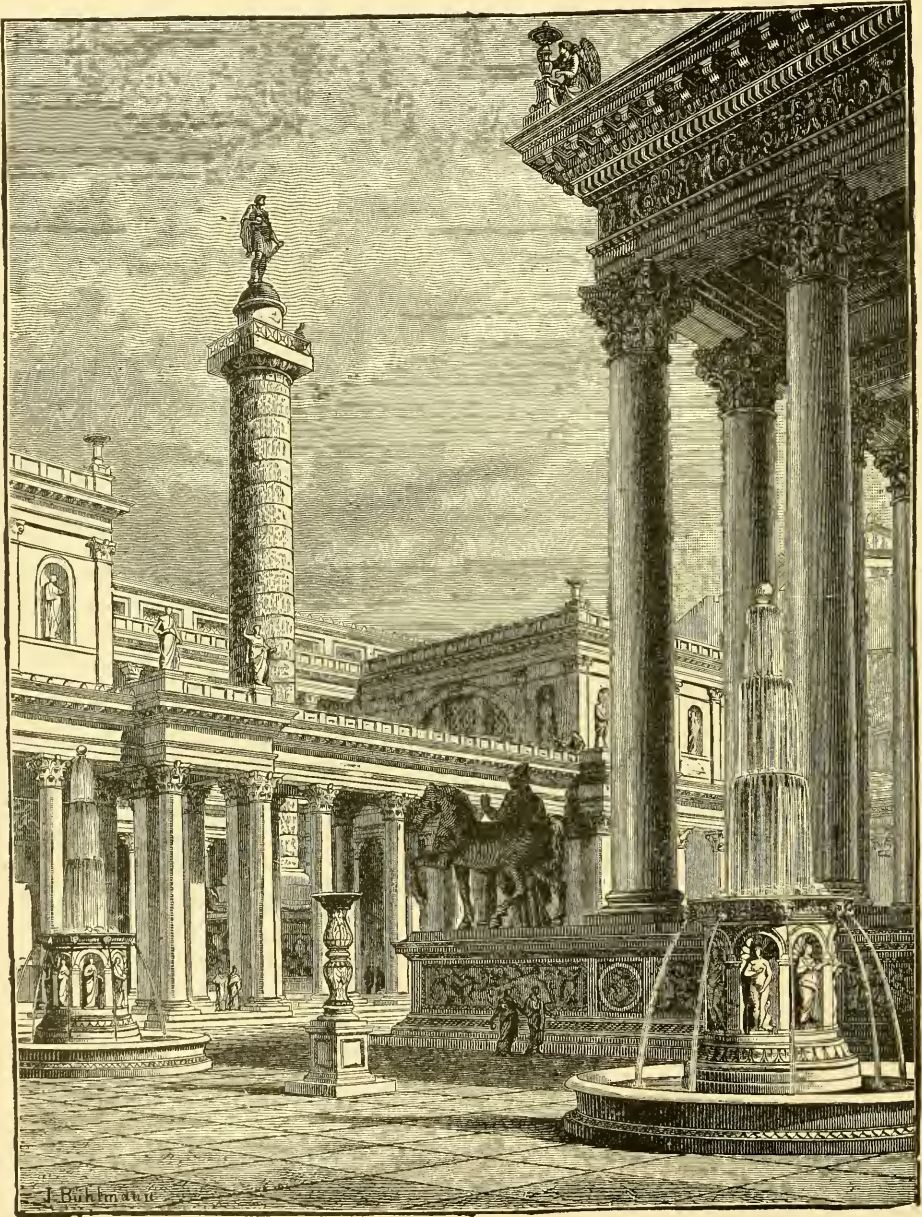
It has been claimed that the Tuscan itself was a degenerate form of Grecian architecture; that the architects of Etruria were unable to preserve the elegance and beauty of the original, but that they did preserve enough of the principal features to impose them on the Romans as their primitive style of structure. In course of time, however, the Romans, by war and other forms of intercourse, familiarized themselves with the Doric and Ionic architecture of

Character and examples of the Tuscan style.

Greek architecture becomes the prevailing type.

Magna Græcia, and afterwards directly with the magnificent temples and other public buildings of the Greeks. From these sources were derived the elements

in course of time Rome abounded with architects of her own race who were able to compete with the foreign builders. Now it was that the Corinthian



ROMAN STRUCTURE.—FORUM AND COLUMN OF TRAJAN, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

which were employed by the Roman builders. We may not suppose that the Romans remained dependent upon foreigners for the actual ability to construct. They were able to learn, and

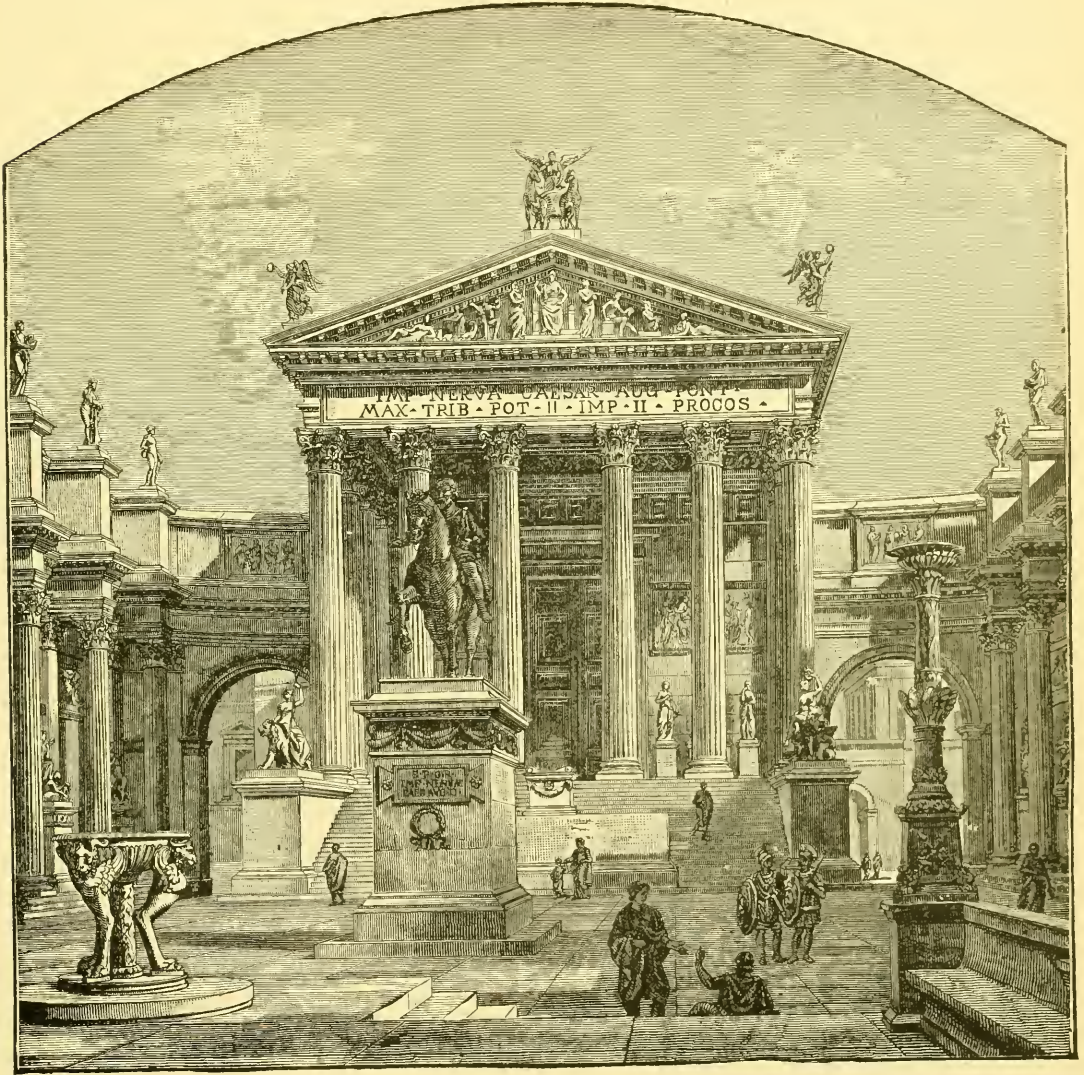
column was introduced in the West, and became ever afterwards the standard feature of the architectural monuments of Italy.

We might well pause to note briefly

the evolution of the column to its final efflorescence in the times of the Roman empire. It was a product of the genius of the Hamitic race; but the civilization of the Aryan nations brought it to per-

see to what extent the column flourished in the hands of the Egyptians. In the preceding chapter we have noted its use and expansion in the hands of the architects of Greece. We have remarked the stages of the development from the

Evolution of columnar structure in Greece and Rome.



ROMAN STRUCTURE.—TEMPLE OF PALLAS, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

fection. So far as usefulness was concerned, the bottom idea of the column is a pillar of support, but its ideal element is derived from the tree. Out of these two fundamental concepts the whole development has taken place. In another part of the present work we shall

plain Doric, massive and simple, into the Ionic, and finally into the Corinthian order, which was the limit of ornamentation permissible by the canon of the Greeks.

Hellenic taste was severe and chaste in all respects, but particularly in the

matter of structure. It sought for effect by simplicity and not by elaboration. In the very best ages of Greek building the Ionic style was the most ornate which was permitted by the classical tastes of the people. It will be conceded that the Romans merely adopted the column—accepted it, first from the hands of the Etruscans, and afterwards from the hands of the Greeks. But they accepted to modify. It is in dispute to the present day whether the Roman varieties of building are entitled to be called distinct styles. The type which they chose was the Corinthian, as being most ornate, therefore most befitting the luxurious tastes of the Roman people. But even the Corinthian style was not sufficiently elaborate to meet the demands of Rome. The Roman Corinthian became at once more highly efflorescent than any that had preceded it; and then followed what is known as the Composite style, in which ingenuity would fain torture from combination certain effects, particularly in the capital, more ornate and complicated than any that had preceded. It was in this composite order that the acme of columnar development was reached, but it was the acme of luxury and ornamentation rather than the acme of sound taste and beauty. These had been attained before. The chastity of the Greek column as exhibited in the Doric and Ionic was by its conversion into the Corinthian order changed to tawdriness and luxurious flummery; and these qualities, transmitted to after times, have entailed on modern Europe certain architectural vices from which she has not yet recovered.

It was, then, the Corinthian order of architecture that the Romans cultivated and developed. There was a Roman Ionic order and also a Roman Doric,

but neither was brought to any degree of perfection. In fact, as we have said, the Roman eye was unable to discover in the chaste proportions and simple beauty of the Doric and Ionic styles anything to satisfy—anything to please. It was from the basis of an already highly expanded Corinthian order that all the noted architectural evolution of the Roman race was effected.

We are here speaking of architecture not as an objective fact, but as an exponent of the genius and taste of the Roman race.

The Corinthian order preferred by the Roman architects.

Architecture an exponent of intellectual and moral states.

We are looking at it simply as an expression in form of the subjective concepts and intellectual capabilities of that great people. The reader must assist us by bearing in mind the fact that in ethnic history the objective forms of civilization are considered as merely so many tangibilities of the intellectual and moral powers of mankind. It is sought in all such studies to deduce by an inverted syllogism, the premises of which consist of the material aspects of civilization, certain valid conclusions with regard to the evolution of the human mind in different ages and conditions of the world.

Nevertheless, it is occasionally of interest even in an ethnic history to note specific external facts as of peculiar interest in the general study. One

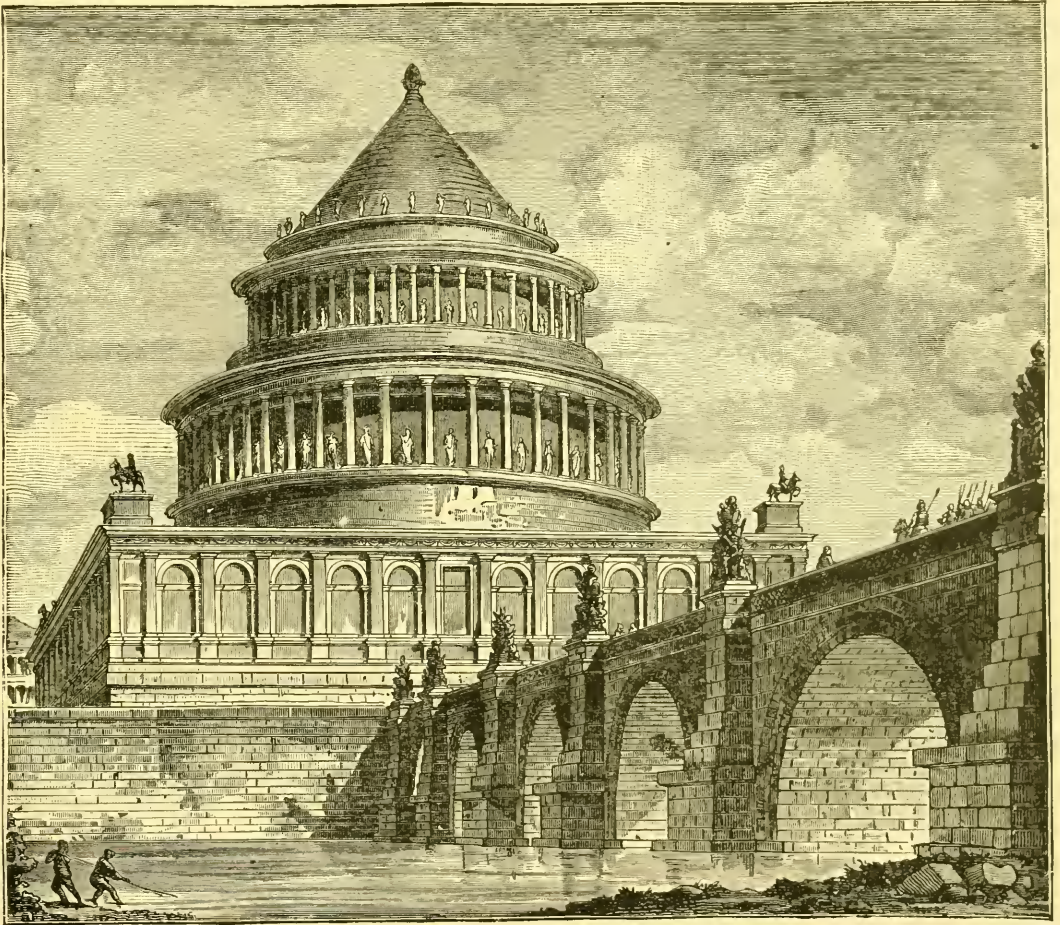
The Corinthian the predominant feature of classical Rome.

of these facts upon which we might well dwell for a moment is the Roman column. Had the traveler from a distant land entered Rome in the days of imperial splendor, he should have seen one of the most magnificent and solidly built cities ever constructed by the human race. In this great mass of architecture, at least in all its grander parts, the predominant feature, the determin-

ing element, was this same Corinthian column, many times evolved into what was called the composite order, but always fundamentally the same. Into this column the genius of the architects of Rome and, as we have seen, much of the antecedent genius of two or three more intellectual races than the Romans

ture in the front, or façade, of the great classical buildings of antiquity. It rested below upon a part of the structure called the stylobate, and bore above another part called the entablature. It was the peculiarity of Roman architecture that the stylobate, or base, of the front of the

General character and analysis of the composite column.



ROMAN STRUCTURE.—MAUSOLEUM OF HADRIAN (CASTLE OF SAINT ANGELO), RESTORED.—Drawn by C. Reiss.

had already entered. Its proportions and general character had been determined by a canon of criticism which in its turn had been produced by the added judgments of many artists in different lands. What, then, was the column which Rome brought to its most ornate development?

It was the principal or central fea-

façade was of unusual height. In the triumphal arches which Rome was wont to erect in commemoration of great men and great events this feature is most pronounced. In such structures the stylobate has a height of four, or even five, diameters. In all such measurements the diameter of the column is taken as unity. In other buildings the stylobate

was only two and a half or three diameters in height. It consisted for the most part of a series of moldings forming a substantial base, from which the columns rose. There was sometimes a single or even double plinth under the base of the moldings, and on the coping there was what is called a "block course," on which rested the bases of the columns. The latter device was intended to lift the column at the bottom, so that the beholder standing in front of the edifice might see the entire length and height of the base and the shaft.

The column itself was divided into three parts: the base, the shaft, and the

Special features
and proportions
of the column.

capital. The height bore a constant relation to the unit of measurement, being

nine and a half or ten diameters. The base was generally a half diameter in height, consisting first of a square member, or plinth, and then of several members of a circular form, diminishing in breadth from the bottom. The base was the least conspicuous of all the parts, and was, perhaps, less varied in the hands of the Romans than any other member of the whole façade. The breadth of the base was greater than that of the column, having an extreme width ranging from a diameter and a third to a diameter and four ninths. The shaft of the column may be regarded as the principal member. It diminished regularly toward the top by one eighth of a diameter. It was fluted, or scalloped out, in semicircular grooves, having elevations between, which were called fillets. Each flute had four times the breadth of the fillet. The flutes of a column were almost invariably twenty-four in number, and were only omitted when the materials used would not admit of such treatment. When granite, porphyry, cipolin, and other substances of the kind were em-

ployed, as they were occasionally, the columns had a smooth exterior surface, being simply cylinders of dressed stone, tapering in the same ratio given above.

The height of the capital was one and one eighth diameters. From this rule there was some variation, a few of the capitals being lower. The capital itself

Parts and measurements of the capital.

consisted of several members. Around the circumference were two rows, or bands, of acanthus leaves. In each row there were eight leaves placed side by side, branching outwards and not touching at the edges. This made each leaf cover three flutes in the column below. The leaves were arranged symmetrically with respect to the upper part of the capital and the entablature above. That is, the eye of the beholder, as he stood in front of the edifice, would discover an equal number of leaves on each side of the column. The top member of the capital, immediately under the entablature, was the abacus. It had a height of one seventh of the whole capital. The lower row of acanthus leaves had a height of two sevenths of the whole, and the second row had two thirds the height of the lower. Thus through all parts a principle of proportion, carefully determined by the experiences and artistic sense of ages, was extended; and though there were many departures in the details from the exact standard, the general proportions were invariably retained.

In all this we are able again to discover something of that regularity, precision, and love of order for which the Roman mind had always been noted from its

Roman mind and purpose revealed in architectural style.

first emergence in the mythical ages. It was a characteristic that was carried instinctively into all the details of the practical arts as well as into the management of civil society. In fact, the principle

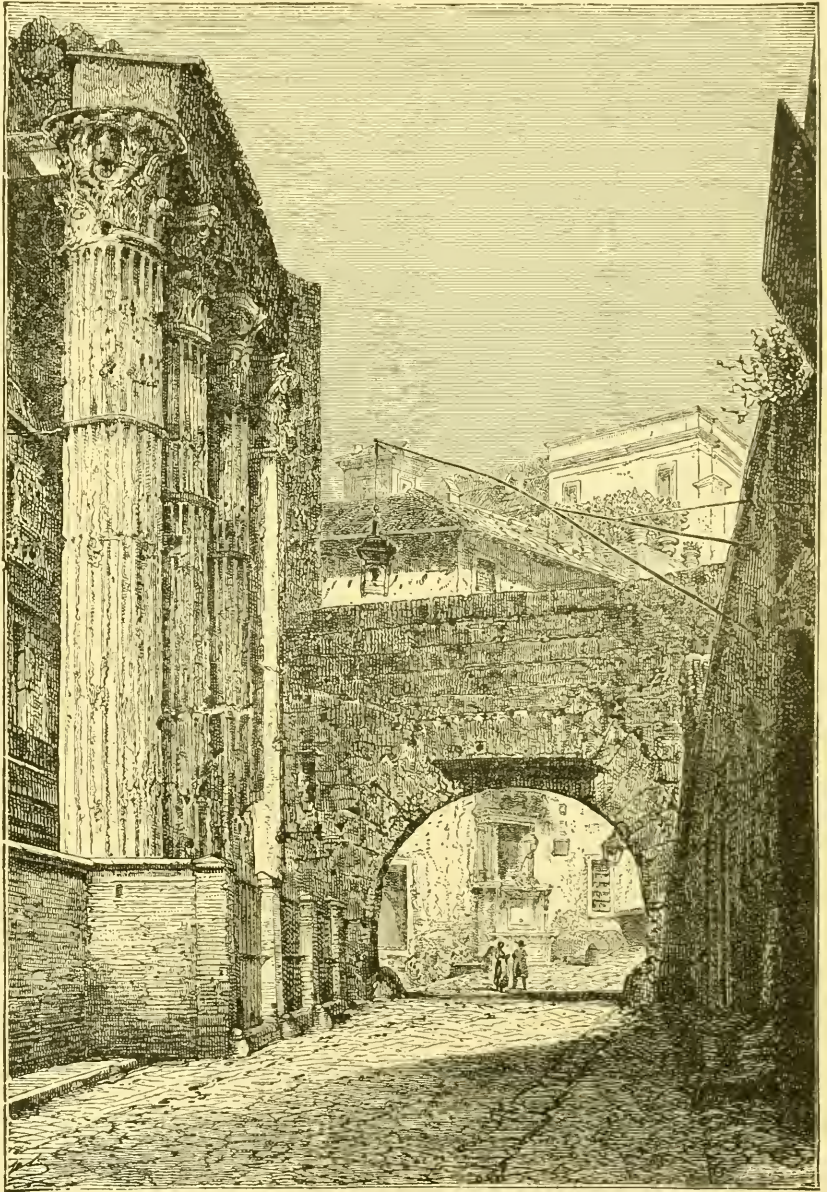
can not be too strongly enforced, that the life of a people is whole and consistent in all its ramifications and methods. It might not be pressing the inquiry too far to aver that an inconsistency in the life of a people is impossible—which is to say that when all the facts, the instincts, the peculiarities, the antecedents, the forces of the environment, the peculiar circumstances of development, and the extraneous influences to which a given people have been subjected are taken into consideration, no actual inconsistency can be discovered; no one circumstance in the national life be out of concord with all the rest.

Until the rise and expansion of Rome, a single leading fact had been apparent in all the architecture of the East, whether Hamitic, Semitic, or Ar-

Eastern building had respect to public uses only.

yan. This fact was the limitation of building to a few leading purposes. The structure was in some sense a public phenomenon. The Egyptians built temples

and tombs. Besides these two varieties of architecture and their concomitants, it could scarcely be said that Egypt had an architecture. All private building



ROMAN STRUCTURE—TEMPLE OF NERVA.
Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

was doubtless of so low, insignificant, and temporary a kind as to pass away with the age in which it arose. High above all private enterprise, however, towered the two great facts, the temple

and the tomb; and the ruins of the one and the pointed summit of the other are still seen in the horizon of Northeastern Africa.

The Semitic races also had two principal forms of building: the temple and the palace. In some cases the one predominated, and in other countries the other. Chaldæa, Assyria, and Babylonia limited their efforts to the construction of abodes for their gods and their kings. In the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris it would be impossible, as in the valley of the Nile, to discover even a hint of those private edifices which must have been a part of the common life. Great was the gap in all these countries between the almost imperishable structure of stone, grand in proportion and massive in masonry, and the small square earthen hovel in which the common lot held its career and exhibited its poor activities.

This peculiar feature in the architecture of the East, its virtual limitation to temples and palaces and tombs, was carried westward by the migrating nations, and became under their patronage the characteristic of building in Asia Minor and in Greece. In the latter country there were already apparent certain signs of the new order—evidences that the range of structure was destined to extend to a greater variety of subjects. It remained for the Romans, however, to carry the principles of an enlarged and grand architecture into private buildings, and to vary the application of the building art to conform to the almost endless variety of edifices which a great and vigorous community must demand.

Structure is the continent of life. The body, in the first place, is the continent of the individual life. The house is the

continent of the life of the family. So the principle may be carried upwards until we have for society a house. Moreover, the house must conform to its inhabitants. The shells of the *gasteropoda* are shaped to the humble people within. It is only a part of that universal consistency which extends through the whole domain of life and organism. In Rome the robustness of the common life demanded a form of structure almost as extensive and substantial relatively as were the buildings of the kings and the gods.

Structure to be regarded as the continent of life.

The reader must remember that kingship was presently abolished, utterly expelled from Roman society. With the disappearance of the king, with the flight of the Tarquin in that old mythical dawn, the king-house, the palace, also fled. The houses of the deities remained and continued to expand in proportion with the concepts of the people during the centuries of the republic. But the common life, the great social life, the patrician life, aye, finally the plebeian life itself, expanded also; and the habitation of this life, the dwelling place, the private edifice which represented the common lot of man in the West expanded also, and became varied in its forms and uses to a degree hitherto unknown among the nations of the Old World.

Rome becomes the leader in architecture for private uses.

Herein it is possible to discern the hidden depths of progress among the nations of antiquity. In the horizon of the extreme East the common life was in no wise differentiated. It was simply a mass, capable of action only under the foot of power. Hence the king in the pagan world rose and stood above the cowering multitudes. In those fecund

Empire and superstition had their thrones in the East.

Semitic architecture looked to palaces and temples.

Greeks and Romans depart from Oriental standards.

valleys of Africa and Asia where civilization probably began, we see the spectral outlines of these two great facts, *empire* and *superstition*, rising like gigantic figures above the debased millions who toiled and suffered to maintain and glorify the very powers by which they were subjected.

It was out of this estate that the migratory movements of mankind began. The bolder spirits slipped from the domination and despotism of the old order, and drew after them the more progressive tribes in a movement to the West. The farther the movement extended the more completely did the common man escape from the old oppressions by which he had been reduced to servitude. As we have said, Italy was the West of the ancient world.

When the Aryan tribes poured into the peninsula they may have been savage enough in their manners, but they were also free. They had become individual, and we can see the inevitable form which the new social structure created by them would assume. There must needs be in such a society a tremendous common life, hostile to power, restless under any form of domination, expressing itself in every way as the leading social element of the state, and particularly compelling the architecture of the country in which it arose to do deference to the existence and wants of the common lot by extending, amplifying, and perfecting all the private structures requisite for the welfare of such a people and the maintenance of such a civilization.

We may accept this principle as lying at the bottom of the vastly varied architecture of the Roman race. It was the concomitant circumstance of the republic—of that patrician and plebeian form of

life which would no longer brook the ascendancy of absolutism, whether of an Oriental monarchy or a pagan superstition. We must not, however, suppose that the transformation was so extensive and complete and immediate as might be inferred from the foregoing description of the process. Here again, as ever, we must be on our guard against the too literal interpretation, the too exact application of literary description to the tangible facts of human society. Social processes are always incomplete. They are partial, not reaching the full logical results which would be expected from the exact deductions of the syllogism. The change in the architectural aspect in Rome from that of the East, the extension of the former to all manner of private buildings, was sufficiently striking; but it was not complete. To a certain extent the palace and the temple continued as the highest types of Roman architecture, just as they had been the only types in the architecture of Greece and of Asia.

The variation from the old restricted order of buildings extended, moreover, into the selection of materials. Egypt built simply of granite. It is to this circumstance and her rainless climate as much as to the perfection of her structure that the enduring character of her monuments must be referred. Greece opened her marble quarries, as we have seen, and drew from them the materials of her elegant and enduring architecture. The oldest building in Italy was that of the Etruscans, in their own country first, and afterwards in Latium. The building also which was practiced in Magna Græcia had stone masonry as its bottom fact. The temples of the south were generally of marble, and the

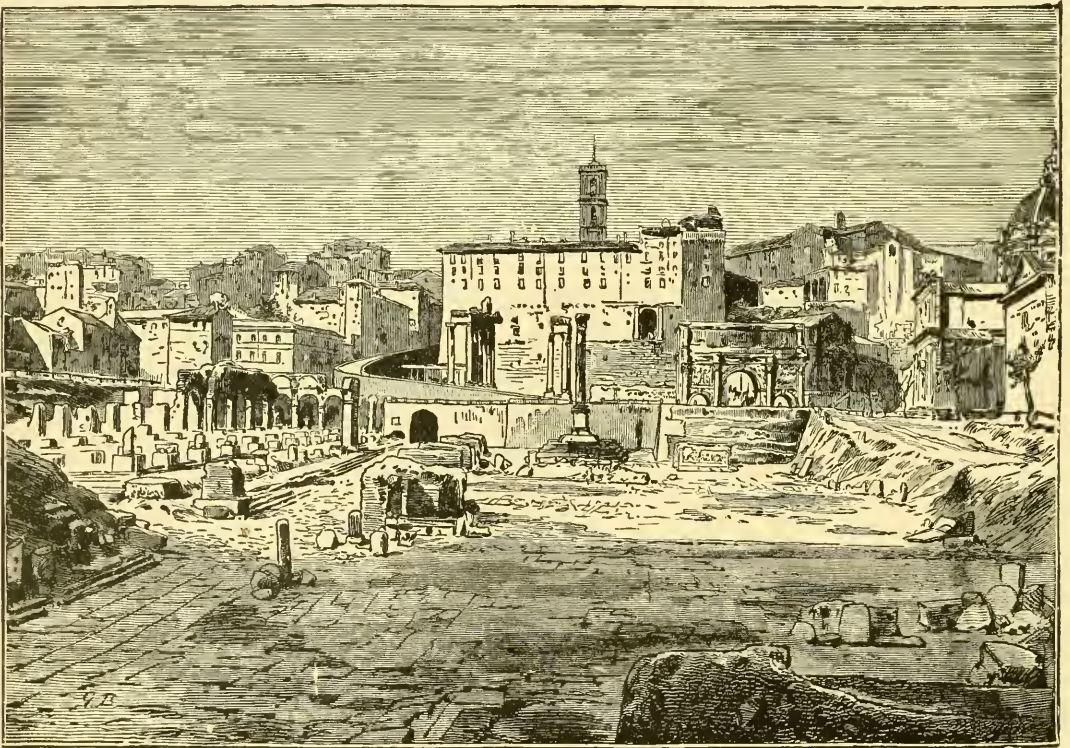
Migratory movements of mankind signify emancipation.

Varied architecture implies differentiation of races.

The Romans vary the selection of building materials.

materials for the primitive structures of Rome and Etruria were drawn from the rock quarries of the country. But with the progress and expansion of the Roman race the principle of variation as to the intent and application of buildings was carried into the selection of materials; and henceforth all manner of building substances were freely employed in the architecture of Italy.

ble; and the exposed parts of most of the private buildings, especially the fronts, were also of stone. But the general appearance of universal stone and marble work must be referred to the stucco with which the exterior surface of the buildings was covered. Underneath this covering were the real materials, and these were by no means exclusively from the stone quarries.



THE FORUM AT ROME IN PRESENT CONDITION.

A great popular misapprehension exists in this respect. It is customary to speak of republican Rome, of imperial Rome, as a stone-built and marble-built city. The illustrations which modern art have created of the imperial city represent it as a magnificent array of stone and marble. Of course, such materials did abound. It was the usage of the architects to construct the façades of the palaces and villas of mar-

Extensive use of stone and marble in Roman buildings.

As matter of fact, brick building was greatly in excess of stonework and structure of marble. The aqueducts, palaces, villas, baths, and temples of Rome were nearly all built of brick so far as their principal parts were concerned. If we glance at the ruins of the Eternal City we shall find a few columns and friezes of marble or granite, but no more. Some of the remaining ancient buildings are of a variety of

Bricks also largely employed in leading edifices.

stone called *travertine*; but the prevailing ruin is of brick. Of the stone just referred to, the travertine, the Coliseum was built, as was also the mausoleum of Hadrian. The temple of Fortuna Virilis was of the same material, and so were those famous ancient bridges which spanned the Tiber. The columns of the Pantheon, both external and internal, are of marble, as are also the exposed parts of the arches of Titus and Constantine. The two great columns of Trajan and of Marcus Aurelius are also of marble; but the palace of the Cæsars was constructed, in all its major parts, of bricks. The Pantheon, too, with the exception of the colonnade, was built of the same material, as were also the temples of Peace, of Venus, and of Minerva.

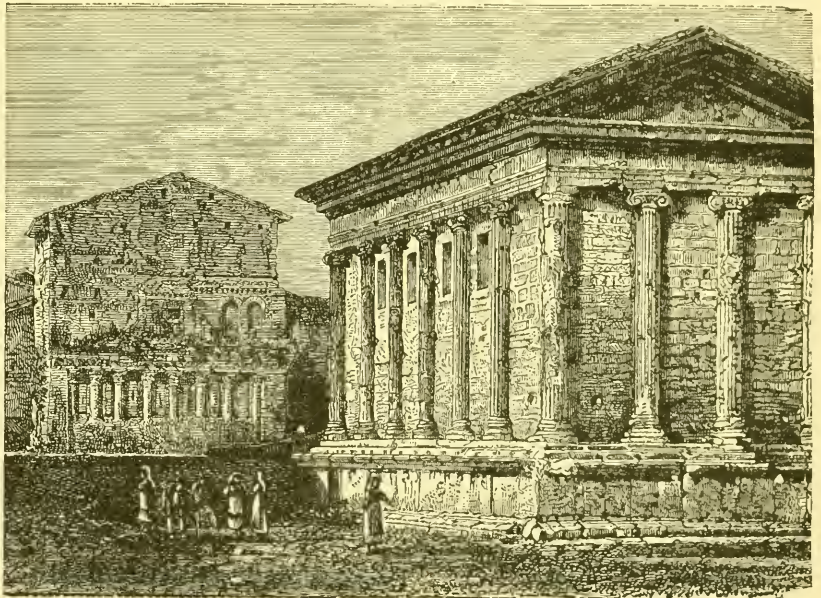
Many times the walls, and especially the fronts of the edifices, were faced

City walls and many villas of brick structure.

with marble or freestone from the Italian quarries. The great baths to which we referred on a preceding page—the magnificent thermæ of Titus, of Caracalla, and of Diocletian—were constructed of brick. The city walls, those *altæ mania Romæ* of Vergil, were not of stone, but of brick. The splendid villa of Hadrian and that of Mæcenas at Tivoli were of the same material, and so also in general were the palaces of the Roman emperors and the homes of the patricians, whether for permanent resi-

dence in the city or at the summer resorts on the coast. The exhumations at Herculaneum and Pompeii have shown us the style of building prevalent in the first century of our era. The houses are constructed of alternate double courses of brick and of stone or lava.

In short, everywhere throughout Italy there was an adaptation of various native materials, and particularly of burnt bricks for the purposes of building. So that the same variety which



TEMPLE OF FORTUNA VIRILIS AND HOUSE OF RIENZI.

Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

appeared in the buildings themselves—the same extension of the principles of architecture from palaces, temples, and tombs to the abodes of the common people, to aqueducts, roads, walls, and indeed all manner of structure—was noticeable correlatively in the variety of materials which the Romans employed in their edifices.

One of the most notable features in the tangible life of the Roman people was the element of persistency, of durability, of resistance to the assaults of hazard and time. From the earliest ages the

Romans took counsel of the conditions of perpetuity. The things fragile were contemned by the race; only the things massive and strong were chosen and admired. Among the devices invented by men for giving solidity and durability to structure, none have surpassed the

Durability the predominant feature of Roman structure.

ception of the displacement of the statues of the ancient gods of the Roman race from the niches of the dome and the setting up in their stead of the statues of the saints of the Roman Church, little alteration may be discovered in any part from the conditions in which the temple stood in the days of its erection.



FAÇADE OF THE PANTHEON.

methods employed by the architects of Rome. In no other country—not even in Egypt—can the traveler so well familiarize himself with the actual presence of the ancient world as in the former seats of Roman power. The best preserved monument of antiquity is the Pantheon, in the Campus Martius. There it stands as in the first days of its Augustan grandeur. With the ex-

Nearly nineteen centuries have beaten upon it without visible effect. It is still the Pantheon—pride of ancient Rome.

“Simple, erect, severe, austere, sublime—
Shrine of all saints and temple of all gods,
From Jove to Jesus—spared and blest by time.”

It is possible that the severe spirit of the Roman race was reflected in another characteristic of architecture. The Greeks avoided the circular form in

their buildings. Very rarely in the ground plan of Greek structures, perhaps never outside of theaters and other buildings designed for the auditorium or the public games, do we find the circle. But in Roman architecture there was a growing preference for this form. Such preference was a departure from all the

to this principle we add the absence of the arch, we may discover the necessity for the column as the universal means of support. We have seen how the Romans, if possibly they did not introduce, at least adopted the arch as an element of structure. This enabled them to reduce the number of columns and to

Greeks prefer the rectangular plan for edifices.

The circular form in building cultivated by the Romans.



ARCH OF CONSTANTINE AND COLISEUM.—From *Magazine of Art*.

old practices of the Aryan race, and in general from the practices of the East. Egypt had no circular structures. They were wanting in Assyria. Nineveh, Susa, Persepolis—none of the great ruins of the Eastern world presented such forms of building.

We have shown the strong preference of the Greek architects for the rectangle as the ground plan of their edifices. If

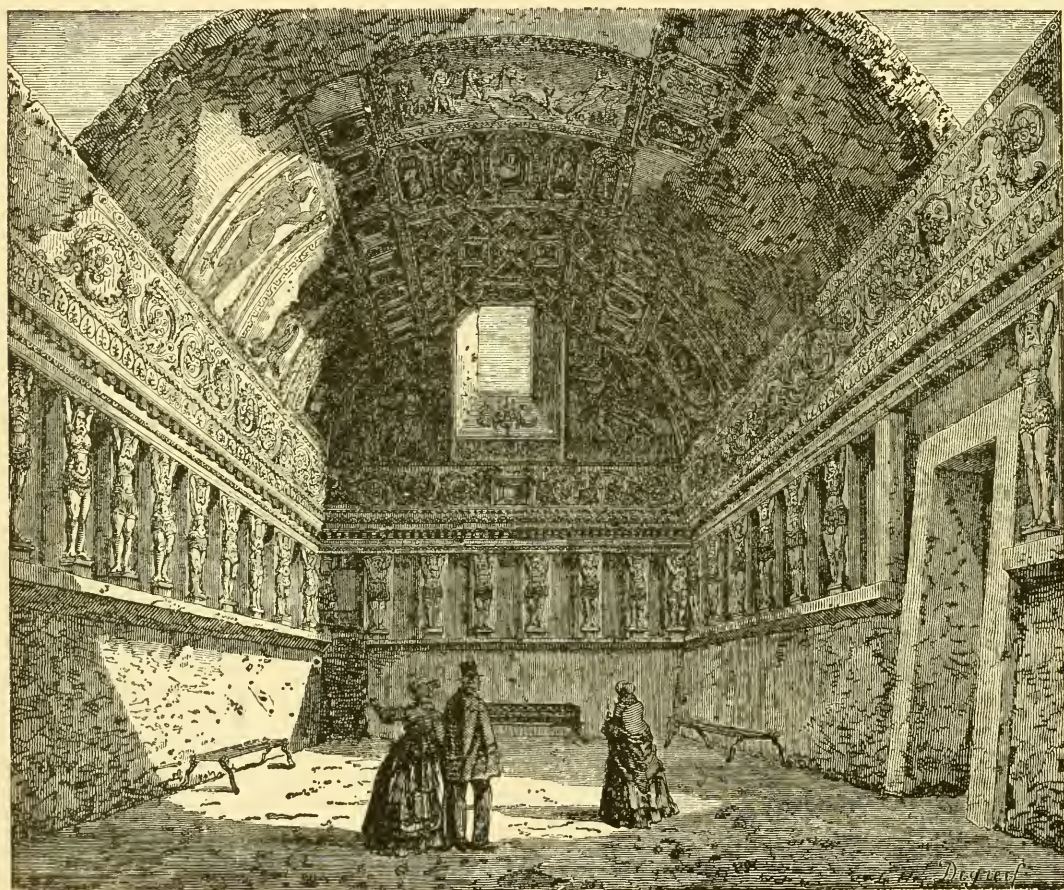
make the arch a means of support. In general, the beholder may note a striking difference between the multicolunnar appearance of classical Greek buildings and the more open effect in Roman structures produced by the reduction of the colonnade.

It was an extension of this principle that led to the Roman preference for circular buildings—not, indeed, to the

rejection of the rectangular form, but merely to an architectural variation. The temple of Venus, in Rome, had a circular dome. The temple of Minerva Medica was also circular, having a diameter of one hundred and ten feet. The Pantheon is one of the most conspicuous

Striking example of circular building at Rome.

types. These buildings were usually, in the better ages of Roman architecture, of extreme solidity. Many of them survive in tolerable perfection to the present day. Those of Pompeii and Herculaneum have been uncovered and found in tolerable perfection. The Romans, like the Greeks, availed themselves of



INTERIOR OF THERMÆ.—Drawn by H. Clerget, from an original description.

examples of this form of structure. The beautiful tomb of Cecilia Metella is described in Byron's verse as a stern *round* tower of other days. The mausoleum of Hadrian, now the Castle of Sant' Angelo, though rectangular in the ground plan is a circular edifice. The theaters and amphitheaters were copied from those of Greece, though greatly expanded, enlarged, and varied from the original

the hillside as the best situation for their theaters, but instead of cutting the structure, as did the Greeks, from the native rock, the Romans excavated and then built.

Throughout the empire the remains of such edifices are frequent. No Roman city was perfect without its theater. The traveler notes the outlines of such buildings not only in Italy, but in France

and Sicily, and indeed in every land over which the authority and civilization of Rome were extended. They are found

Abundance of
Roman thea-
ters; amphithe-
ater of Nîmes.

at Verona, at Pola, Taormina, at Arles, and in many other imperial cities. The same is true of the amphitheaters, which were of great size. That of Verona has dimensions of four hundred and four by five hundred feet. At Nîmes, in Languedoc, the old Roman amphitheater is still in such preservation that public shows are celebrated in it as in the times of the Cæsars.¹

One other point remains to be noted relative to Roman architecture viewed as

Wonder excited
by Roman
structure in an
unscientific age.

an index of the genius and spirit of the people. This is the herculean character of many of the works which were undertaken and generally completed by the builders of the Roman race. In estimating such enterprises we must ever make allowance for the character of the age with respect to scientific learning. Be it ever remembered that science had

not yet appeared as a guide to the endeavor of man. Take mathematics as an example. Without a knowledge of mechanics, of physics, of the calculus, of physical apparatus such as the theodolite, and more particularly of the mathematical formulæ of surveying and engineering, how could a great aqueduct be constructed, or a great highway be carried with precision for a hundred miles? How could the strength of building materials be estimated, or accurate proportions be determined in the plans of palaces and temples? The engineering of the times must have been empirical—the result of practice and observation, and of laws the mathematical meaning of which was not apprehended.

Still greater is the wonder when we come to reflect upon the fact that in the times of the Roman republic men knew nothing of the subordination of force.

The laws of nature unknown to the men of Rome.

What we call “the laws of nature” were as much a riddle as the visage of the sphinx. It is virtually impossible for men at the present day to realize the condition of men in an age when the application of the simple mechanical powers such as the lever and the wheel marked the extreme limit of the dominion of man over the forces of the natural world. In such an age steam was a vapor. Even the gravitating power of water and its ready action in turning wheels had not been discovered. In this direction the capricious wind bearing upon the outspread sail was the limit of the application of power.

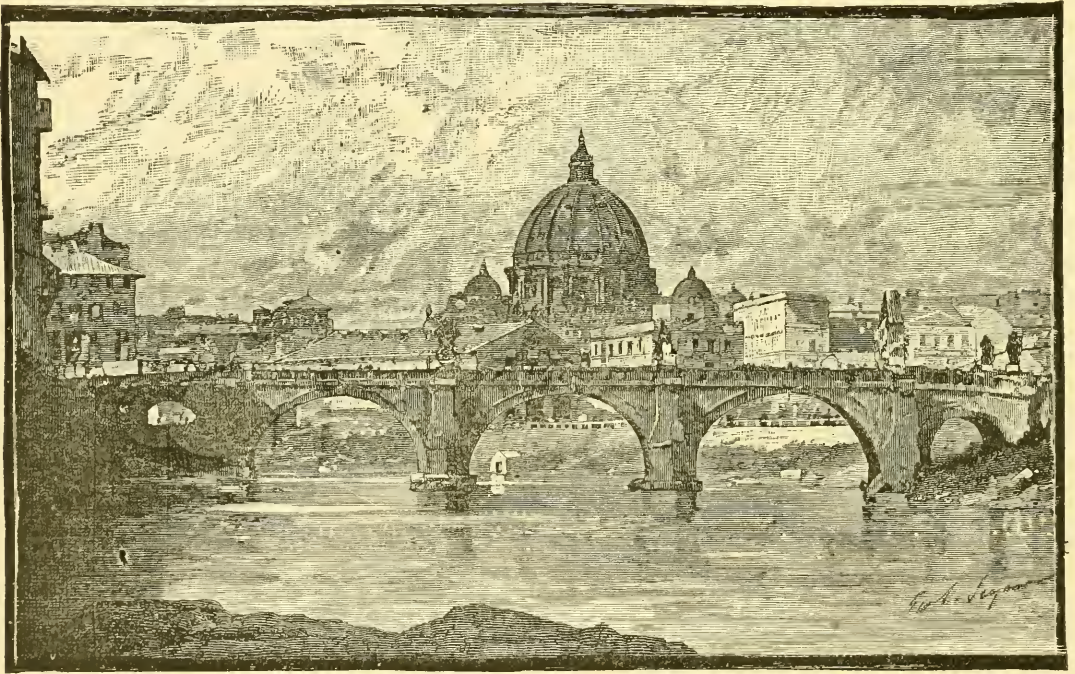
Not a single explosive was known to the men of Rome. In fact, no part of that multifarious scientific apparatus by which man now so easily seizes upon and controls the forces of physical nature had been discovered or applied in

Their want of scientific knowledge heightens our admiration.

¹Historically considered, the amphitheater at Nîmes is one of the most interesting places in France, if not in Western Europe. Its estimated capacity for spectators was twenty-three thousand. When the country was overrun by the Goths, they made a lodgment in the structure and converted it into a fortress. Afterwards the Saracens did the same. It was one of their strongholds in the defense of the country against the Franks. During the whole of the Middle Ages it was a fortress, but after the Crusades it began to be a place of residence for the peasants. At the beginning of the present century the place attracted the attention of the government, and an examination by a commission revealed the fact that nearly two thousand persons had established themselves within the amphitheater as a home. In 1809 it was cleared of its inhabitants by order of the prefect of the department, and in 1858 it was repaired and restored as nearly as possible to its original condition. From that time forth the original arena has remained a place of public amusement, and, as has been said in the text, has been recently used for the exhibition of sports and as a seat of fairs for the people of Languedoc.

the age when Cicero thundered against the oppressor of Africa, or when Julius came and saw and conquered. How, then, could the monster works of Rome have been prosecuted to a successful issue? In all parts of Italy and throughout the broad and wild domains of Western Europe, even across the British islands, were drawn the straight, white lines of those great military roads that rang under the iron tread of the Roman soldiery,

session of explosives, the tremendous thoroughfares carried out from Rome through all Southern Italy, to the Adriatic on the east, to the valley of the Po on the north, thence across Greece to Philippi beyond the mountains, through France, and to the limits of Western Europe, were—when viewed correlatively to the scientific attainments of the age—works in comparison with which the tunnels of Mont Cenis and the



BRIDGE OF SANT' ANGELO, WITH ST. PETER'S IN THE BACKGROUND.

and to the present day the lines are still discoverable. Earthworks and walls, aqueducts and highways, sewers and bridges, the proportions and extent of which might well stagger the courage of the best engineers and architects of modern times, were undertaken with an energy and completed with a perfection which has not been equaled by the works of any other race of men. Making allowance for the absence of mathematical tables, of physical science, of geographical knowledge, and of the pos-

Hoosac, the canals of Suez and Panama, the bridge over East river, and even the Pacific railway itself sink into insignificance.

There was thus introduced into the architecture of Rome an element of practicality, of utility, of value, as well as of durability and perfection of structure. It were not far wide of the truth to ascribe to the Roman people the introduction of practicality into the world. We have noticed the absence of the ideal

The Roman race brings practicality into the world.

quality in the race. The presence of the practical quality may be insisted on and emphasized. In this respect again the Romans are brought into comparison with the peoples of Mesopotamia. The latter went as far as commercial utilitarianism. Thus also did the Phœnicians and the Greeks. It was what may be called the adaptations of intercourse which were present among the nations of the Eastern Mediterranean. They sailed abroad and traded on the coasts. But Rome carried the principle inland, and amplified it among the people. She carried it into the arts, and exemplified it in all of her industries. The whole

physical apparatus of her civilization was an exponent of the practical element in the Roman constitution, an evidence of the idea of utility dominant over the refined concepts of an intellectual life. It was with difficulty that even the great Romans of the last century of the republic, when wealth had been amassed, when luxury and ease had come in, when the learning of the Greeks had been copied and imitated in every part, could be drawn aside from those practical commonplace pursuits which the ancestors of the race had followed, or could be brought by discipline to prefer the pursuits of intellectual greatness.

CHAPTER LXV.—RELIGION OF THE ROMANS.



AMONG a people constituted as the Romans it was difficult to maintain the ascendancy of ideas. Beliefs that had no practical demonstration in the everyday life of the people suffered decline and became extinct in the Roman mind. Thus in course of time did nearly all of the religious and superstitious ideas which had prevailed in early Rome pass away with the development of the race. It is doubtful whether among any other people the maintenance of the ancient beliefs and practices was so factitious and mechanical as among the Romans in the ages of their power and grandeur.

We have seen in the preceding pages, devoted to the architectural development of the Roman race, that the temples continued, as they had been in early ages, the highest expression of the building skill of the Roman architects. The

relative rank and importance of such structures was maintained to the close of the republican régime, but not longer. Already before that epoch the hold of all religious ideas upon the minds and dispositions of the people had begun to relax; and after the institution of the empire the process was accelerated until the old religious bonds were entirely loosed. The Pantheon, coincident in time with the beginning of the imperial era, was the last attempt of the Roman race to maintain the grandeur and reality of the ancient paganism.

It will now be of interest to go back to first principles and review the evolution of the Roman system of religion. Perhaps the word system ought to be dropped, inasmuch as the first practices of the race were so few and simple as to be unworthy of that name. The Latin and Umbro-Sabellian tribes brought with them into the West some frag-

Relaxation of religious ideas with growth of Roman race.

Primitive Latin concepts of the supernal powers.

ments of the religious notions and practices of the old Aryan race; but they were not many; not elaborate. Vergil had the penetration to discern the primitive condition. In his sketch of the shipwrecked folks of Priam, to whom he assigns the founding of the Latin race, he notices the religious emblems which

Olympian worship. On the contrary, there are found in those shiploads of what may be called the seed corn of the Roman race only two simple emblems of religion. These were the famous *Lares* and the *Penates*, the names of which have reverberated through all the songs and stories of the Latin races.



ROMAN CONCEPT OF THE FOUNDER OF THE RACE.—ÆNEAS AND AGAMEMNON.

they brought with them to the Lavinian coast. True enough, he puts into the prayers of Æneas—much given to prayer—something of the phraseology of the Greeks. He makes him address the Olympian gods in appeals which are truly Hellenic in their form and manner, but the treasures of the sea-shattered ships of the Trojan fugitives do not include any of the symbols peculiar to the

If we look intently at the *Lares* and the *Penates* of the old folk of Latium, we shall find them to be the symbols of a very simple and easily apprehended religion. In common with the other Aryan tribes, the Romans discovered the living forces of the natural world; but there were only certain of those forces which affected their sympathy and

Origin and offices of the ancestral *Penates*.

interest. These they raised at a very early date, by the same mythologizing process which the Greeks had so elaborately employed, to the rank of divine powers, or deities. But Roman sympathies were not at first drawn forth to the greater processes and aspects of the material world. We have insisted upon the evolution of the household as a peculiarly Roman phenomenon. Since the house and the family became the centers of Roman affection and interest, the man of Latium sought to gather about his household those divine powers which were auspicious to its preservation. These powers he personified under the name of the Penates. They were his household gods. They belonged to the same rank of beings as the nymphs and satyrs and fauns which the Greek imagination had turned loose in the woods and valleys and by the river banks. In such a category of beings the Romans felt little interest; but in his Penates, those divine beings that hovered over his hearth and house, he found sympathy and comfort and protection.

Closely associated with these were the Lares, that is, "the Lords"—for so the word is interpreted. It were difficult to discover the precise genealogy of this class of deities. They were in large measure peculiar to the Roman race. The Lords were the ancestors of the Romans. They were the souls of those departed heroes from whom the Latin stirp had been derived. It was a true ancestral worship, very like one feature of the cult of Egypt, and identical in its leading features with the worship of ancestors as practiced by the Chinese and other Orientals of the present day.

No doubt the system began in the simple veneration of the child for its father. That the household should be

greatly shocked in the event of the father's death is a human characteristic so simple as to require no interpretation. In such a catastrophe the excitement of the filial affections would easily lead to the apotheosis of the departed parent. The subjective state would be changed from simple veneration to actual worship. This disposition and practice the Latin race brought with it to the West; and the strong family tie, the preponderance of the household over every other element in Roman life, led to the perpetuation and development of the Laric form of worship, and the establishment of a proper ceremonial for its observance. The memory and the presence of the Penates and the Lares were constantly enforced in the Roman home by the effigies of the good powers unseen, which hovered over that focus of Roman life. On every rustic fire-board, in every peasant's home, were seen the little images which attested the disposition of the Roman people to adore their progenitors and their faith in the guardian spirits which protected the hearthstone from sacrilege and the house itself from the malignant powers that prowled about the world.

It is probable that for hundreds of years after the settlement of the Aryan tribes in Central Italy their religion had this extent, ^{Olympian paganism not known to the primitive race.} and no more. It might be difficult to find any historical evidence that the Olympian system of paganism was at this epoch of development even known west of the Adriatic. The house worship was a simple practice. It coincided with the temper of the primitive Latini and with the dispositions of their descendants until what time foreign intercourse brought in the suggestions of a more ornate and elaborate system of religious faith.

In the mythical ages, in the first centuries of the republic, it might be said that every Roman house was a place of worship. It had its altar. The father of

Roman religion
a function of
family and state.

peasant and of the citizen as well. The adoration of the Lares and the Penates was sincere and universal. The ceremonial was not at the first detached in any measure from the home administra-

tions. This circumstance brings us to consider one of the remarkable features of the private and the public life of the Roman people. This is that they never in any period of their development regarded religion as a distinct institution of society. It was simply a *function* of society, and not an independent organic element.

Something of the same disposition had been shown among the Greeks, but it remained for the Romans to form a religious concept which made the worship of the gods an office and not an institution in society. The principle had a double manifestation, first in its relation to the people of Old Rome, and afterwards in its connection with the Roman state. In Old Rome religion was simply a function of the family. As we have said, the father, afterwards the paterfamilias, was the priest. There was no separate order established. It required time and transformation to call forth a member of society with the particular right and duty of performing religious ceremonies.

This led to the second aspect, in which, under the republic, religion became a function of the state just as it had been a

the household officiated. The religious ceremonial was in a peculiar sense a part of the daily life of the primitive Roman

function of the household in the primitive ages. The public faith, whether as a system of belief or as organized into



ROMAN RELIGION.—PROCESSION OF THE SUOVETURILIA.—Drawn by P. Beckert.

Worship of the
gods an office
among Greeks
and Romans.

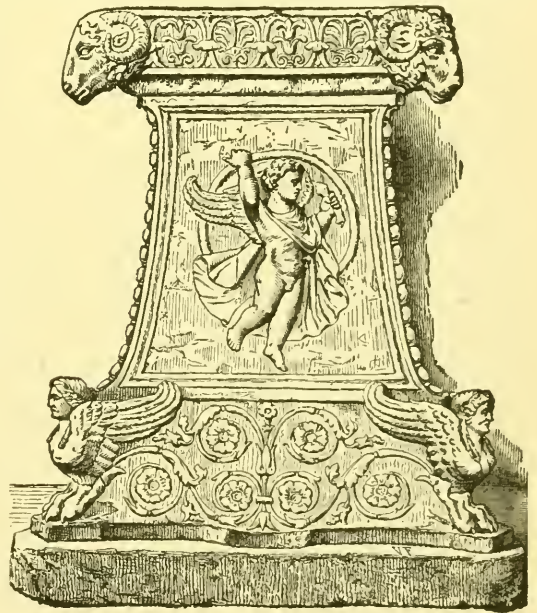
form and ceremony, never had an independent existence under the auspices of the Roman race. The whole system was functional and dependent. This fact is particularly noticeable in the character of the Roman priesthood, or more properly the character of the Roman priests—for there was never a priesthood in any true sense of the word. Every Roman priest was an officer of the state. It was his duty, true enough, properly to perform the ceremonies of the national religion, but he was merely an officer in the same sense that the lictor and the prætor and the tribune of the people were officers. The idea of his possessing an independent right and of his being a member of an independent order in society never entered the Roman mind; nor was any such claim ever absurdly advanced by the priests themselves in the face of the universal understanding and sentiment of society.

No sooner will the student of history have firmly grasped the principle here set forth than he will perceive by glancing to the future some of the reasons for the close association of Christianity with the imperial government of Rome. Aye, further on, we can perceive how, when that imperial government shall be shattered by the assaults of the northern nations, the Pontifex Maximus, under his new title of Bishop of Rome, will naturally remain as the head of secular society. He will be, under the working of ethnic laws, the remaining pillar of the ancient state. Him the barbarians, for religious and superstitious reasons, will not attack and dethrone. Him they will suffer to survive in the wreck of Rome; and in him, partly by his own assumptions and partly out of the logic of the situation, will spring and grow, in the same consciousness, the germs of the

new secular and religious society of Southern Europe. But he will—such is the law and working of human nature—be careful that in the new order the religious power shall advance its claim to supremacy and domination over the civil and political organizations of incipient Europe. Hence the Papacy.

As the tribal Latini were transformed into Roman citizens, as Rome the city became Rome the state, the simple religion of the Albanian fathers began also, chiefly by the infections of foreign influence, to take on new aspects, to en-

Ancient Albanian religion infected with new forms.



ROMAN ALTAR.
Drawn by V. Froer.

large its Pantheon, and elaborate its ceremonies. It is said that about thirty divine beings were believed in by the Romans of the mythical ages. But all the ideal and practical parts of the early faith had remained a simple system that might be grasped and believed in even by Latin shepherds and Sabine farmers.

With the extension of her acquaintance among the cities of Magna Græcia,



PRIESTESS OF VESTA.—From the painting by E. Burne-Jones.

and with the beginnings of the intercourse of Rome with the Athenian Greeks, the Olympian hierarchy was imported and set down in Italy. It is probably true that to a certain extent the recollection of this system—aye, possibly its acceptance by the Romans—must be carried back to the ages of migration, when

Mythology of the Greeks imported into Italy.

the Græco-Italic race was still in unity. But, as we have said, the Romans in the first ages after their settlement in Italy introduced and cultivated no other than the simple home religion suitable for the household and adapted to the unideal and unimaginative character of the people. Nor is it likely that when the Olympian hierarchy was instituted in the West the Romans ever understood it. The new system was showy, elaborate, spectacular; and the Romans were not insensible to these qualities. So the primitive religion opened out into a mythological paganism very like the theology of the Greeks.

From this time forth the religious system of Rome became a huge formality. It is doubtful whether during the last two centuries of the republic and under the imperial régime the Romans were in anywise morally restrained by the

The religion of the Romans becomes a huge formality.

dogmas and precepts of their faith. There was an observance of religious forms on all public occasions, and in every crisis of society the priest had an important part. A large number of officers were set apart by the senate or by election for the service of the temples and the general duties of the national religion, but it was a showy formalism, devoid of the sentiments with which the fathers of Rome had worshiped at their local altars.

Every god in these days—and the name of the gods was legion—had his temple and shrine. Each The Flamens and priestly colleges of Rome. had his retinue of priests, who, as we have said, were civil officers of the state appointed to the work of religion. The priesthood of each deity constituted a college, at the head of which was a high priest, called the Flamen. His name signified “the kindler,” or “the blower,” for it was his duty to kindle the fire on the altar and to see that it was kept perpetually burning. The priests of the major gods, who had of course been honored with the greater temples, were more numerous and important. The worship of the Roman Jupiter was in some sense at the head of the whole system. His chief priest was the Flamen Dialis, whose appointment was for life, and who held a position of high honor in the state. The discipline which usage had indicated for the government of his life was especially severe, reminding one of the rules by which the Egyptian priesthood was governed.

In common with the Phrygians and the Greeks—we might say, in common with all the Western Aryans—the Romans admitted women to participation in the rites of religion. But this principle was not of universal application. In the

worship of Vesta, who was the guardian divinity of the house and home, the ministrations of women were freely admitted. This cult lay close alongside of the primitive faith of the race. It was deep down under the traditions on which the Olympians had come in and overshadowed the native gods. Six virgins were consecrated to attend the sacred fires on the altars of Vesta. They must be selected from the noblest families in all Rome. They must be chaste as the driven snow. Their term of service lasted for thirty years, during which time the strictest regard was had to the purity of the vestal's life. She must remain a virgin, and guard her chastity with the utmost care. One might suppose that this constituted a true order of priesthood—a religious, as distinguished from a civil, order; but not so.

There was in Rome a company of religious officers, called the pontifices, whose original appointment was as distinctly secular as that of the lictors. To them, however, was assigned the general care of the religious worship of the city. It was their duty to see that all ceremonials were conducted in accordance with the traditional forms and usages. This college of priests had been in the first place constituted as a sort of street commission, the duties of which had special reference to the construction of bridges and crossings. They were the civil engineers of Rome. The two Latin words *pons*, “a bridge,” and *facere*, “to make,” gave the elements of the word *pontifices*. They were the bridgebuilders of primitive Rome; and bridgebuilding and the care of the national religion were duties not incompatible in the hands of the same officers—so said the judgment of Rome.

At the head of the pontifical col-

Evolution of the pontifical office; the *Maximus*.

Women admitted to participation in religious rites.

lege was the Pontifex Maximus, or the principal religious officer of the state. He was the bridgebuilder-in-chief, and also the high priest of Rome. It was to him that the superintendence of the vestal virgins was assigned—from which circumstance we may see clearly the complete intermingling of secular and religious functions in the Roman polity.

religious and civil powers in such manner as to give to Roman society that thing which Roman society always demanded, a complete unity of design and purpose. Over every subordinate institution rose the one great predominant idea of the state. The senate was a part of the state. The patrician order was a part; the plebeians were a part;

the familia, by means of its relation with the gens, was a part; the tribe was a part, and the national religion was a part. No organization under the Roman theory of society presumed to contend with the state. The elements might war with each other; but the state was supreme and unassailable.

One feature of the religious belief of the Romans strongly indicates the antiquity of the race and its close association in some primitive age with the

Persians and the Hindus. In the old religious faith of the Roman race there was a tinge of dualism—a shadow of that belief by which the powers of evil were set over, in the administration of the world, against the powers of good. It is probable that no such element of belief existed among the Greeks. Nor was the same to be discovered among the later dogmas which were accepted at Rome. But in the mythical ages there was a

System of dualism indicates affinity with Iranians.



VESTAL SERVICE IN THE TEMPLE.

We may here pause again to note the strength and solidity which resulted

Strength secured by making the priesthood secular.

from the principles of government just described.

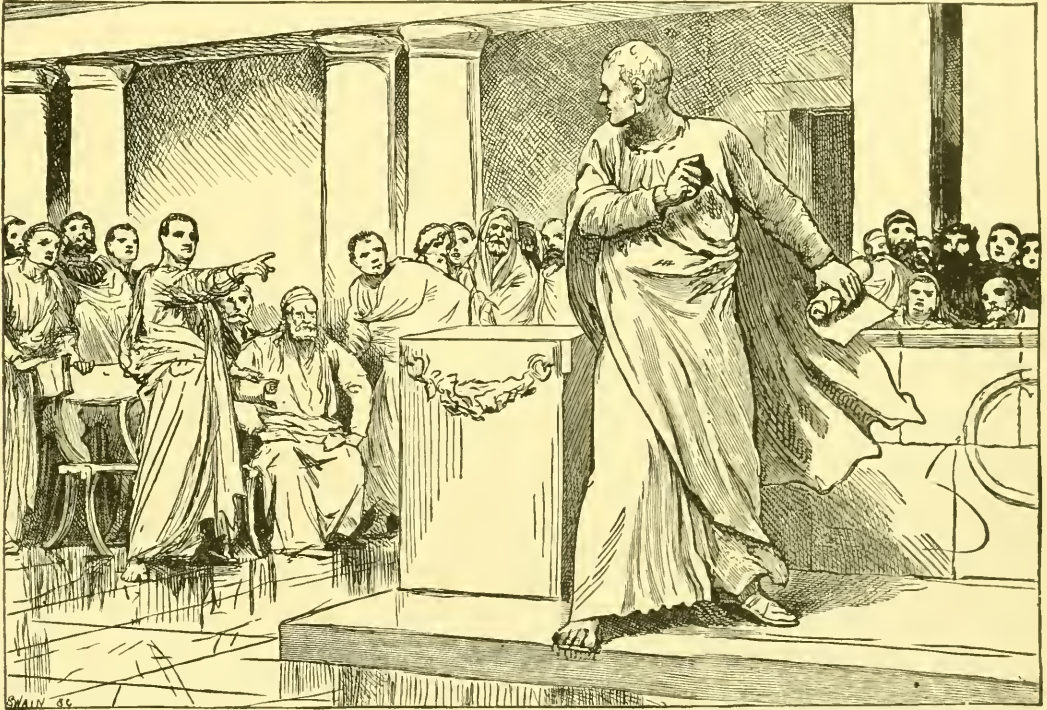
The fact that the officers of religion received their appointment from a common source with the officers of secular society bound the whole system in one. The priest was just as dependent upon the state as was the *comes stabuli*, or master of the horse. There was thus a perfect interlocking of the

popular faith in the existence of evil deities as well as good. The Lares were, as we have seen, the souls of ancestors; that is, of those good, heroic ancestors whose spirits still hovered in the world, to promote the happiness of their descendants. But over against the Lares were set the *Lemures*, or evil spirits, the souls of the ancient bad, who prowled around the abodes of the living to work out their malignant spite against

In the use of this term *Larvæ* and its application, there may be discovered the remains of the ancient Eastern dogma of the transmigration of souls.

The *Larvæ* may be regarded as the degraded, obscure, and ignominious shapes into which the evil beings of the past had been forced down by the power of fate, and in which they were permitted for the brief season of mortal life to torment and afflict the

Theory of the *Larvæ*; the cult disappears.



TYPES OF THE PATRICIAN ORDER.—CICERO AT BAR.

mankind. They were the exact counterpart of the *Devas* believed in by the Iranians. As the latter were the enemies of the *Ahuras*, or spirits of the good, so the *Lemures* were the enemies of the good deities of the Roman race. Sometimes the name *Larvæ* was given to the Western *Devas*. Nor is it known whether the *Larvæ* were another class of beings created by the superstition, or whether they were merely the *Lemures* under another name.

M.—Vol. 2—24

sons of men. In course of time, however, this most ancient dualistic feature of the Roman faith disappeared; and it is likely that a philosophical investigation of the condition of Roman belief in the times of republican and imperial grandeur would reveal few traces, if any, of the primitive superstition relative to the evil deities.

We have spoken above of the general supervision which the pontifices had over all religious beliefs and practices

As officers, they determined the orthodoxy, both objective and subjective, of the Roman people. We have also seen how the same officers had civil functions to perform, and how, indeed, the civil functions were prior in time to the religious duties that were afterwards attached to the office. By the standard of modern times, it will appear almost ludicrous that the pontifices had also certain *literary* duties to which they must attend under the laws of the state. They were the custodians of the public documents, and had to them assigned the duty of writing the annals of the city. They produced and kept under their care the archives of the state, and were responsible to the state as the historians of current events. They were empowered to regulate the calendar and to fix the time, the occasion, and the circumstances of the annual festivals to which custom or the acts of the senate had given rise.

These multiple relations of the Roman pontifical officers with the other elements of civil society were not peculiar, but were in strict analogy with the various functions which other officers of the state must perform under the existing constitution. As we have said and repeated, every fiber of political, civil, and religious society was thus interlocked with every other fiber in a unity which it has required centuries completely to undo. Nor may we truly aver that to the present day the constitution of the Roman people has been entirely undone in any civilized state of Western Europe or the New World into which the legal principles of Rome have once entered.

The history of civilization is compelled, in noticing the development of every nation of men, to take into account the superstitions with which they

have been afflicted. When we consider the uniformity of nature, the sublime regularity of all the processes of the physical universe, we may well be perplexed to account for those irrational beliefs relative to the causes and reasons of things with which all peoples have been vexed in the early ages of their development. If we apply right reason to the problem, we shall perhaps discover that the bottom principle of superstition is found in the *dread and alarm* which primitive man must needs feel in the presence of the unexplained, and especially the portentous aspects of physical nature.

It is the peculiarity of our system of worlds that the regularity, precision, and beneficence of its major movements are more easily discoverable than are the laws of its minor details and processes. The general motions and laws of the planets are as regular and uniform as the action of well-constructed machinery. A planet is more easily understood than a cloud. The same may be said of the major aspects of our world. The seasons come and go in an order which has never been disturbed since it was first observed by man. So also the succession of day and night. But when we descend into the particulars of meteorology we enter a domain where all appears to be irregularity, confusion, chaos.

To the present day science, with its keen insight into natural law and its firm faith in uniformity, has not been able to stretch out its scepter over the cloud land, the fog, the rain, the wind, the dew, or any of the details of the daily visible aspects of our planet. Yet it was with these very minutiae of physical nature that the man of the morning

The pontifices become the state historians.

Superstition originates in a dread of nature.

Major aspects of nature more easily understood than minor.

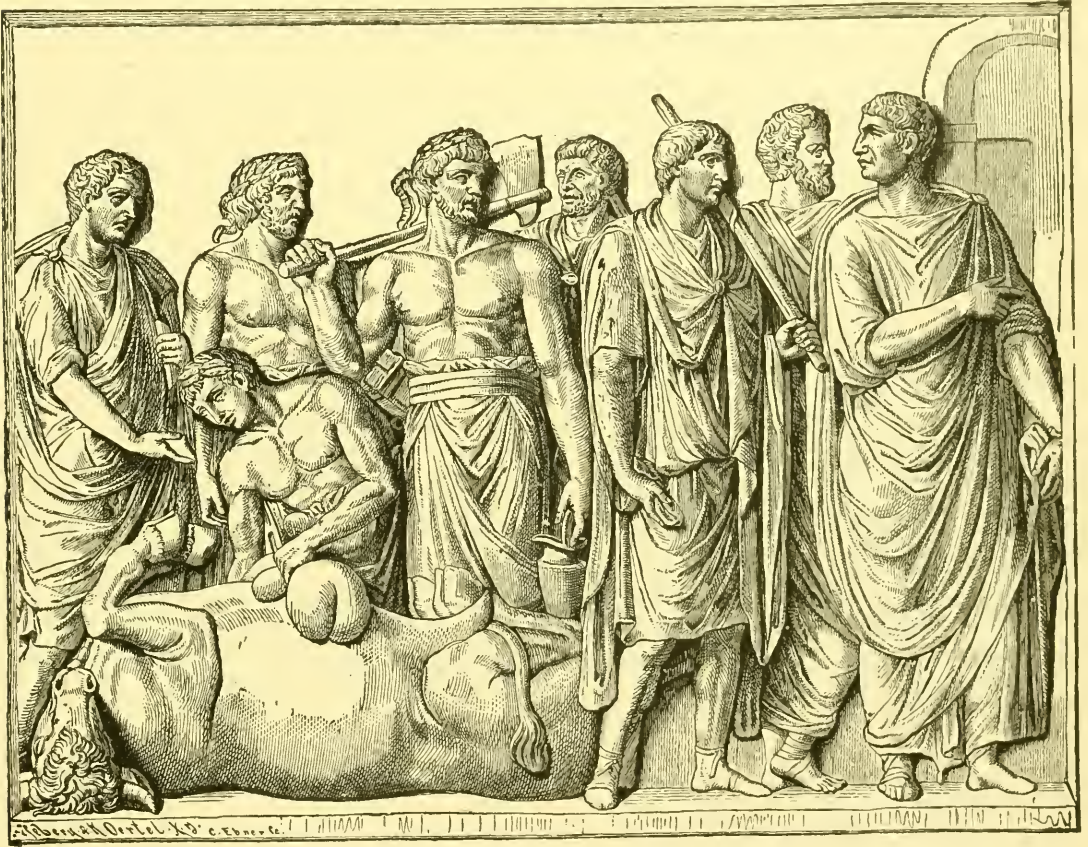
Interlocking of offices gives strength to civil society.

Science still unable to discover the laws of minor phenomena.

was involved and perplexed. His mind had not yet risen to a knowledge of the general laws by which universal nature is governed. His thought was constantly entangled with the small processes which were immediately under his observation. The apparent irregularity shown in these led him to think that caprice was the bottom principle of na-

dren of the world, plunged suddenly into the darkness, feel instinctively the sense of alarm. With a very little agitation they cry out with fright, and fly from they know not what. The darkness has in it a thousand specters, simply because the human eye can not reveal the realities of the abyss. Wherever there is a

Night and darkness engender superstitious beliefs.



HARUSPEX OFFICIATING.—Drawn by P. Beckett.

ture. With this idea came uncertainty; and with uncertainty came dread. With dread came superstition. Wherever fear is, there will be some effort to escape the thing feared—some form of superstitious avoidance of impending or possible evil.

So simple a fact as the night has been one of the leading causes of dread and consequent superstition. All the chil-

shadow there is a form. The imagination pictures it so. The primitive races were children. Many of the shadows which haunt the modern world rested then on all the landscape of life. Not only the night, but every variety of obscure circumstance which was noted by the old-time folks gave them a sense of dread; and they sought, as they struggled and groped under conditions which

they did not understand, to form explanations and to devise processes by which safety might be secured to themselves and their descendants. In these conditions we may catch at least a glimpse of the general causes which promoted the growth of superstitious beliefs among all the peoples of antiquity, and which have prevented, to the present day, the entire clearing of the human mind from the influences of the ancient shadows.

More than many other of the primitive peoples were the Romans the sub-

The Romans the most superstitious of ancient peoples. jects of superstition. Their coarse, strong intellects did not easily discover

in the natural world the suggestions of regularity, and gave up readily to the dominion of chance. There was no disposition in the race to frame a scientific explanation of the phenomena of nature; and hence there has been no true myth-making power displayed by any division of the Latin peoples. While the Greeks busied themselves with the creation of elaborate poetical schemes as the expression of their beliefs relative to the aspects and processess of the natural world, the Romans were unable even to imitate or understand what their neighbors had produced. Such beautiful myths as that of Daphne fleeing before her lover and lord around the world, but returning to watch at his dying couch—story of the Twilight and the Sun—could never be transferred to Italy. Such exquisite vines of the human imagination could not grow among the rough stone walls of Roman thought. The Albanian fathers produced some myths; but they were political legends, and not interpretations of nature. The stories of early Rome had a political significance, and it might be said that the Roman imagination and fancy never rose higher than the poetry of politics.

It therefore becomes a curious inquiry to consider the course which Roman superstition must needs take under the existing conditions. It grew not into

Roman superstition grew into augury and divination.

poetical myths, but into augury and divination. Augury was preëminently a practical science. It was what may be called applied mythology. Had it not been practical, it would have been rejected by the prosaic genius of Rome. But because it professed to be an actuality, because it offered itself to the people in the guise of a benefit, they accepted it as such, and encouraged the study of the cult, just as they would have promoted a street improvement or a new method of tactics for the army. He who proposed to determine by established rules the meaning of certain things, to predict the issue of an event by signs which were visible to the eye and known to the understanding, was like any other man of business or officer of the state. He was good for something. But the Greek myth-maker and poet could hardly have been fitted into the structure of Rome. His place in the state could not have been discovered.

If we examine the early legends and traditions of the Roman people we shall find them, without excep-

Roman myth and tradition wholly political.

tion, to have related, as we have said, to the political structure of society. Every story of that ancient people had a tendency or application to the civil affairs of the city. The Sibylline books were offered to Tarquinius Priscus. The Tarquin was king. They were afterwards kept in the custody of the government. The she-wolf nourished two barbarian statesmen, and her image was afterwards set up in the capitol. It is all matter of fact. The legend never issues in any fanciful refinements, but is always coined into af-

fairs. A story that did not have relation to the business of the forum or the market died out as being unworthy of repetition. The interference of the deities even had a political and social significance.

When Juno's geese screamed out a warning from the capitol by night, it meant that the existing order was

people, will likely conclude that Roman genius must have been of remarkable intuitions and powers to have devised and constructed so great a system of government, so lasting a polity. At this point the inquirer is likely to run into the common error of supposing that nations consciously devise anything. Na-

Races do not consciously devise their institutions.



THE CAPITOL, FROM THE PALATINE, RESTORED.

threatened by violence. Arouse, ye Romans, and preserve the existing order! Romulus became Quirinus, and was lifted on high from the midst of a political convention, turned into an insurrection and riot. Even the powers above were locked and welded with the structure of the state.

Whoever studies with care these aspects of Roman life, and whoever reflects upon the essential character of the race and the nature of the institutions—social, civil, political—which were contrived by the practical sense of this great

tions grow; and the history of peoples is a narrative of successive small adaptations to new facts and circumstances as they arise in society. As in the case of the individual, it is doubtful whether a people is ever at the time adequately conscious of what it is doing. The work of each day is a momentary adjustment to the changed or changing facts which have come into existence. To conceive of states creating a general scheme based on high and abstract principles, reaching to distant ages and peoples, is to conceive of what never is.

True, there are certain critical epochs where wide departures from the previous condition of a people are made with some degree of suddenness. But after all, the new policy issues from the old as the leaf from the twig, as the blossom from the bud. Rome did not consciously devise those great institutions which gave her unity and strength. Her skill lay in a succession of fortunate adaptations of means to ends through a series of emergencies; and the result of the tedious, experimental process was the Roman republic, such as it was in the last century before our era. The republic grew as the Roman people grew. While it was not consciously devised—constructed as the architect constructs the building—it was the product of a long succession of common-sense measures devised by a people whose practical abilities and political constructive skill were very great, and whose imaginative powers were like a certain class of birds which having wings are incapable of flight.

"You all did see, that on the *Lupercal*,
I thrice presented him a kingly crown."

When Marcus Antonius thus offered the wreath, or diadem, or whatever it was, to great Julius, he was officiating as priest at the festival of the *Lupercalia*. This remarkable feast may be taken as an example of the splendid religious spectacles which were annually celebrated in Rome. The Romans had great skill in contriving and managing the spectacular part of their religion. Their festivals were many. They took delight in pouring forth at certain seasons of the year to celebrate the recurring festival which had become immemorial by usage. Lupercus was the god of purification and fecundity. Like the

New features of
race-life issue
from the old by
evolution.

other Roman deities, he had his locus, his temple, his retinue of priests. The god himself was represented as wearing bits of goatskin, but otherwise half naked. The ceremonial was as old as Romulus, by whom the college of the Luperci was said to have been established.

It was on the 15th of February that the annual ceremony was presented. The animals sacrificed were goats and dogs. When these had been slain at the altar, two Roman youths rushed forward, and the officiating priest, dipping the point of a sword into the blood of the victims, touched it upon the young men's foreheads. But the blood stains were immediately washed away by another priest, who used for that purpose a white wool sponge dipped in milk. Then the priests drank largely of wine to stimulate themselves for the street scene. They also ate of the goat's flesh. More particularly, they tore up the skins of the goats, fastening scraps of the same to their persons in imitation of the garb of Lupercus. They then took in their hands strips of the goatskins and ran into the streets, followed by the procession and the crowds. As they ran about they struck every one whom they could approach—especially the women—with the goathide whips. The stroke thus administered had the power to purify, and more particularly to ward off sterility from the fortunate ones who received the blow.

Had the traveler taken his station on the Via Portuensis, beyond the fifth milestone from Rome, he might have seen a grove called the *Lucus Dæ Dæ*, or the Grove of Dea Dia. And if his visit to this locality had been between the middle and the end of May, he should

In what manner
the annual cere-
mony was pre-
sented.

Prevalence of
religious festi-
vals; the Luper-
calia.

Lucus Dæ Dæ
and festival of
the Arval Broth-
ers.



STREET PAGEANT IN ROME—RETURNING FROM THE GAMES.—BRUTUS, CASSIUS, AND CÆSAR.

have witnessed a festival there which was as significant and poetical as anything of which the Roman race was capable. Like the other feasts, it was as old as the traditional age of Rome. The foster-mother of Romulus was said to have borne the name of Acca Laurentia. To her tradition assigned twelve sons. These were the original *Fratres Arvales*, or Field Brothers, who were the originals of the Arval Brotherhood. The latter, in the days of the republic, had been constituted a college of priests whose duty it was to offer annually a public sacrifice for the fertility of the fields. The members of the college were selected from the best Roman families, descendants from that old *populus Romanus*, the pride of which was perpetuated beyond the days of Cæsar. Even the boys who attended upon the Flamen and the Prætor of this college were the sons of senators whose parents must be still living.

When the great day of the ceremonial arrived, the Grove of Dea Dia must be purified with an animal sacrifice. First, two young pigs were offered, then a white cow was led to the altar, and finally a sheep. But the proper significance of the ceremonial was the bringing to the priests of samples of the old and the new grain from the fields, to be touched by them, to the end that fertility might abound and continue. The fruits of the earth were thus blessed, after which they were returned to the owners. There were many interesting ceremonies and prayers and consecrations in connection with the Arval festival, and the whole was more near to nature and more expressive of sympathies with the spirit in her bosom—more poetical, in brief—than almost any other part of the Roman religion.

Features and
significance of
the ceremonial.

Rome greatly surpassed Greece in the number, variety, and extent of her public celebrations; but these were by no means so profound in their significance, so elegant, so truly mythical, as were those of the Eastern people. The Roman ceremonial was a pageant, a tangible form, great, elaborate, spectacular. To maintain, perpetuate, and make honorable the religious festivals was one of the leading duties of the state. Many of the most distinguished officers had, as we have seen, religious duties to perform, but the difference between such functions as related to the national faith and those which belonged to civil society was not clearly drawn as it would be under the beliefs and practices of modern times.

Rome surpasses
Greece in her
public celebra-
tions.

References to the public ceremonials, the street pageants, the incidents of the national worship, entered into all the literature of Rome. The orations delivered in the forum and the senate-house were touched in many parts with allusions to the rites of religion, and were interlarded with apostrophes to the gods. Latin poetry was pervaded with religious sentiment and phraseology. Even the cynical Horace, in one of the greatest of his smaller poems, when he describes his own hope of future fame, could do no better than to declare—

Literature in-
fected with the
prevailing su-
perstitions.

“I shall be sung to all posterity,
Growing in praise, while on the sacred hill
The Pontifex shall with the virgin be.”

It is believed by those who have looked profoundly into the original conditions of Roman society that its religious element was deduced from the Sabines. It might well be confessed that the robbers of Romulus had little aptitude for religion; and their practices.

Bottom ideas of
Roman religion
derived from the
Sabines.

as they are described in the traditions of primitive Rome, justify the assumption. The Sabine folk, however, seem to have had a more genuine bias toward a faith in the gods and a conformity to their will. Here again the composite nature of the original stock of the Roman people comes clearly into view. It is thought that the love of form and of ceremony, for which the Romans were ever noted, was derived from the Etruscans—that Lucerine element of population which was fused with the Ramnes and the Tities in the earliest days. There was thus a compounding of diverse elements in the new character which presently sprang from the fusion.

In actual chemistry we notice certain wonderful effects arising in the moment

The chemistry
of nature and of
man.

of combination. That *aqua regia*, in which gold dissolves as snow in water,

has its power in the moment of the

union of the two acids of which it is composed. There is a human chemistry, an ethnic chemistry, under the laws of which, occult though they be, strong and great results are produced by the admixture and combination of elements. The Sabines gave the primitive impulse to the religious development of the Roman race. The Etruscans contributed the love of form, while the Latins proper added the love of might. It might be truthfully said that the very bottom instinct in the original stock of Latium was expressed in the dogma that might makes right. This is the one principle from which the Roman race never deviated. Whether consciously expressed in the theory of Roman life, or only tacitly adopted and exemplified in Roman practice, it was, nevertheless, the fundamental thought from which the principal activities of that great race were deduced.

CHAPTER LXVI.—LAW AND CONSTITUTION.



N thus considering with some degree of care the various aspects of the strongest race of the ancient world, we pass from one part or power of society to another part without that break which would appear in discussing the organic parts of any other national life. The civil, the social, the religious, elements in the great fact called Rome lie so close to each other and are so compacted that the inquirer may turn from the one to the other with little difficulty. Roman law is so close alongside Roman religion, and the two are so much alike, that the discussion may here be turned without

jar to the consideration of the principles and legal rules on which Roman society was founded.

Rome was the great lawmaking state of antiquity. In her capacity of legislator she achieved a success which, if it were judged by the criteria of fitness and durability, has never been equaled by any other political organization. And yet Roman law was a growth. It had in it the life of centuries drawn up by gradual accretions until the tree branched wide and overshadowed Europe. At the very bottom of the vast system lay a certain conceded family right called the *patria potestas*; that is, the prerogative of fatherhood. It was

Roman law
arises out of the
prerogative of
fatherhood.

an absolute right belonging to the father to govern, control, and order his own household; positively, as to what might be done; negatively, as to what should not be done. It was an underived, natural right, inseparable from the state of fatherhood, belonging to it in the nature of things. It extended to the power of life and death over the children of the household, and it is likely that under the first customs the wife also was equally subject to the husband's will. The second original principle was that a man is entitled to the absolute ownership of such property as he has been able to gain by appropriation from nature or conquest from others. In these two respects the Roman citizen was at the beginning absolute and unlimited.

Upon these fundamental rights the Roman family was builded. When in process of time a state was planted and legislative processes began the old rights and customs were found deep-bedded in the practices of the people. The ancient folk law which had grown into form by custom was the concrete on which the first stones of the great constitutional structure of Rome were laid.

If now we take up the legislation, the jurisprudence, of the Roman race, we shall find that the elements of the same were drawn from three general sources which were in some sense assumed as the fountains wherefrom all legitimate political principles must flow. The first of these was called *Fas*, the second *Jus*, and the third *Boni Mores*. It is impossible, perhaps, to translate these words into the English language and to convey in our vernacular the true ideas of the original. Indeed, those ideas are difficult to determine and define. They were ideas peculiar to the Roman people, a part of their philosophy of things.

Roman jurisprudence based on *Fas*, *Jus*, and *Boni Mores*.

Since the passing away of the system of beliefs peculiar to antiquity, it has become impossible to revive in full force the ideas which underlay the ancient scheme of thought. It is often difficult for the modern mind to apprehend precisely what was meant by given terms and phraseology peculiar to the classical languages. But we will endeavor to transfer into our own tongue as much as practicable of the bottom ideas couched in the words above referred to.

1. *Fas*.—According to Roman belief there was over and above all men and gods, above all visible aspects of things and the in- Derivation and sense of *fas*. visible world of thought, a

certain absolute condition to which they gave the name of *fas*. It was not exactly a condition or state, nor was it precisely an intelligence or person. Perhaps the Roman mind itself did not well apprehend the import and definitions of its own concept. The word *fas* is derived from the same root form with *fate*, and *Fate* was, in the mythology of the ancients, the supreme power under which all things are held. It might be said that *fas* was the edict of fate. It signified the decree or principle that issued from the absolute condition which was over all. Being a decree or principle thus proceeding from the highest power in the universe, it became with respect to men the *rule* or *law* of things, unchangeable, eternal.

The thought is somewhat dim to our apprehension, but to the Roman mind *fas* was the divine law viewed with respect to human life and conduct. The principles of *fas* might be discovered by right reason.

Whatever, therefore, could be discovered of the true *fas* must be applied by formal expression to the regulation of the affairs of men. The mind might be turned to the discovery of *fas* and to its applica-

tion. It would be the business of the philosopher, the jurist, to look intently at principles and to deduce them, as much as practicable, from that absolute condition and law which was stretched out over all men and all things. Thus it was that *fas* was said to be, and practically was, the prime source of the derivation of Roman law.

Since *fas* was a positive term; since all legislation must in the nature of things be largely made up of interdicts rather than injunctions; since it is by negation rather than precept that human conduct must be regulated in societies and governments, the negative side of *fas* must be discovered and defined. This was produced under the name of *Nefas*. *Nefas* did not mean the impossible, but simply that thing which was interdicted by the immutable principles of *fas*. Primarily, *nefas* would signify the thing that *might not be said*; but in its application, it was the thing that *might not be done*. So close was the principle that *nefas* implied the thing that *might not be thought*. In its full signification, therefore, it was the thing that might not be thought, might not be said, might not be done. Theoretically, *nefas* dived into the realm of motive, and was therefore an interdict against sin. It covered all things forbidden, whether in religion, in society, or in the state. The Roman laws, however, as must always be the case with the tangible rules of human conduct, did not presume to reach all cases of *nefas*, but only so much of human conduct as was made actual in deeds. In attempting to eliminate from their life and practices all things *nefas*, the Roman legislators were too wise to attempt to include the hidden motives of human conduct, and consequently

Theory of *nefas*,
and its applica-
tions to conduct.

limited their statutes to *overt acts*—a principle which has been transmitted to the legislation of modern times.

2. *Jus*.—The Roman mind discriminated between what we would call the divine order and law of the universe and the natural order and law of the world.

Jus the natural
law and order of
the world.

It was in the former realm that *fas* was discovered; in the latter, *jus*. The exact signification of this word has been much discussed. By some it has been thought to signify a binding together, a joining or union of things by a principle. By others it has been interpreted as that which is regular, orderly, or fitting. The common derivation has been from the verb *jubeo*, which signifies “I order, or direct,” as though it were *jus habeo*, that is, I hold, or have, *jus*. Whatever the etymology may be, *jus* signified natural right. It was not by any means what we would call the law of nature; for the law of nature is many times forceful, violent—we might say immoral, or *un-just*. But *jus* was never immoral, never *un-just*. It was the principle of immutable right discoverable by the human mind in the elementary conditions of things.

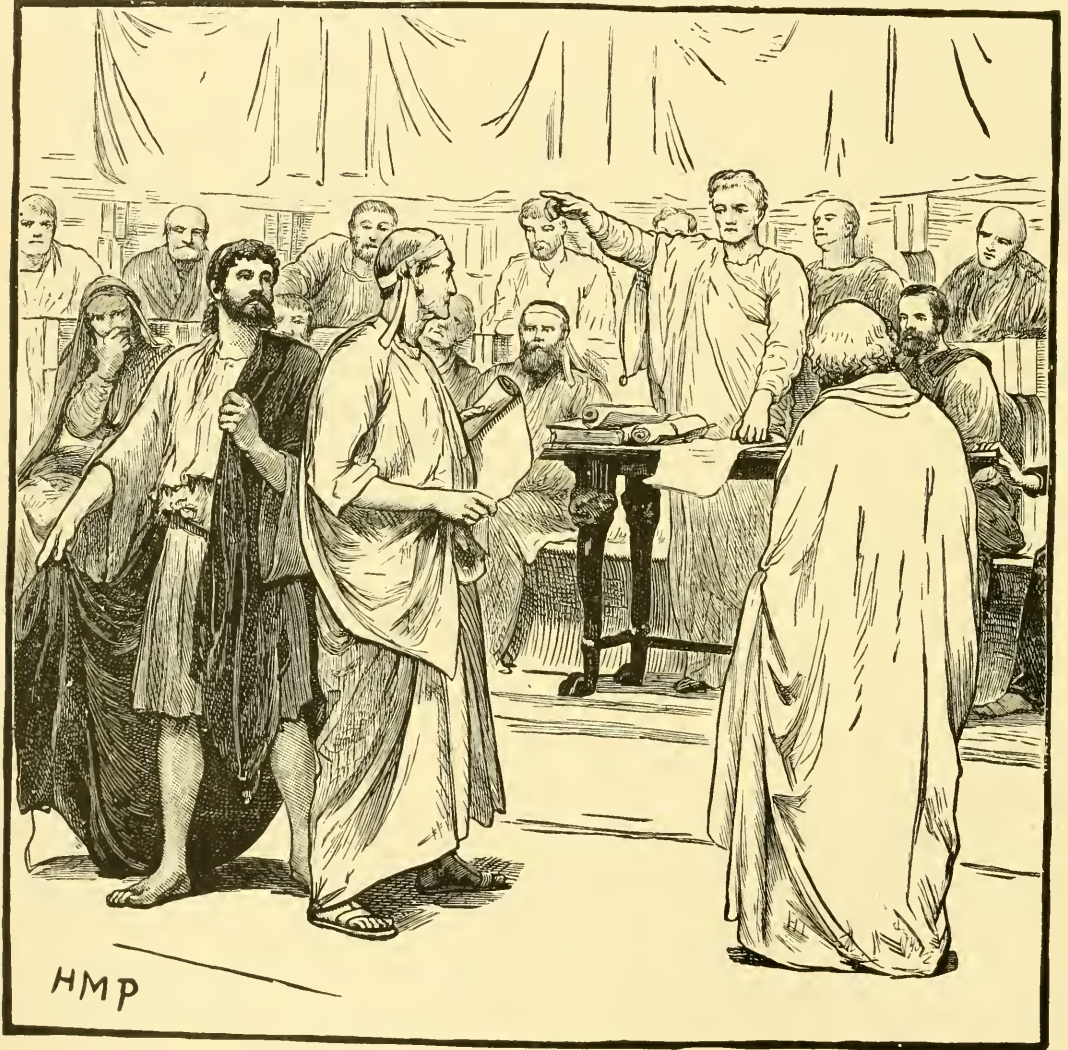
To the present day, among all peoples whose languages have been infected with Latin derivatives, the words *just*, *unjust*, *justice*, etc., have preserved a shadow of the ancient sense of *jus*. There is at the present time no appeal which man may make with more confidence and certainty than the appeal to justice. When he stands fast and declares that a thing is just, he unconsciously appeals to the very same idea which the Roman mind discovered before the republic was the republic. It is the idea of some immutable principle in all human conduct which may be used

Definition of jus-
tice; absolute-
ness of the prin-
ciple.

as the standard of rectitude, the criterion of right, a standard from which there is no deviation, a rule under which there is no shadow of turning. Jus, in the Roman sense of the word, was as absolute a principle as fas, but it was differ-

of legislation, it found that the rules of human conduct had already been determined, if not formally expressed, by what was called *Jus Moribus Constitutum*; that is, justice determined by usages.

*Jus moribus
constitutum
and lex.*



COURT SCENE IN OLD ROME.—EXPULSION OF THE SOPHISTS.

ently derived. The one had its residence in the realm of human nature, generalized and perfected, the other had its origin in the depth of that absolute condition which was supposed to embrace all men and all things.

When the Roman race was sufficiently advanced to enter upon the formal work

To this there was presently added formal enactment, lawmaking proper, which was called *Lex*. Of course, it was claimed that all *lex*, or formal law, was merely the declarative and authoritative enunciation of *jus*. So that henceforth it was customary to say that *jus*, or the whole moral law and

fundamental constitution of society, must be considered under the two forms of *jus moribus constitutum* and *lex*, that is, justice established by usage; and secondly, legislative enactment. Many of the old laws of Rome were never put into the form of *lex*. They were so well fixed in the public mind, so deeply imbedded with the traditions of the race, so universally accepted as the rules of conduct, that it would have been regarded as supererogatory or even absurd to reënact them. There was in this regard a close analogy between the *jus moribus constitutum* of Rome and the common law usages of England.

3. *Boni Mores*.—In the progress of human society many customs and usages which spring up among a people are presently rejected as unfitting and hurtful. Others, however, are attested and approved by experience. The latter survive and become with each generation more and more determinate as the habits of society. On the whole, the principle of advantage and disadvantage lies at the bottom of the natural selection which people exercise in the choice of their customs and usages. What is, on the whole, found to be advantageous is retained as the standard of conduct. There thus arises a difference between good morals and bad. We speak here of natural morals, and not of such as are derived from the formal precepts of religion.

After Rome had survived the struggles of her early life; after her manners and customs had been rectified by the experience of several centuries; after she found herself in possession of power and reason, she looked around among her usages and discovered what she chose to call *boni mores*; that is, sound

morals—a certain kind of customs which had been approved and attested by the judgment and practice of the fathers. Of course, not all the morals of the people and the state could be said to be *boni*—good. Some, on the contrary, were bad. These were the residue of the old evil which is dormant in human life, struggling ever to assert itself in the habits of men. But the *boni mores* were the good residue, constituting an excellent standard or criterion by which current usage and new usage not yet established might be judged. There was thus a natural appeal to *boni mores*, or sound morality, in the jurisprudence of Rome.

The reader will perceive, however, that it may be difficult to keep the foregoing three fountains of Roman law entirely distinct. He will reason that Intermingling of fas, jus, and boni mores in Roman law. *fas*—the idea of *fas*, in the Roman mind—would be reflected into the affairs of life and become to a certain extent confused with *jus*. He will also perceive that in the primary determination of *boni mores* the principle of *jus* would have to be used as a criterion. No doubt there is much truth in these reflections; and, as a rule, it might be said that the Roman statute was a composite of *fas*, *jus*, and *boni mores*. A principle which had been originally derived from *fas*, so soon as it was enforced by the secular tribunals and had thus received the sanction of human authority, would become *jus*; and on the other side, principles of *fas* would be applied in early ages by the pontifical officers in the establishment of sound morals, and in course of time the *boni mores* thus established would in their turn be appealed to as a secondary fountain of law. None the less, the absolute *fas*, or the divine and universal law stretched out over nature and man,

Evolution of
boni mores; dis-
tinction of good
morals from bad.

Boni mores the
source of the
common law of
Rome.

unchangeable, eternal, was different from that *jus*, or principle, of absolute rectitude which had its throne in the bosom of human society, and still more different from that merely sound morality which had sprung up out of the eth-

informed in this work as to the nature and limitations of the familia. The gens has also been explained—the tribus, or threefold division of the old Romans made by Romulus. He will also remember how each tribus, or tribe, was

divided into ten curiæ; how the century was formed, and how the curiæ, the tribus, and the century became the foundation of the three different kinds of Comitian assembly, namely, the Comitia Curiata, the Comitia Tributa, and the Comitia Centuriata. The latter assembly was composed of citizens only who were members of the curiæ, and were held as occasion required—not periodically. The Comitia Centuriata was instituted in the mythical times of Servius Tullius, the idea being to unite in that assembly, in one body, all the different sections of the Roman people. But as said above, a knowledge of these details is here presupposed.

It is also assumed that the nature of the



TRIAL SCENE IN A ROMAN COURT.

ical constitution of the race, and had been experimentally determined in its forms by the law of advantage and preference.

It is here assumed that the reader has some historical acquaintance with those divisions of the Roman population which were marked out with respect to law and lawmaking. He has been already

Roman senate is well apprehended, and of the consular government, which was the dominant feature of the official state under the republic. We here speak of Roman law, of the sources of its derivation, of the means of making it and applying it through the courts. We shall not, however, discuss again that part of

Development of the three Comitian assemblies.

Roman law to be viewed in its sources; law-making; courts.

jurisprudence which related to the familia, to the institution of marriage, to such bottom principles as *patria potestas*, and the unwritten customs derived from jus, but rather those later and more formal proceedings by which Roman society was regulated.

One of the earliest and most important questions to which the attention of the rising Roman people was called, was the ownership and distribution of land. It is not known certainly in what the original Roman freehold consisted. It has been supposed by some that Romulus himself, of whom the expression *jura dedit* is used, namely, "he gave rights," divided the little territory under his dominion into estates of a certain extent, assigning one estate to each member of the *populus Romanus*, and that this was the origin of absolute title under the Roman constitution. It is thought also that even at this early period a certain portion of the territory of Latium was set apart for the maintenance of the state, or, as we should say, a public domain, and that this was the foundation of the *ager publicus* of the Roman people. Against this was that other part of the lands of Latium to which the name *ager privatus*, or private lands, was applied; and this was the portion which the mythical kings were wont to let out in freeholds to the citizens.

The homestead in these primitive times was called the *heredium*. It consisted of two *jugers*, or about one and a fourth acres of land. Of this, the head of the household was the absolute owner, or more particularly, the household itself was the owner. For the *heredium*, as the name implies, was hereditary, passing by descent, after the father's death, to his family, his heirs. It is believed that in the times of the

kingdom the gentes held certain portions of territory in their corporate capacity, and that these clan lands were limited in transmission to the families of that particular gens. In course of time the extent of the freeholds was widened to two and a half, and then four and a half, jugers. There was thus fundamentally a derivation, under the Roman system, of land title from the king, or if not from the king, from the clan, or gens.

But not all titles were so derived. The patrician citizen might purchase a freehold directly with money, or he might exchange his heredium for the heredium of another. There was, indeed, less rigor with respect to land-ownership and the transfer of title than might have been expected in so ancient a society, and particularly in one so rigidly constituted as was that of Rome. Thus, for instance, one of the earliest modifications in the original system was that by which the *paterfamilias* extended his landownership. As with the growth of Roman society he became patronus as well as *paterfamilias*, as a clientage grew up around him, he must provide for his retinue; and this he did by a system of land-tenantage. He enlarged his estate and established his clients thereon. The patricians were allowed to extend their domain into the *ager publicus*, and such extensions of right were called *possessionses*, or possessions, rather than property. Here was another link which bound together public and private interest, and made all things one under the Roman constitution.

If we pass to consider movable, that is personal, property, we shall find that its earliest forms were two in number—cattle and slaves. There is something rational in that concept which makes

The *ager publicus* and *ager privatus* of the Romans.

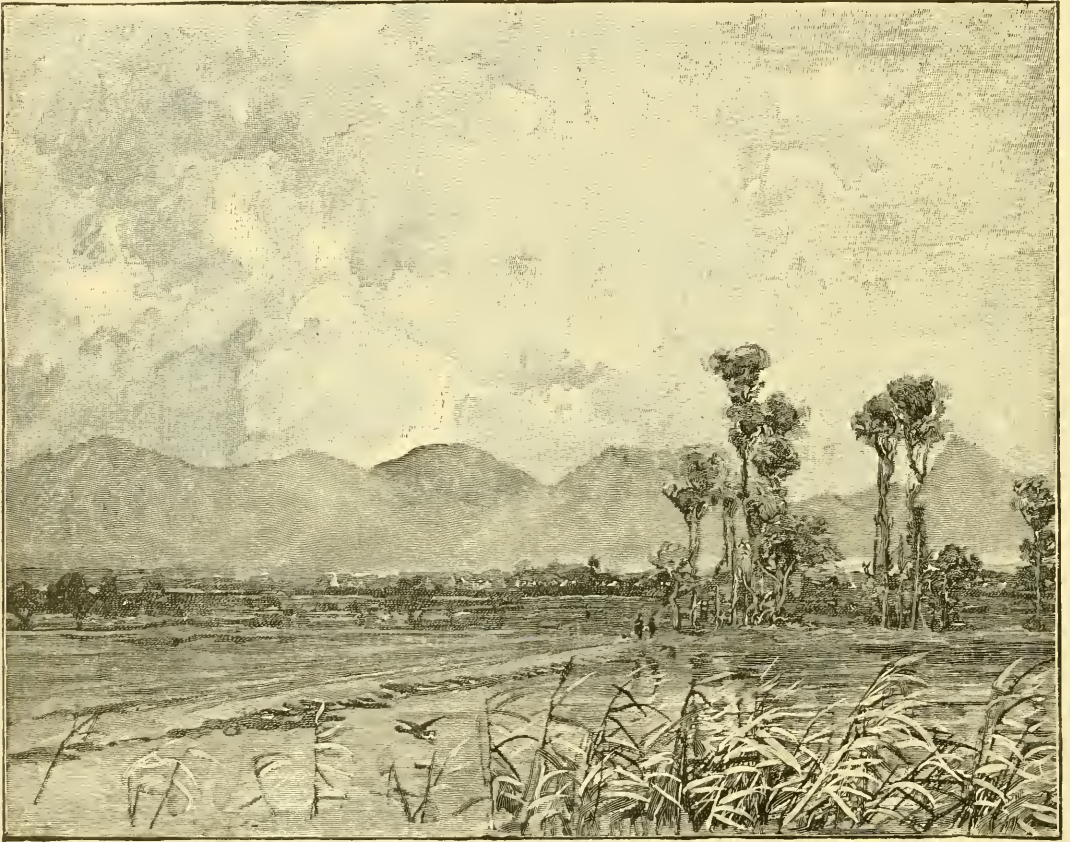
Comparative facility of land-ownership: the *possessionses*.

Nature of the freeholds; enlargement of *heredium*.

Cattle and slaves as personal property; other personalty.

living stock the most movable of movables; and the same may be said of human chattels, when such species of property is recognized. It has been claimed that outside of cattle—that is, domestic animals—and slaves there was no such thing as personal property, more particularly movable property, among the primitive Romans. But this is true only

place with the change of the heredium, or transferred by sale, at the will of the possessor. It thus happened that the law was good for all kinds of property as against theft, robbery, or any sort of violence, but was not good absolutely for sale or transfer. Doubtless the bottom idea in this view of property was that personalty, with the exception of



LANDSCAPE OF THE AGER PUBLICUS OF ROME.—Drawn by John Fulleylove.

on the positive side. Negatively, the personal possessions of the early Roman might not be invaded by another. Negatively, the property was his against all claims of invasion, of fraud, of robbery. He could to this extent maintain his rights. But the positive right of transfer perhaps did not exist except in the case of things animate. The living properties might be driven from place to

cattle and slaves, attached itself to the heredium rather than to the paterfamilias. There was a sense in which the paterfamilias owned the slaves and herds different from the sense in which he held his other personal property. The latter tended to a construction in unity with the heredium.

Close up to this land-holding and property-holding of the early Romans

we must consider their law of succession, the rule by which property was transmitted after the death of the owner. This was quite similar to the usage of modern times. There was, however, an exception between those of his children who were *in potestate*, under authority, and those who were *ex potestate*. This distinction was generally coincident with the marriage or nonmarriage of the sons and daughters. The unmarried were in potestate. The married, especially the sons, were—or at least might be—*ex potestate*; that is, out of the power of the paterfamilias. If the married sons chose not to become independent, they could still remain in the familia of the father. But generally with the marriage of the son he was detached into a separate household, retaining, of course, his membership in the ancestral gens.

At the death of the paterfamilias his estate, both real and personal, descended to his widow and to his children in potestate, in common. That is, under the law, they shared the property among them equally. If there were no heirs, that is, if the paterfamilias, as sometimes happened, outlived the other members of his family¹ and died intestate, his property, both movables and immovables, reverted to the gens and became a gentile possession. When the plebeians who were admitted to citizenship in subsequent times died without heirs, their property could not well revert to a gens; for the plebeians were not gentiles. The Roman law, therefore, devised for this emergency a factitious class called *Agnates*, who inherited intestate plebeian property.

The law of testament, or will, was

¹ In such cases a paterfamilias constituted in himself a whole familia.

certainly as old as the kingly period of Roman history. There were two methods of composing a last testament for the devise of property. The first was a formal statement and writing in the presence of the *Comitia Centuriata*, where the instrument was attested and recorded. The second was called *testamentum in procinctu factum*; that is, a will made before battle. The act contemplated some sudden emergency in which it was desirable for an owner of property to decide in what way it should be disposed of in case of fatal accident to himself. Such was the ancient usage. In course of time the *curiæ* became simply the depositaries of wills which had been legally attested by the peers of the testators. On the whole, the right of devising property by testament as thus practiced by the Roman race, even in the mythical ages, was not essentially different from the same right as recognized in the jurisprudence of modern nations.

The early regularity and precision of the system of property-holding here delineated became a part of the strength of Rome long before the institution of the republic. Strangely enough, it was destined also to be a source of vexation and danger. Those ancient property rights had respect primarily to patricians only—to that true *populus Romanus* whose name, in association with that of the senate, constituted to the latest day the verbal legend and symbol of Roman power and authority. But already on the horizon of primitive Rome rose the tremendous shadow of plebeianism. How should the plebeians acquire land? Should they be admitted to freeholding in common with the *patres*? Should their rights of property in immovables

Two kinds of testament; modern usage of Roman origin.

Property rights the dangerous reef in Roman history.

and movables be of the same kind with those of the dominant order? Here was the rub. If the question had related merely to the admission of the plebeians to that indefinite and somewhat indeterminate fact called citizenship, the problem might have been more easy of solution than it was. It involved, however, the right to acquire land and to hold all properties by the same tenure and conditions as did the patricians of ancient Rome. When we consider the inextinguishable jealousy of property, the hostile attitude which it has immemorially assumed to all invasion and disturbance, we may perceive the fundamental difficulty with which the legislators of Rome were destined to be embarrassed through generations and centuries.

The law of contract was not developed at so early a date as were many other branches of Roman jurisprudence. It has been claimed that under the kingdom, at least to the time of Servius Tullius, no proper law of contract was in existence. But when we critically examine the condition of Roman society at the time we must conclude that, to a certain extent at any rate, such a law had appeared; for the simplest form of buying and selling—even barter—requires a contract between the parties. Wherever houses are occupied by others than the owners; wherever labor is exerted for other than one's self; wherever property is used by other than its possessor; wherever a common carrier is employed, there must be at least the rudiments of a law of contract.

We can, however, discern in Roman society of the early ages many reasons for the late appearance of such a law. We have seen how little addicted were the primitive Romans to commerce or to

any intercourse other than war with foreign tribes. War under the dominion of civilization introduces many agreements and compacts between the parties, but in barbarous and half-barbarous ages it knows no law but violence. Again, the peculiar bottom organization of the Roman people into *familia* gave gradually local, or home, independence—made each *familia* more complete in itself, more able to supply its proper wants without appeal to others—than did any other system of social development. To this extent the anti-commercial instincts of the Roman race were encouraged and intensified rather than abated. The necessity for making contracts, for the discovery and establishment of rules whereby they should be made, was reduced to a minimum, and the law of contract lagged to a later age.

If we inquire in what manner, therefore, in the absence of such a law, the engagements of Roman with Roman were sanctioned and made valid, we must appeal to the character of the race. From the earliest days this people had respect to a divine obligation which was impersonated under the name of *Fides*, or Faith. What *fides* required must be done. Whoever should violate his faith would subject himself to the frown of the pontifical officers. Aye, more; he would be subjected to such punishments as those officers might inflict, and to consequent disparagement among his fellows.

These forces tending to right conduct were felt in an unusual degree among the Romans. In order to signify their faith they invented the symbol of clasping right hands. This form of touching the person of another existed in the East, in connection with other ceremo-

Late appearance of contract explained by social conditions.

Evolution of the law of contract.

The appeal to *Fides*: usage of *promittere dextram*.

nies of salutation; but the taking of the right hand in the sense of a pledge of good faith was a Roman usage, and obtained among the Roman people anciently a significance and universality which it had never borne before. The

tract. It was believed by the Albanian fathers that Fides had her residence in the palm of the right hand, from which it followed that palm joined with palm was equivalent to the interchange of faith.



TUMULT IN THE FORUM AT ROME.

phrase *promittere dextram*,¹ to stretch out the right hand, was in everyday use in primitive Rome, and was made to take the place of a more formal law of con-

¹ In the first word of this phrase, in the form of *promissum*, we have the original of the English word "promise," the sense of which still preserves the idea of a pledge under good faith.

Another method of securing the fulfillment of those pledges which were made in early days at Rome was the pawning, or hypothecation, of some property to bind the parties to the fulfillment of their respective parts. After the engagement was fulfilled the prop-

Hypothecation
a means of se-
curing fulfill-
ment of pledges.

erty so pledged must be returned to the original owner. While it was in pawn it did not in the full sense belong to either of the parties. For if it were stolen the person in whose hands it had been pledged could not be held responsible. If after fulfillment of the engagement the person holding should refuse to deliver to the person owning, there was in the earliest times no legal process to compel the recalcitrant to make restitution; but here again he was subject to the punishment of the pontifical officers, and was under disgrace for having violated confidence. It was thus, in the beginning of her career, that Rome bound her citizens by principles of morality rather than by principles of law to the performance of their pledges.

Still another means was used of enforcing good faith. The individual was

Personal compulsion permitted to enforce agreements.

allowed the right of redress. Certain limitations were laid upon this principle of action, and the right was of course ultimately taken away by law; but in early times the individual might enforce, if he could, the duty of fulfillment upon the unfaithful contractor. It will be seen that this personal compulsion of another to keep a pledge was only the positive side of that negative self-defense which is still allowed among all civilized nations. There are many strange things of this sort in the history of human jurisprudence. Originally the man might defend himself against the positive injury of another. He might stand his ground and ward off the violence with which he was menaced, but he might also take upon himself the duty of enforcing upon another whatever he had wrongfully refused to do with respect to himself. Scarcely any of the ancient peoples refused this right to the individual. But long since the

right of personal compulsion on the positive side has been taken away in modern legislation, but the negative part, that is, self-defense proper, is still allowable under all civilized codes. True, it is hedged about with many limitations and exceptions; but the existence of such a right, acknowledged as valid long ages after the positive prerogative of enforcing right upon another has been taken away from the individual, is a striking example of the strange aspects into which human affairs may grow.

What may be called the principle of vengeance was to a considerable degree admitted. As late as the days of Numa the kinsmen of a murdered man still

Private avengement of injuries allowed with limitations.

had the right of destroying the murderer. But the laws of Numa provided that if the homicide were accidental, a ram's life might be substituted for the life of the man. There was a religious theory prevalent that it was the *duty* of kinsmen to destroy the life of him who had killed a member of their gens, else the *manes*, the soul, of him who was slain might not rest in peace. In the exercise of this right of vengeance we discover at a very early period the beginning of certain distinctions in modern law which are reckoned of prime importance in the administration of justice. There was the distinction between hot and cold blood. If the wronged husband should come upon the guilty wife and her paramour in *flagrante delicto* he might kill them both in passion. But if his wrath should cool by the lapse of some time, he might not then destroy the guilty, but must take the usual judicial course of punishment. In this fact we see the germ of that general tendency which will presently, under the auspices of this legal-minded race, substitute public for private law in all its jurisprudence.

The primitive Romans recognized three general forms of punishment for wrongdoing. It should be said in this connection, however, that there was in the early ages no clear discrimination between crime and sin—between an offense against the law of man and a violation of the will of the gods. Since the bottom principle of all Roman law was *fas*, and since *fas* was deducible from the eternal government of things, that is, from the absolute rule of all things and the will of the gods, a violation of human law seemed to be also a violation of the divine. What may be called vice, also, or the violation of the physical laws of life, was also confounded with the other kinds of infraction of law.

The names of the three general terms by which methods of punishment were distinguished pointed to the recognition of a divine element in all law. The first of these terms was *expiatio*, which may best be rendered by the word “satisfaction.” The criminal in this case must *satisfy* for the injury which he has done. He must give an equivalent in some way, and thus expiate the wrong. The second term was *supplicium*, in which not only satisfaction was contemplated, but also the administration of punishment direct. In *supplicium* the idea of satisfaction was less prominent than the idea of punishment for the wrong. The word was derived from *supplex*, “one who prays.” It signified originally the bending down of the body and of the will before the deities; but in the secondary sense it was the bending of the body to receive castigation for crime. The third term was *consecratio capitis*; that is, the “devotion of the life.” The phrase *sacer esto*, that is, “let him be devoted, or given up,” was

the legal language employed in condemning a criminal by the comitia.

Under each of these general heads there was a great variety of punishment. That is, there were many legal methods of expiating injury, also many methods of administering *supplicium*, according to the kind of crime which had been committed. Capital punishment was by beheading or strangulation. It has been claimed by some that he to whom the phrase *sacer esto* had been legally applied was to be sacrificed to the infernal gods. But a very ancient phrase of the law declares *Nec fas cum immolari*; that is, it is not *fas* that the criminal should be sacrificed. Though he was put to death, it was not in the nature of an immolation.

One of the reasons for the strong intermixture of moral and religious principles with the early jurisprudence of Rome was found in the complete supremacy of the paterfamilias over the familia, of which he was the head. Constituting as he did a personal court, he had only his own concept of *fas* and *jus* to guide him. Before the age of Servius Tullius the paterfamilias was a sort of judicial autocrat, who might administer justice over his familia even to the extent of excluding and interdicting the right of the state. He might in his capacity of judge take cognizance of every kind of crime. He might in his executive capacity administer every variety of punishment. He might inflict death, slavery, banishment from the gens, expulsion from the familia, imprisonment, chains, castigation, and indeed almost every kind of penal visitation known to the Roman law. It was one of the peculiarities of the early constitution of Roman society that there was no gen-

Three forms of punishment for wrongdoing recognized.

Capital punishment; *sacer esto* was not sacrifice.

Nature of *expiatio*, *supplicium*, and *consecratio capitis*.

Explanation of mixture of moral principles with jurisprudence.

tile head; that is, no person or court standing in such relation to the gens as that occupied by the paterfamilias with respect to the familia. This circumstance augmented the prerogative of the paterfamilias. So great was his power, so far-reaching the extent of his jurisdiction, that to call him the feudal lord of primitive Rome would be to underestimate the variety and solid character of his prerogatives.

In course of time the laws and usages of Old Rome, derived as we have seen from the Roman concept of immutable principles over and above human

Evolution of
legislation; the
Twelve Tables.

life, began to be put into the form of enactment. Legislation came. The Comitia of the Cen-

turies was constituted, then the Comitia of the Tribes, and the Concilium Plebis. Before these bodies of the people in their various capacities Roman jurisprudence began to be formed. It was in the year 302 from the founding of the city that the compilation of the Twelve Tables was undertaken. In this we see again illustrated the intellectual dependence of the Roman people upon the Greeks. A commission was sent into the Greek cities of the south to investigate the condition of their constitutions and laws. After the return of the commissioners a body of ten patricians was appointed, over which Appius Claudius was president. The work of codification was completed within a year, but the decemvirate was continued for a period to attend to supplemental legislation. The result of the labors of this body was that great underlying legislative enactment of the Roman people, called the *Lex XII Tabularum*—The Law of the Twelve Tables. Though Rome had not begun her existence with a written constitution, though, indeed, she had prosecuted her way for centuries without any such a

guide, she now possessed a formal code to which appeal might henceforth be made as to a standard of immutable right.

In the vicissitude of things the Twelve Tables perished; but not until after the lapse of several centuries. As late as the times of Cicero they were still in existence. Originally the laws were engraved, or more probably painted, on ten wooden tablets, which were set up in the forum, so that henceforth no man might plead ignorance of the laws of Rome. It was expected in subsequent times that the schoolboys of the state should commit these laws to memory. It was one of the standard exercises of the schools—another illustration of the strong legal character and bias of the Roman race.

In this brief outline of the legal constitution of Rome we can not, of course, enter into such details as Formality of Roman procedure; nature of the sacramentum. would constitute the subject-matter of a formal historical essay. We may with propriety in the next place note some of the aspects or methods of legal action in the times of the kingdom and early republic. Great formality was one of the characteristics of whatever the Romans did. Particularly was this true of all subjects relative to jurisprudence. In legal action under the primitive laws one of the methods of procedure was for the parties to appear before the council, or the prætor, and there challenge each other as to any cause at issue between them. The ceremony was at once dramatic and religious in its aspects. A certain stake, or forfeit, called the *sacramentum*, was brought forth by each party and put into the hands of the officers. This was in the nature of a sacred pledge that each would abide by the decision of the tribunal to which appeal was now made. The preliminary having been attended to the question was remanded

to the judge, and it was his business to determine whose sacramentum, or pledge, had been offered in accordance with the principles of justice. But this superficial question involved a decision of the real issue between the parties concerning which the stake, or forfeit, had been pledged. When a decision was reached on the main question, he whose cause was reckoned just received back *his* sacramentum, while the stake of the defeated party was appropriated in the earlier times to religious uses, but afterwards to the revenues of the state.

A second method or "action of the law" was that the plaintiff should go before the prætor with a form of words thus: "I demand, O prætor, that thou appoint a judge or arbiter in my cause." This was the introductory process by which the cause of any one was open for judicial investigation. A third method had special reference to the question of debt, and consisted in a challenge made by the creditor to the debtor to go before a tribunal and *deny* that he was indebted so and so. The peculiarity of the process was that the challenge in this case required from the defendant a payment of one third more than the amount actually involved. This additional third was in the nature of a penalty for denial of the claim, if the same should be allowed.

A fourth manner of action had respect to the taking of the body of one who was a debtor or had confessed liability for debt. It was called legal action by *manus injectio*; that is, by the forcible laying on of the hand. Under this process the debtor was haled before the court in a very summary manner. In all of these ancient methods of judicial procedure we discover at least two cir-

cumstances of Roman character. The first was a certain formality and precision, advancing step by step in the ascertainment of civil issues; and the second was that severity of construction with respect to debt for which the legal procedure of all ancient nations is characterized.

A large part of the legal rights of a Roman citizen under the kingdom and



LICTOR WITH FASCES

the republic must be referred to the peculiar prerogative which a paterfamilias possessed under the name of manus. The manus was literally "the hand."

Meaning of manus, and rights proceeding therefrom.

It was the right hand of the house-father. We have seen that Fides was thought to reside in the palm of the right hand. Technically, the manus of the paterfamilias was his right over his wife. All of the general prerogatives which the Roman theory of citizenship conceded to him with respect to her was generalized under the name manus; but the right was enlarged from its primary signification to include all the secondary prerogatives which the house-father derived from his marriage relation and his position at the head of the familia. So that a great many of his privileges and powers as a citizen of Rome were summed

Introductory
processes be-
fore the tribunal.

Legal actions
beginning with
manus injectio.

up and expressed under the term *manus*; and when he came to the exercise of these rights in matters of private obligation or in public judicature, he simply appealed to his *manus* in justification of what he had done, was doing, or was about to do.

Another part of the body was taken

This included the several subordinate rights called *manus*, *potestas*, and *mancipium*. In proportion as the *familia* was extensive, the *caput* of the citizen was enlarged; and in those cases where the *familia* was reduced to a single person, as it frequently was, being in that case the *paterfamilias* himself and no



ARTISTIC TYPES AND COSTUMES.—AUGUSTUS AND LIVIA.—From the *Gemma Augustia*.

metaphorically to express a legal capacity. The whole civil personality of a citizen was called his *caput*; that is, his head. The *caput* might mean much or little, according to the extent and variety of his family relations. The principal element in the prerogative so called was the right of the citizen as a *paterfamilias*.

Fiction of *caput*,
or head rights of
citizenship.

more, his *caput* was correspondingly reduced. This is to say, throwing aside the metaphor, that the head rights, or personal rights, of a citizen under the Roman constitution were multifarious and extensive, or limited and simple, according to the expansion or contraction of the *familia* of which he was the head.

These old theories of Roman citizenship were found existent in society at

Twelve Tables a compilation; fiction of the married woman.

the time when the Twelve Tables were compiled; and they were not much changed by the legislation of the commissioners. The makers of the Tables accepted those principles of legislation and jurisprudence which the experience of the race through several centuries had preserved as the best expressions of Ro-

riage should be required to make it formal. But we pass to other branches of the subject.

We have had occasion to remark upon the substantial connection between the familia and the gens. In no part of the system was this connection more beautifully displayed than in the matter of guardianship. The gens was the theoretical guardian of all the wards of the

Classification of the members of the familia.



CORNELIA AND THE GRACCHI—TYPES.

man civil life, altering and amending some, confirming others, and perhaps abolishing a few. Some incidental peculiarities of this first great piece of formal legislation would be interesting to the student of Roman law, such as that fiction by which the married woman who desired, for reasons of property, to retain her independence must periodically absent herself for three nights from her husband's house, and also the other fiction that twelve months of informal mar-

familia composing it. The Roman law classified the members of the familia of a patrician into several groups. The sons and daughters in pupillage, that is, the true minors, constituted one class, the unmarried daughters above pupillage were another class, while the sons unmarried, but still in potestate, were another. There were also likely to be in the familia lunatic, or imbecile, members. Others were perhaps helpless or infirm, while others would be reduced to de-

pendence and wretchedness by prodigality or crime.

These were the classes which in case of the death of the head of the family must be provided for under authority. Guardianship was contemplated in all cases of the death of the paterfamilias. It appears that in the early ages of the

Right of paterfamilias in the matter of guardianship.

taken away, and such tutor, or curator, was held accountable not to the familia, but to the gens, for the manner in which he exercised his trust. When it came, however, to the formation of the constitution expressed in the Twelve Tables, it was deemed advisable to recognize the right of a paterfamilias to nominate the guardian who should come into office in case of his death. A maxim of the law came in and said: "As any one has legislated for his own [familia] let it so be jus." Herein the state, under the auspices of the gens, took up and enforced the provisions made by the paterfamilias.

A large part of the earlier constitutional provisions of Rome related to those obligations which the citizen might assume or which might be enforced upon him.

Debt the primeval obligation recognized by society.

Such obligations had respect for the most part to property. *Delictum*, or crime, might also demand the fulfillment of an obligation, as of a fine or some service of the offender. But generally, the duty to be fulfilled was that obligation, always strongly enforced and old as the beginnings of human society, of one man to

pay another—the obligation of debt.

One must needs be surprised to see how large a part of the civil history of the ancient peoples hangs about the fact of debt. It began with the borrowing of something to eat, and ended in slavery. It began with a thoughtless promise, hastily and inconsiderately made and attested by some easy formal-

Civil history of ancient nations turns about the question of debt.



ROMAN CONSUL IN CURULE CHAIR.
From the original in British Museum.

republic, before the publication of the Twelve Tables, there was no extant right of the paterfamilias to nominate a guardian for the members of his family in case of his own decease. This right was claimed and exercised by the gens. It was the duty of the gens, in council assembled, to appoint one of its members as tutor, or curator, for the wards of any familia whose head might be

ity such as primitive society was wont to invent, and ended with a difficult fulfillment, as the debtor has always found. It began with the giving of one sum by the stronger to the weaker, and the exaction of a larger sum to be given by the weaker to the stronger. The student of history will readily recall the fact that a large part of those dangerous seditions and insurrections which the desperate under-class of the population in ancient cities were wont to make, had debt as their substantial and provoking cause.

In the case of Rome, this question was especially vexatious. The ever-growing class of plebeians, with the ever-increasing cry of want, tended to the incurring of debt. The assumption of obligations on the part of the poor which could hardly be fulfilled under the hard conditions of the age, the return of scanty years, the frequent recurrence of war, and other calamities pressed hard on the under-classes of society; and the principle of hypothecation became the only resource of the borrower. One has only to read the story of republican Rome, as told by Livy, in order to realize the full import, the deep cursedness and desperation of the plebeians under the ever-increasing burden of debt. In order to save themselves from starvation, the very veterans who had come home from victorious war with the Sabines or the Samnites had to hypothecate first their homes and then *themselves*! It was utter ruin by two leaps down the precipice. The first platform on which the plebeian debtor landed was bankruptcy, and the second slavery.

In the old days, before the introduction of coinage, borrowing had already become prevalent. Under such circumstances the property was transferred and

the debt incurred in kind. It was what may be called indebtedness by barter.

In this case the process consisted in an application to the property holder for a loan of what was necessary to the borrower. When the amount and the terms of the loan had been agreed upon a certain formality was necessary. It was called the *Nexum*, a word signifying "a binding together." Scales were brought, and five witnesses were called

Primitive borrowing; introduction of coin and the balance.



COINS OF THE REPUBLIC AND THE EMPIRE.

to represent the state. It was a public process, and the state was bound to enforce the fulfillment of the obligation. The property was weighed or measured out, and the borrower became bound for payment. When the coinage of bronze money came in, that medium was used between the borrower and the lender after the manner of modern times. Then the formula was changed, and the method of the contract was defined as being *per æs et libram*; that is, "by money and the balance." The parties came face to face, and the lender said: "Whereas,

with this coin and these copper scales I have given thee a thousand [or so many] *asses*, be thou, therefore, bound by the law of the *nexum* to repay them to me a year [or whatever the time] hence." Thereafter the borrower received his coin, and was legally bound.

It is impossible for us here to follow out this line of explication through the various details and developments of Roman custom and law. We are aiming to cite so much only as is necessary to exemplify the spirit of lawmaking and application under the usage of the Romans. It would be of great interest to extend and amplify the discussion; but the pressure of other subjects forbids what inclination and interest might suggest. Rome was preëminently the lawmaking state of the ancient world, and her historical relations with the nations of the West have been such as to transmit her usage and principles of jurisprudence to the most civilized states of modern times.

If we should set into one group all the great peoples who now employ, in whole or in part, the constitution and jurispru-

dence of Rome, and set over against them all those other states which have not been affected in their constitutional structure by the direct incorporation therewith of the constitutions and statutes adopted and perpetuated by the senate and the Roman people, we should instantly discover that the former group virtually includes the civilized nations of the world, while the latter group represents only its barbarous or half-developed peoples. This great difference, to be sure, is not to be referred to the existence in the one case and the absence in the other of the constitution and the laws of Rome considered as a cause or a drawback to the progress of civilization, but rather to the fact that the enlightened nations of modern times have found in the legislation and jurisprudence of Rome abundant cause for admiring and adopting, in whole or in part, that vast system by which the unity was preserved and the political purposes expressed of that nation which achieved the greatest and most permanent political success known thus far in the annals of mankind.

All civilized peoples under the influence of Roman law.

Rome became the lawmaking state of the world.

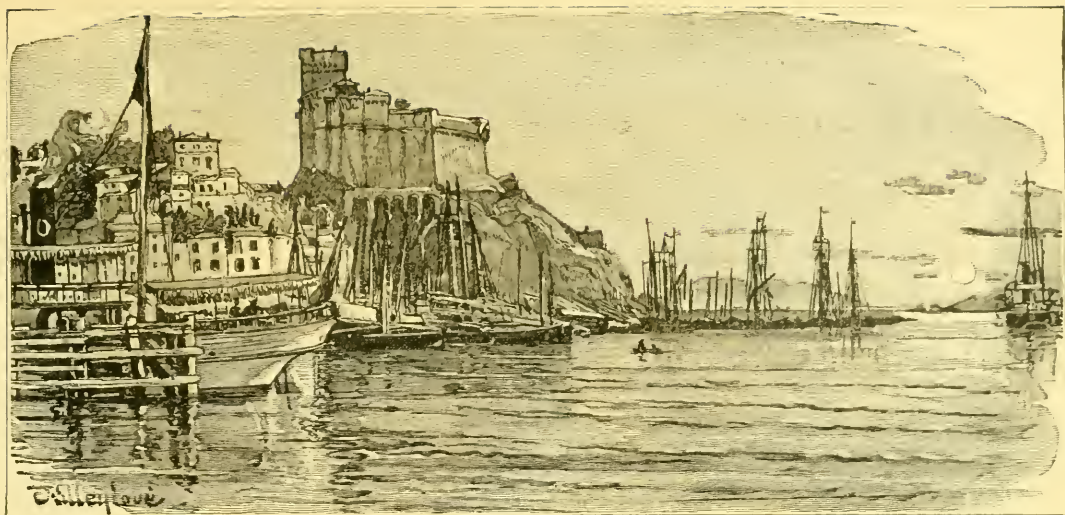


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WEST ARYAN TYPES OF EASTERN AND NORTHERN EUROPE.

- 1.2. Georgians. 3. Ossette. 4. Albanian. 5. Woman of Iceland. 6. Russian Woman of Rjäsan. 7. Roumanian Woman. 8.9. Poles of Radom.
 (1,2,3,4,6,8,9, after Pauly, in "Peoples of Russia"; 5 after Burton, in "Ultima Thule"; 7 after a photograph.)



BOOK IX.—THE LATIN RACES.

CHAPTER LXVII.—THE ITALIANS.



WE shall now turn to consider the ethnic life of what are called the Latin races of modern Europe. The power of Rome to give caste and character to

the various peoples whom she subdued might be verified and illustrated with many examples. She absorbed into herself and incorporated with her own structure the outlying states in which her eagles were set up as the signs of

domination and conquest. True, she conceded—such was her settled policy—a large liberty to her subject peoples. She

permitted them in a considerable measure to retain the primitive customs which had come down to them respectively from the prehistoric tribes. But she knew full well that her own language, the learning of which she inculcated and enforced as far as practicable, would carry with it the laws and institutions which she herself had tested in centuries

of war and by every civil emergency known in the history of states.

Such proved to be the result. The states of Western Europe became Latinized. It will never be known in what precise proportions the old peoples, Celtic or other who had possessed the

The subject races of Western Europe become Latinized.

Europe of antiquity, contributed to the formation of the new peoples who succeeded them under the auspices of Rome. There was much intermingling, but the various peoples became Roman, or at least Romanic. The language of the imperial city, in many dialectical forms, but still the old language, usurped the tongues of barbarian Europe, and was heard from the Danube to the Thames, from the shores of the Baltic to the southern borders of Mauritania.

At last came the collapse. Wealth, power, luxury, vice, effemination, the very excess of dominion, the oblivion of virtue, and the triumph of crime furnished the causes rather than the occa-

Collapse of the empire and the Roman people.

sion, while the barbarians became the occasion rather than the causes. After twelve centuries and a half from the time when mocking Remus leaped over his brother's walls, the city of the Cæsars went down before the impact of a battering-ram whose massive head was ironed

First of these we may consider the Italians. Historians are wont to define the chronological limits of Rome with the founding of the city 753 B. C., and the downfall of the Western empire 476 A. D. This immense period began

*Chronological
boundaries of
the Roman race
and ascendancy.*



OVERTHROW OF ROME BY THE BARBARIANS.—ENTRANCE OF THEODORIC AND THE OSTROGOTHs.
From the painting by Herman Vogel.

with Teutonism, and whose beam was heavy with the providence of the world.

The conquering force, the barbarian races of Northern Europe, we shall consider hereafter. It remains in this connection to take up in their turn the various modern nations whose ethnic constitution points unmistakably to a Roman origin.

with the reign of Romulus the Great, and ended with the reign of Romulus the Little. From the latter date the history of Italy begins. The division, as all divisions are, is arbitrary; for, as we have seen, history has no lines of demarkation. But we may properly place the beginning of Italy and the downfall of the empire at the close of the fifth century.

Nearly all of that century had been occupied with the inroads of the barbarians. Alaric had been there with his the capital and the expulsion of the pygmy Augustus, who nominally held the throne, were effected by Odoacer



ODOACER AND THE MONK SEVERINUS—TYPES.

hordes and had overrun the country. Virtually, he had conquered all except Rome herself. The final conquest of and his Herulians out of the north. His dominion in Italy lasted but twelve years, when he was succeeded by Theo-

doric, King of the Ostrogoths. For about sixty years the Ostrogothic rule continued, until it was supplanted by that of the Longobards, under Alboin, who fixed the capital at Pavia. The Longobard domination retained its principal seat in the north of Italy, but there was nothing in the south to resist its authority.

Of all the foreign masters that had thus far appeared, Alboin and his successors were the most severe as it respected the descendants of the Romans.

Next came the Frankish invasions from beyond the mountains, led by Pepin and the Carolingian kings of France. We thus see a succession of sluices opened in the passes of the Alps, and one flood after another of barbarianism poured into Italy. But it does not appear that the policy of any of these northern invaders was very destructive so far as the original Roman, or Italian, population was concerned. The descendants of the Roman people were generally spared. True, their property was taken at pleasure. Again and again the lands of Italy were distributed among the conquerors. Again and again the cities and towns in which, by the necessity of the case, the old urban activities of the Romans were to a certain measure carried forward, were taken by battle, by siege, by assault. But it was not the policy of the Goths to destroy, to exterminate, the population of a province which they invaded. It remained for the Saxon invaders of England to set the most conspicuous example of the destruction of a vanquished people.

At the time that Italy fell under the sway of the northern races she contained a Roman population having a uniform ethnic character from the Alps to Sicily.

To be sure, the uniformity was not exact. The south was not the north. Foreign influences had, in course of time, injected into the Roman cities, and even the country side, large elements of alien blood. Rome herself in the days of the Cæsars might well remind one of some of the great modern cities which, by political and commercial intercourse, by the attractions which great capitals naturally afford, and even by the reflex results of wars abroad, have drawn into their precincts such masses of foreign population as to have become in some sense denationalized. But the ethnic type of the Romans was persistent and strong. The sturdy frame, the thick, heavy muscles, the prominent features, the dark eyes, the eagle nose, the coarse, utilitarian intellect for which the race had been noted under the republic, had been preserved in all essentials to the last days of the empire.

It was with this original ethnic character of the Romans that the barbarian blood now began to be interfused. In course of time the northern invaders settled in Italy. Some choice districts they colonized. Over others the various chieftains asserted their sway, with a few followers. In some parts the old population was but little disturbed. It is the peculiarity of such situations that the various race elements ultimately come to an understanding and make peace. After that, the next circumstance is intermarriage. For some generations the sexual relation between the two or three peoples of a given district is to a certain extent unlawful—based on mere incidental passion such as is always inflamed into activity along the selvages of diverse communities. But at length regular and lawful marriage would set

Incoming of the Herulians and the Ostrogoths.

The Alpine sluices opened; state policy of the Goths.

Character of the Roman race at the time of the overthrow.

The barbarians begin to amalgamate with the conquered.

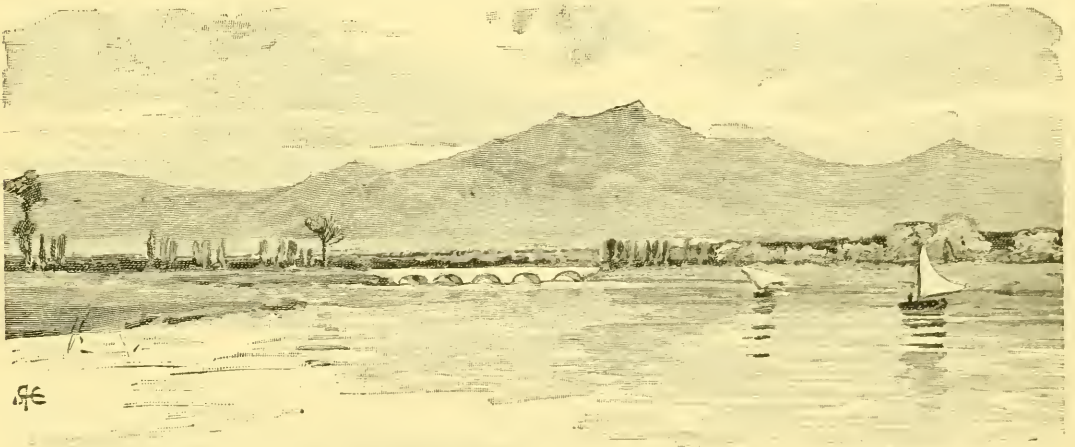
in, and the old antagonisms would thenceforth rapidly disappear.

At first the Goth and the Roman came into unity. Even the Longobard of the Po valley was gradually assimilated to the common type. The Frankish conquest from beyond the Alps did not leave any very marked ethnic traces in Italy. Destiny had reserved for the Franks a career west of the Rhine rather than south of the Arno. It was four hundred years from the overthrow of Romulus the Little to the reign of Charles the Great. In this period the populations of

The new inter-
fusion of races
in Italy.

for the northern bands on their way to the Holy Land. Many of the expeditions were organized from this base of operations, and the returning Crusaders first felt the influences of home on reaching Italy. Here, moreover, the papacy had its central seat, and this circumstance drew, through all the Middle Ages, a stream of visitors into the Eternal City. Many of these remained. Pious pilgrims visited Rome as the religious center of Christendom. Many and diverse race influences were thus shed abroad in the original seat of the empire.

Character of the
nascent Italian
race completed
by the Crusades.



LANDSCAPE OF THE ARNO—SHOWING THE FIRST BRIDGE.—Drawn by John Fulleylove.

Italy became ethnically interfused. They were beaten together. Old Roman and Goth, Longobard and Vandal, had disappeared in a new type called Italian, which, while it preserved many features of the original stock that had so long dominated the peninsula, had nevertheless taken such a secondary growth as the watersprout takes in springing from the roots of a dead tree.

Thus during the Middle Ages a new people was formed in the central peninsula of Southern Europe. The finishing touches were given to its character, that is, its mediæval character, by the Crusades. Italy became a sort of mustering ground

The revolution by which the Roman race passed into the Italian race was one of the most astonishing transformations known in history. It would appear that almost every element of social, political, and religious life was completely reversed in the new order. Some traits of the Roman character remained, and still remain, to attest the race descent of the Italians. For the rest, everything was changed; the old form passed away, and the new form rose in its stead. Let us, then, briefly examine the Italian race, and note a few of the phases of its metamorphosis from the great original.

Striking trans-
formation of the
Roman into the
Italian.

The first conspicuous trait which we notice is the change from Roman aggressiveness to Italian docility. History would bear out the assertion that the Romans were, on the whole, the most aggressive people of the ancient world. The disposition to make war was an unquenchable passion from the first. The rise of the Roman people to influence

Aggressiveness
the leading fea-
ture of Roman
activity.

in the last degree. He "deemed it unsafe that a populous and warlike nation of barbarians should gather in such numbers on the open confines of a state which lay next to a people who bordered on a Roman province!" The cause is sufficiently attenuated; but it sufficed for the extension of Roman dominion through all Gaul westward to the Atlantic.

Cæsar was typical of the Roman character. In truth, Rome ceased to flourish when she ceased to conquer.

It hap- Philosophy of
pens in decadence in the
the case individual and
the race.

of the individual that when his dominant passion, the ruling sentiment of his nature, can no longer be gratified, can no longer be fed with its natural food, he begins to fail in power; his activities contract to a narrower circle, and in the course of a few years he becomes useless and inane. With people it is even so. A race has a prevailing characteristic. That characteristic works out its own tangible and institutional results. Thus



MEN OF THE ROMAN TRANSFORMATION—JUSTINIAN.

and power, first in Central Italy, then in the peninsula, and then through all the Mediterranean kingdoms, was by conquest. If there was no excuse for war, it was the policy of Rome to make one. Read, for instance, the report made by Cæsar himself of the *reasons* which he discovered for attacking the Gaulish and Teutonic nations north of the mountains. The pretexts are flimsy

was it in Rome. The world could hardly satisfy her lust. Having reached the limits of the rational exercise of her ambitions she began to fail and sink. From her culmination in the time of the Antonines, her decline was constant and her collapse inevitable.

This ethnic characteristic was completely reversed in the Italian race. Though the Italians have not been

wanting in enterprise, the spirit of aggression has wholly disappeared. It

Reversal of ethnic characteristics in the Italians.

might be difficult to cite a single instance in which the Italians, or any division of the Italians, have of their own accord marched abroad for conquest. The energies of the race have been drawn in, so to speak, from the display

It might not be averred that the aggressive energies of the old Roman race perished with the empire.

Aggressiveness of Rome reappears in discovery and adventure.

It would be more nearly true to indicate their reëmpire in the Italians *under other forms of energy*. It can hardly be doubted that it was the transformed activity and ambition of the ancient people that led



SEACOAST TOWN OF ITALY.—SALERNO.—Drawn by Alfred East.

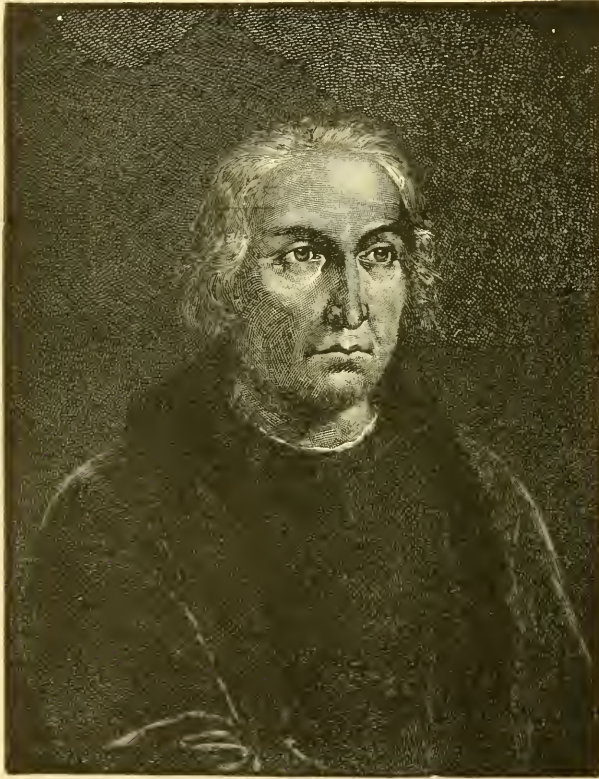
of warlike prowess on foreign coasts. The Italian soldiers have been found scattered singly and in companies through many of the armies which have marched to and fro over Europe since the Middle Ages. But such appearance is always to be accounted for by foreign influence which has drawn upon the Italian states for the material of war.

to the issuance from mediæval Italy of those adventurers and discoverers whose voyages across distant and unknown seas opened new continents to the contemplation of mankind. The student of history is well aware that almost all of the great discoverers who made the close of the fourteenth and the first half of the fifteenth century to be the most famous period in human annals for

the extension of geographical knowledge, came forth from the seacoast towns of Italy. The very spirit which had been wanting in the ancient Romans now appeared, as if by reaction, among the Italians. They who had been last among the ancient peoples to embark upon the deep sea; they who, though peninsular in their abode, had shown such a positive aversion to mari-

did the seafaring adventurers who in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries issued from the Italian cities. Columbus was the man of Genoa; Magellan was the man of Florence; and the two Cabots were the men of Venice. They were the transformed Scipios and Cæsars who had preceded them by forty-five generations. It was no longer aggression against foreign nations, no longer the conquest of the human race, no longer the lust for dominating subject peoples, but the ambition to know the world, to traverse the vast and star-roofed ocean, to visit far-off islands and unknown shores behind the sea.

Transformed
Scipios and Cæsars
of the fifteenth century.



COLUMBUS.

From the painting in the palace of the Minister of the Marine, Madrid.

time enterprise and exploration, had strangely enough given birth to a descendent people who were destined to lead all nations in the extent and variety of the geographical discoveries with which they enriched the rising nations of Western Europe.

No other group of men—and we might say no other age—contributed so richly to the expansion of the human mind, to the elevation of its concepts, as

In the ages of which we speak the other states of Europe, even the Latin states which by the survival of literature and the potency of the Roman Church were most advanced in learning and ambition, had to draw from Italy, especially from her republican cities, the genius which they were unable to produce for themselves. Notwithstanding the timidity of the Italian character, notwithstanding the subsidence of the old warlike ambitions of the race, the mind of mediæval Italy revealed remarkable energies in its goings

Scientific development
of Italian mind in the
Middle Ages.

forth, remarkable courage in the solution of all physical problems. Geography was one of these. The time had now arrived when the empirical systems which had prevailed from the days of Ptolemy were to give place to the beginnings of scientific geographical knowledge.

But geography was not the only problem which the early Italians were destined to solve. It was devolved upon the same people, and virtually upon the

same age, to lay the foundations of what the modern world has called natural philosophy. The interpretation of nature up to this age had been mythological, poetical. The Italians had the discernment to discover at least the primary traces of those steadfast and beneficent laws by which natural phenomena are governed. This disposition of the mediæval Italians to peer into the secrets of nature was not limited even with the confines of our planet. The same cities that had sent forth the navigators by whom the trackless oceans were reduced to a chart were now destined to receive the first actual revelation from the stars. Galileo was a Pisan, and afterwards a man of Florence and Rome. Within forty-five years after the first colony of White men was established in the New World, the crescent horns of Venus and the four satellites of Jove were first seen by the eyes of man. It was the work of an Italian.

The first principles of physics were discovered in the same age. Men began to understand the laws of sound, of heat, of light, of galvanic magnetism. Italy was the harbor of this intellectual activity. Within her cities the mind of man was more luminous than in any other part of Europe or the world. To what extent the persistency of the old race, the blood and intellectual force of ancient Rome, had penetrated the new people who were rising to the mental dominion of Europe it were impossible to say; but we know that the Italian mind with its

beneficent activities in the sixteenth century foreran the intellectual achievement of all the other Western peoples.

Though everything was broken up and local, it appeared that the energies of generations were concentrated in the little republics with which Italy now abounded. With the retreat of the

Revival of genius and art in the Italian cities.



FERNANDO MAGELLAN.

From the painting in the palace of the Minister of the Marine, Madrid

Italy becomes the harbor of intellectual activity. human mind from the broad domain of political and warlike activity among the nations, with its recession into walled cities, its energies were turned to intellectual and scientific questions, the solution of nature and the scientific statement of physical laws. Art also revived in new forms. It is indeed a strange fact that in the very lap of the Rome of old, of that Rome who had no artistic genius of her own, there should

have sprung a new tree of artistic development which at the present day, after the lapse of three or four centuries, gathers under its shade the art students and connoisseurs of all nations.

It has been conceded by historians that among the cities built by men Athens was entitled to the first rank on the score of the intellectual grandeur of

of Florence as she was in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It can not be doubted that at that time, though she was by no means a great or populous city, she might fairly claim a comparison with the intellectual splendor of classical Athens. To the student of history the list need not be repeated of those distinguished Florentines who were easily first in their respective fields of activity. It is not often that any single city in the precincts of our poor continents has been glorified with such a list of names as Dante, Boccaccio, Guicciardini, Macchiavelli, Vespucci, Verrazzano, Michael Angelo, Raphael, and Alfieri! It is an inheritance of which the traveler from a foreign land may well be proud as he stands in the churchyard of Santa Croce, where the greater number of those illustrious men are buried.

No student of Roman history will have failed to note the political centralization, the unity, the compactness, the immovable structure of Roman society. This is said of that society considered as a civil and political organism. The strength of that great power was its unity, its singleness, the absolute subordination of all the varied elements under one dominant fact, the state. With the idea of



HOUSE OF GALILEO.

Drawn by A. Kohl, from a photograph.

her citizens; that is, with a comparatively limited population, the Florence becomes the Athens of the mediæval epoch. of the democracy could reckon a larger number of really great men than have ever existed at the same time in any other city of the world. It is safe to extend the estimate on the scale of intellectual grandeur and assign the second place to Florence. We speak

this ancient edifice clearly in mind, we shall be all the more surprised on turning to Italy to discover that in this respect also there was in the Middle Ages and has continued to modern times a complete reversal of the ancient order. That feature of the mediæval society which first catches the attention is its complete dissolution, the

Political order of the Romans reversed by the Italians.

segregation of the several units, the universal break-up and separation of the Italian people into local dependencies | They were so unlike the original structure of the great people who preceded them in ancient times, so changed in na-



DANTE ALLIGHIERI.

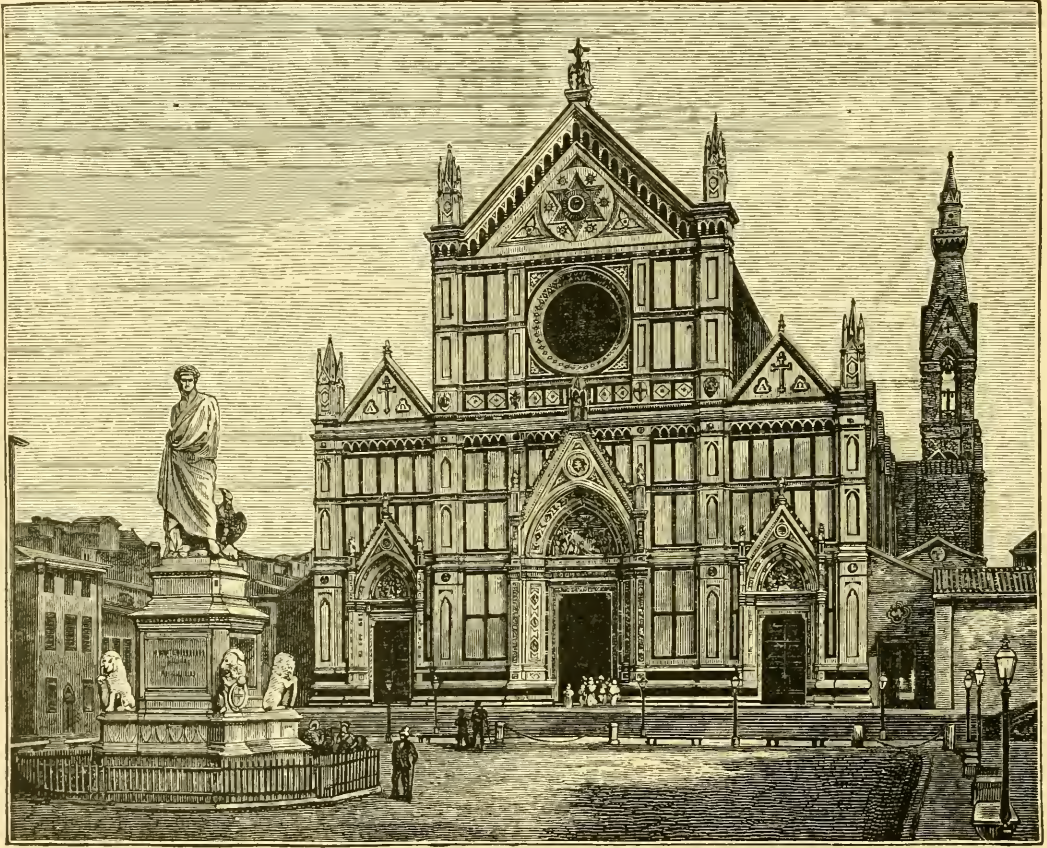
and independencies so alienated and antagonistic that no principle of historical unity can be discovered among them. | ture, as to suggest the lapse of ages, the rise of another race, and the transfer to another continent.

This political retrocession of the Roman race was not, however, a lapse into feudalism such as was seen in the same centuries north of the Alps. The retrograde movement in Italy was in the direction of republicanism and municipality. It is true that the feudal principle came down from the north, and that Roman

Republicanism and municipality replace the empire.

feudalism such as was seen in the same centuries north of the Alps. The retro-

grade movement in Italy was in the direction of republicanism and municipality. It is true that the feudal principle came down from the north, and that Roman



CHURCH OF SANTA CROCE.

society in a certain measure conformed to the fashion of the age; but it was into the towns that primitive Italian society gathered itself for protection and refuge.

Almost every city of Italy of any importance became the center of a local

Nature of political society in the cities of Italy.

government. One must

needs be reminded of an-

cient Greece in contemplat-

ing the condition of Italy from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. The

Florence. From Venice on the east to Genoa on the west, from the foot of the Alps to the strait of Messina, the whole country was divided into petty principalities, having a city as the central fact in each and local government as its political peculiarity.

The history fully set forth of any one of the mediæval Italian republics—its manner of life made manifest in an authentic and adequate narrative—would constitute

one of the most interesting works to which the attention of the student of human affairs could be directed. But it is not our purpose to enter upon so vast and interesting a field of inquiry. It is sufficient to note the astonishing activity of the Italian people within the circle of their little cities. Political discussion broke

The Christian faith, after generations of hardship, had struggled up to recognition in the times of Constantine. Thenceforth there was an alliance between the imperial system and the new faith. At times the compact was broken, and again and again the sword of persecution was

Italian race aids the ascendancy of the Roman Church.



LAWLESSNESS OF MIDDLE AGES.—ATTACK OF ITALIAN BANDITS.

out. Popular tumult was frequently the order of the day. Faction divided the people into parties, and one might well believe that he heard again the voice of the Greek demagogue in the streets.

Great, indeed, had been the transformation of the forum and the senate into this new aspect of democratic agitation. Meanwhile religion in another form had taken possession of the race.

unsheathed against the followers of the Galilean. But at length Christianity became predominant. Wherever the imperial eagles had been, there the cross was established. It were long to trace the gradual ascendancy of the bishop of Rome, the claim and contention of that prelate for the primacy of the whole Church, and his final success. The formal acknowledgment of the pope as the

head of Western Catholicism had a great local significance as it respected the city of Rome. That was the seat thenceforth of the great hierarchy which had been established with so much difficulty and by so much conflict. The Christian faith as set forth and practiced by the Roman Church was a dominant fact in

faction, and political conflict than that which was presented in the Middle-Age republics of Italy. Each Italian republics the scene of faction, debate, and progress. was a stormy arena; and the peculiarity was that the cyclone of agitation was generally limited to the city walls. There was much petty warfare abroad, for the states were

rarely at peace the one with the other; but the internal agitation was the principal fact. However bitter this strife may have been, however distressful to human happiness, it can not be denied that its effect was greatly to quicken the energies of the human mind.

We are here noticing the bottom causes of the extreme vigor displayed by the Italian intellect in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It Agitation and distress conditions of intellectual greatness. appears to be the law of nature that agitation, disturbance—shall we say suffering?—are necessary to the growth and vigor of the mental powers. No oak or cedar or banyan has ever yet been produced in the shelter of a conservatory. It is the wild exposure of the bleak hill, the vast plain, the storm-shaken mountaintop on which the great growths of the natural world are set and established. Perhaps we might wish that the blasts of contention should not blow in the arena of human



TYPE OF MEDIÆVAL ITALY—BIANCA CAPELLO.
Drawn by Thiriât, from the painting in the Galerie des Offices.

all of the mediæval cities of Italy. The bishop became a countervailing force against the great oligarchy of the Italian nobles. Sometimes he was in opposition to them, sometimes in union with them. Any view of Italian society which omits him from consideration would be extremely imperfect and misleading.

It were hard to conceive of any situation more conducive to debate, to

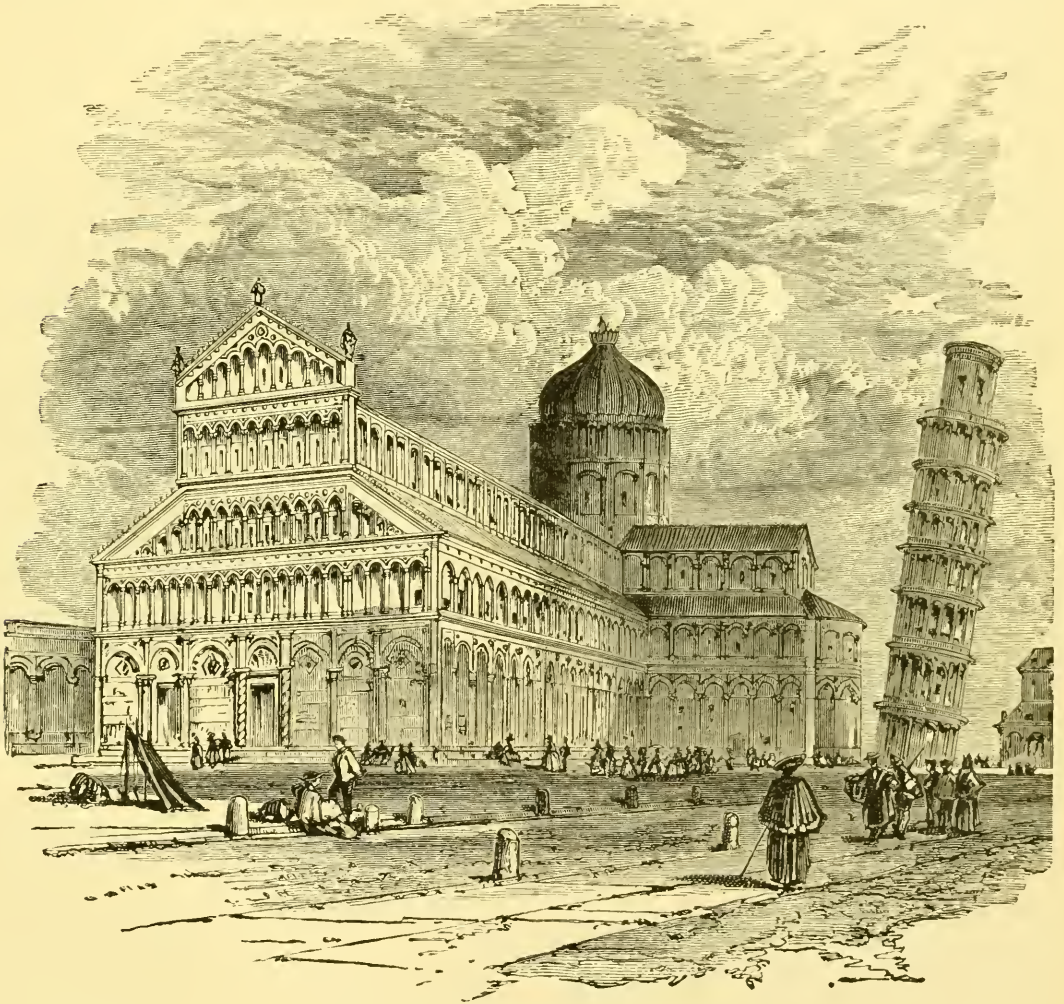
life; but the result would be weakness, effemination, decline. In the Italian cities there was strife. All manner of discord and turbulence were present. Distress and persecution made bitter the souls of men; but activity and strength came with contention, and the beauty of art was seen above the raging of tumult and the violence of mobs.

The student of literature, if he fix his

attention intently on the problems before him, will discover in the lives and works of men in every epoch of history a reflex of the social condition and even of the incidental hardships to which the mind has been exposed. Milton could

Sorrows and conflicts of the mind reflected in literature.

personal bitterness and suffering are depicted in all his works! Scarcely less, though in a different form, is the shadow on the philosophical pages of Guicciardini, while the works of Macchiavelli have made his very name a synonym for deliberate cunning and even the policy of



VIEW IN PISA.—CATHEDRAL AND LEANING TOWER.

not sing his heroic songs without complaining of his blindness and of the evil days and evil tongues among which his life had fallen. More particularly is this saddening background discoverable in the literature of mediæval Italy. What dolor can be more intense than that which darkens the poems of Dante? What

perfidy openly avowed as the elements of international law!

Strange it is that while literature thus reflects the true sorrows and conflicts, the anguish of the inner life, in the age to which it belongs, the music and art of the same age rise like blossoms from

But music and art rise above the anguish of the age.

the same sorrowful conditions, but bear no traces of the underlying griefs. After the great age of Greek painting, hidden in the past by the shadows of fifteen hundred years, nothing comparable with the work of the mediæval Italian artists had appeared. It would seem that the genius of the transformed Roman race was all concentrated in the glorious canvases which began to be produced with the revival period in Italian history. As early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, first in Lucca and Pisa, and soon afterwards in Siena, the evidence was seen of what the Italian mind and hand were destined soon to accomplish. Then came the Florentine school, surpassing all others in the excellence of its work. The subjects at first were almost exclusively religious; that is, Christian. For the spirit of the faith had now permeated all classes of society, and the representation of biblical scenes and personages became a passion with the early painters. Incidents in the life of the Christ or from the Old Testament Scriptures were chosen and idealized as never before.

In this work a considerable draught was made on pagan art, but the spirit of paganism gave place to the spirit of Christianity.

Magnificent outburst of Christian painting.

Such subjects as the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Shepherds, the Baptism of Christ, the Madonna and the Child, the Prophets and the Saints, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, the Last Supper, the Ascension, were seized upon by the Italian painters, and glorified on their canvases. Every Italian city had its cult and its group of artists. The Umbrian school flourished from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Then came the schools of Padua, of Arezzo, of Venice, of Brescia, of Verona, of Ferrara, of Bo-

logna, of Modena and Parma, of Cremona, of Rome, and finally of Naples. No such artistic activity in the matter of painting had perhaps ever been witnessed as that which prevailed in the republican cities of Italy between the fourteenth and the seventeenth century. It appeared that the pent-up genius and energy of the ancient race had found a vent in the canvas and the easel.

Sculpture also began to flourish. True, it was not the sculpture of the classical ages. It may have lacked in the majesty and humanity of the Greek and Roman masters, but it had elegance and refinement. It had ideality and beauty. It had freedom of concept and delicacy of execution. Less heroic than the art of antiquity, it was scarcely less divine. Now it was that the marble treasures of the great quarries of Carrara began to shine under the chisels of artists whose names are the synonyms of excellence among all modern peoples. Now it was that bronze began to take new forms of development under the genius of the Italians.

Italian sculpture rivals that of the classical ages.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century, when Niccolo da Pisa flourished, a new impulse and direction were given to the artistic development of the human

Special features of plastic art; the great sculptors.

race. Already the great cathedrals of mediæval Europe had begun to arise. The necessity for their decoration called forth the best genius of artists. The execution of bronze doors and baptistries provoked the highest efforts of the best minds of the age. Sculpture was rapidly developed in the fourteenth century by Giotto, who followed the example of Da Pisa. A grander epoch was reserved for the fifteenth century, an epoch which has been named the Golden Age of modern sculpture. Perhaps the masterpiece

of this era of great achievement was Ghiberti's celebrated bronze doors for the baptistry of the cathedral of St. John, in Florence. To the present day the artist from strange lands afar stands in wonder before this splendid work of a mediæval Italian hand. In the same age flourished Donatello and Brunelleschi, who were the rivals and friends of Ghiberti. The statues of Saint Mark and Saint George from the chisel of Donatello have transmitted his fame and

have drawn the æsthetic sympathies and admiration of art students in every civilized country; and of Italy it may truly be said that the revival of the political spirit in the nineteenth century has fortunately not proved—as it has so often elsewhere proved—to be the paralysis and death of art.

Les misérables chantant—the unhappy are the singers! It is one of the strangest facts in the history of human life that song has been a product of misery.



MEDIEVAL ITALIAN ART.—ADORATION.—Drawn by Bazin, from photograph of the terra cotta original, in the Convent of La Verne.

given him a high place among modern sculptors.

But it were useless to attempt to delineate in regular narrative the story of sculpture in the hands of the Italians. It is a single record of great achievement from the day when the two Pisani of the thirteenth century laid the foundation to the day when Michael Angelo completed the edifice. Nor has modern Italy failed to perpetuate the fame and to emulate the example of her great artists of the Middle Ages. For more than five centuries the Italian studios

On the other hand, the happy have not sung. By this is meant that the *producers* of song, they in whose spirits and on whose tongues music as an art has

They who suffer and sorrow are the singers.

been *born*, have been they who were suffering from oppression and distress. In all countries the slaves have out-sung their masters. The happy Greeks were not singers. They were not even lovers of music. To a certain extent they were excited and inspired by the shrill pæan of battle; and the genius of the race had produced a narrow gamut of four notes in which the primitive,

monotonous, and chant-like airs known to the people were sung. Nor were the great Romans a people of song. They had some admiration of music, especially for that produced by wind instruments; but it was rather the music of noise than the music of melody and art.

In the midst of the political and social wretchedness of the mediæval Italian cities the spirit of song spread its wings and rose into a new atmosphere. The age which witnessed the revival of sculpture and painting in the hands of the Italian artists witnessed also the de-

Spirit of song
takes wing in
Italian cities;
musical instru-
ments invented.

cities the spirit of song
spread its wings and rose
into a new atmosphere. The

brought into general use. In the latter half of the sixteenth century these instruments were introduced into the cathedral choirs, and became henceforth a part of all orchestral music.

It was at this epoch that the violin also, in the hands of the Anati, was completed—brought to a beauty of form and finish and a sweetness of tone which have not been surpassed in the rarest instruments of modern manufacture.

Violin perfect-
ed; coming of
opera and ora-
torio.

All the skill of nearly three hundred years has not been able in any essential particular to improve upon the Anati violins which were in use at the beginning of the seventeenth century. At the same time, namely, in the last year of the sixteenth century, both opera and oratorio were introduced as the highest forms of musical composition. It was in Florence, and in the year 1600, that *The Death of Eurydice*, a tragedy, was first rendered. During the same year, at Rome, the oratorio was introduced in the form of a religious drama called *The Soul and the Body*. The music was by Peri, the same master who had composed the score of the Florentine opera.—Such were the beginnings of a musical development which, spreading from its original seat through the countries north of the Alps and westward to and beyond the Atlantic, has not yet, even in the hands of Gounod and Wagner, reached the limits of its expansion.

It is one of the strange aspects of mediæval history that Italy, of all the European states, felt least the unifying political tendencies of the Crusades. In the feudal countries north of the Alps the institution of monarchy was rapidly developed as a result of the crusading agitation. Kingdoms sprang up on a large scale, and governments—using the

Centralization of
government im-
peded by the
papacy.



GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA PALESTRINA.

velopment of modern music. Palestrina, born in 1524, was the first chapelmaster of Italy. He composed masses for four voices, and in 1571 became maestro in St. Peter's, at Rome. He was the fore-runner of a great reform in the music of the Catholic Church. In his time keyed instruments were greatly improved. The organ, the virginal, the spinet, the clavicord, and the harpsichord became virtually what they are in recent times. The viol, the guitar, and the flute were



CRUSADERS ON THE MARCH IN ROME.—Drawn by Andrioli.

word in its modern sense—began to show freedom and regularity of action. In Italy, however, where, reasoning *à priori*, we might have expected the largest result in the way of unification, there was really the least. The local jealousies, the inveterate animosities and hatreds of the noble Italian families, the persistency of the little oligarchies which had fastened themselves in the cities, withstood successfully any centralizing tendency which came as a result of the Holy Wars. Nor is it unlikely that the papacy, which by the thirteenth century had grown to be a vast political machine as well as a religious power in Europe, would look with favor on the building up in Italy of such a monarchy as might impede its own pretensions. It was by means of the conflicts, the jealousies, and mutual weakenings of the Italian states, the balancing of the one against the other, that organic Catholicism rose and stood. By becoming the arbiters of civil affairs in Italy, the popes were soon enabled to interfere in the movements of civil society beyond the Alps. So enormous was the growth and expansion, so unlimited the pretensions of this tremendous politico-religious organization, that by the beginning of the sixteenth century the name and terror of the pope were felt in all the affairs of the northern kingdoms, even to the confines of Germany and the British Isles.

It can hardly be now denied that this influence, so far-reaching, so terrorizing in its character, so full of portent and menace to all civil liberty, cast a baleful shadow over all European society. It was in the bright and active Italian cities that this shadow was deepest and darkest. It enabled the political factions to persecute each other with a bitterness never seen elsewhere in communities

of equal enlightenment and progress. It was in this thick cloud, bordered all around with tongues of flame, that the proud and somber spirit of Dante struggled and uttered its cry. Petrarch, Ariosto, Boccaccio—over them all was the same ominous cloud. And as for Savonarola, is not there builded already for him, in the square of brilliant Florence, a platform of wood, a post with chains, and a lighted torch in the fagots underneath?

We are able to see in all these conditions the antecedents of the miserable state into which the society of Italy fell, and from which it has not yet emerged. Few things in human history have been more pitiable than the social degradation of the great race whose ancestors had reared the strongest governmental fabric known in antiquity. The structure of the Roman empire might well be compared, not indeed in its essentials, but in its magnificence and strength, with that of the monarchy of modern England. What, then, should we say if in process of time the seat of British power should be wasted by barbarian invasions? if out of the ruins of the English race, in the home islands, another race should spring? if that other race should be broken up into petty municipalities, full of intellectual activities, but each jealous to the death of all others? if a great hierarchy should stretch out over them all its spectral hands and should encourage rather than stay the quarrels with which they were distracted? if in the midst of all the splendid artistic development and among the beginnings of a new national literature, poverty, squalor, and ignorance should prevail, and beggars should fill all streets?

The circumstances which we have above recited have for centuries together

Baleful influences of the hierarchy in Italian republics.

Sad condition of Italian society; what might happen to England.

stood in the way of the regeneration of Italy. Even the greatness of her local governments, the splendor and renown of her individual cities, have not been

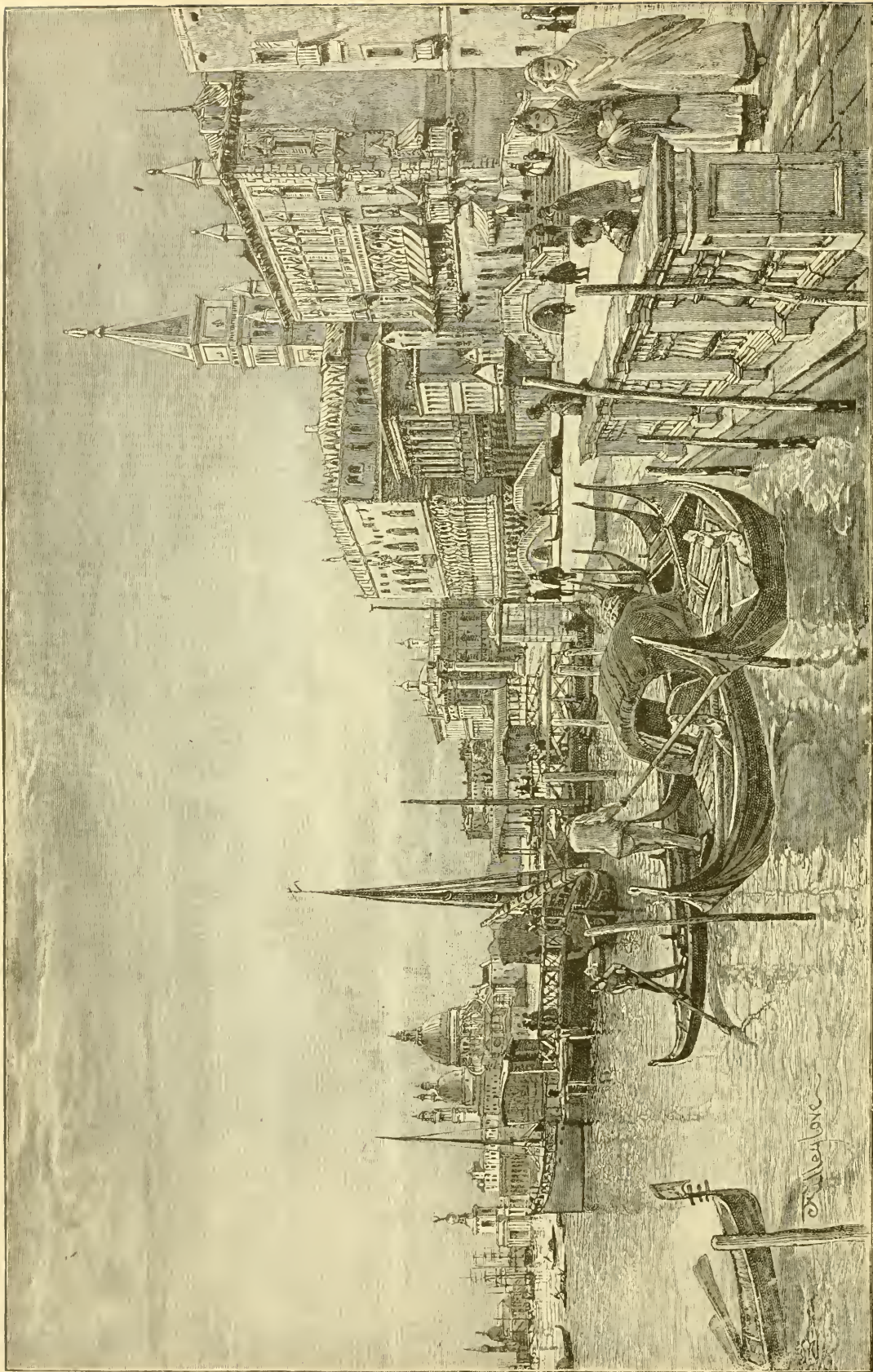
and consider its history in its entirety. Not without its grandeur is this story, not without its heroism and its inspiration; and yet if we look into the inner



MANNERS OF MEDIEVAL ITALIANS.—VENETIAN MARRIAGE.

able to atone for the degradation of the Italian people. It were hard to say what wrongs and vices have not preyed upon the race and eaten into its heart. Take, for instance, the republic of Venice,

state of the Venetian people during all the progressive centuries since the discovery of the New World and the reformation of religion, the aspect might lead from pity to despair. The same is true



VIEW IN VENICE.—THE RIVA DEL SCHIAVONI.—Drawn by John Fulleylove.

of the other Italian cities, even of Rome. Such has been the social distress, we might say anguish, of the Italian people that their writers for several centuries have scarcely had the heart to depict and deplore the sorrows of their countrymen.

The civil mood of Italy in the Middle Ages was lawlessness. Strange that the seat of the great lawmaking race of an-

tiquity should have become the seat of lawbreaking and defiance. Age after age went by with scarcely more than a shadow of a general authority. Even the Italian counts, who somewhat after the manner of feudal lords maintained a princely state in their castles, were little better than robbers. It was in these ages that Italy procreated the *banditti*. Both the fact and the name of this species of brigandage took the place of civil rule, and neither life nor property had further security.

As we come to recent times, the violence that characterized Italian society measurably disappears, but its place is taken by beggary. In no other country this side of Asia have the beggars as a class become so prevalent as in the cities of Italy. The reader is already acquainted with the *lazzaroni*, whose name has been adopted by foreign nations to express the unhappy race which inhabits the filth of almost every great metropolis. Life has seldom displayed itself in a more miserable guise than this. In it the moral and intellectual life has given place to the life of mere hunger and the habits of the dirt. The *lazzaroni* of the Italian cities, especially in the south, are

almost below the level of insurrection. It is an element of society to be abhorred rather than feared—one of the worst facts which regenerated Italy has inherited from the past.

The rekindlings of patriotism among the modern Italians have brought in a new hope for the race. For centuries together Italy has been a sort of appanage, bought and sold and traded, tossed to and fro by the powers north of the Alps. Italian nationality was ground for ages between the Hapsburg and the Bourbon. The Bonapartes made the country of the Cæsars the football of their ambitions and intrigues. Even the diplomacy of the first six decades of the present century looked always askance at Italian nationality, and considered it a sort of side fact which the stronger would use or abuse as they might see fit. The papacy, meanwhile, has resisted with its full power the growth of a national sentiment, feeling itself stronger among the political ruins of the ancient land than it could be in the presence of a united Italy.

It is, therefore, with the highest hope that the patriots of all lands look to the political transformation of Italy. They who have had the good fortune to commingle with the upper classes of Italian society, with that strong and reviving secular society which carries in its hands the best destinies of modern Italy, can but have felt the reflected warmth and light of the fires which have been kindled on the new altars and fed by the strong and rational government of Victor Emmanuel and his son.

Philosophy deplores the social sorrows of the race.

Genesis of the banditti; beggary follows in the train.

Impediments to the restoration of Italian nationality.

CHAPTER LXVIII.—THE FRENCH.



AS we have said, it is by no means our purpose to enlarge upon the great topics presented by the history and development of the Latin races of modern Europe. We are here looking at them simply from an ethnic point of view—considering them as the descendants of the Roman people. Having now merely touched upon the character of the Italians, we pass at once to the still greater development of the ancient race in a people north of the Alps—the French.

Latin, *Franci*, literally the *free*; old French, *Francis*, *Franchois*; new French, *Français*; Spanish, *Frances*; English, *French*;—such are the names by which

the great race between the Rhine and the Atlantic, between the lowlands of the north and the Pyrenees, has been known in history. Its genealogy is, like that of most other great peoples, exceedingly multifarious. The lines of descent would run back into ethnic shadows and darkness. We might say that the foundation is Celtic. *Galli* was the general name which the Romans gave to the primitive people whom they encountered north of the Alps. How Cæsar divided them according to race is known to all. The territories of the Belgæ were not coëxtensive with modern Belgium. They had their range between the Rhine, the Seine, and the Marne. This would take in certain parts of France, Germany, and Holland not now included in the kingdom which has perpetuated the ancient name of the people.

The position of the Aquitani is also

easily determined. Their country was the southwestern division of Gaul. It lay between the Garonne, the Pyrenees, and the bay of Biscay. As for all the rest of that Gaul upon which the Roman legions were flung in the Cæsarian epoch, it was possessed by that people who, according to the language of Julius, were in their own tongue called *Celtæ*, but in Latin *Galli*.

It is to the Galli, then, that we may look as the true ethnic originals of the French people. The Gauls were undoubtedly Celts. They belonged to that great Aryan family which had for its

Place and character of the Gauls in the time of Cæsar.

other European divisions the Græco-Italic and Teutonic nations. As we have seen in another part of this work, the Celtic tribes had come into Europe at a very early age, by departure from the Letto-Slavonic stem, and had passed through the northern regions in a course generally conformable to the coast of the Baltic. Afterwards they had doubled backwards from their extreme excursion into Spain, and had passed along the borders of the Græco-Italic peoples eastward into Asia Minor. It was, however, on the forward march that the Gaulish race had been deposited in the country west of the Rhine. Here the Celts had become a settled people; that is, settled after the manner of barbarians. They had not in Cæsar's time cleared away the forest or passed distinctly from the hunting into the agricultural stage of development; but they were in transition. The evolution had proceeded sufficiently far to give them an ethnic and national character. This fact is pointed out by the Roman writers, notably by Cæsar.

But the Gauls were not the whole foundation. The Belgians were said to differ much in language, institutions, and laws from the Celts of Gaul Proper.

Situation and features of the Belgic tribes.

We might say that the original impulse which had carried the Belgic tribes into their seats was Teutonic rather than Celtic, but the admixture of Celtic blood had made the race composite before the days of the Roman invasions. The condition along the borders between the country of the Galli and the Belgæ was suggestive of the uncertain and variable ethnic phenomena which we see to-day along the Rhine, especially in Alsace and Lorraine.

In the extreme southwest were the Aquitani, who differed much from both the Gauls and the Belgæ.

Mixed race character and inter-fusion of the Aquitanians.

In the chapter devoted to ethnic classification we have already fixed the peoples of the ancient Basqueland and Iberia, found on the two slopes of the Pyrenees, among the Brown races, or on the Mongoloid stem. But the Basques also had become intermingled with the Celtic tribes. There was much fusion and mixture of language and manners. Thus, beginning with strong Teutonic features on the extreme east, journeying westward, we should in the days of Cæsar have come rapidly into a truly Celtic country, and after journeying among tribes of this family, we should in the southwest have come among another composite people, descendants of the ancient Basques, but largely interfused with Gaulish influences, called by Cæsar the Aquitani. Such was the true substratum upon which the Roman race was now to superimpose its language and institutions.

A few time relations must here be borne in mind. The conquest of the barbarian states of Europe by the Ro-

mans had a general coincidence with the Christian era. The ascendancy of the Julian gens in Rome was, so to speak, coördinate with the extension of Roman power to the shores of the Baltic, the banks of the Danube, the Irish sea, and the straits of Gibraltar. The decline of the Roman power began to be distinctly felt on the borders of the barbarian realms about the close of the fourth century, but it required the total collapse of the empire to remove the restraints which Rome had extended over the diverse peoples subject to her dominion.

Five centuries of Roman domination over the Celts.

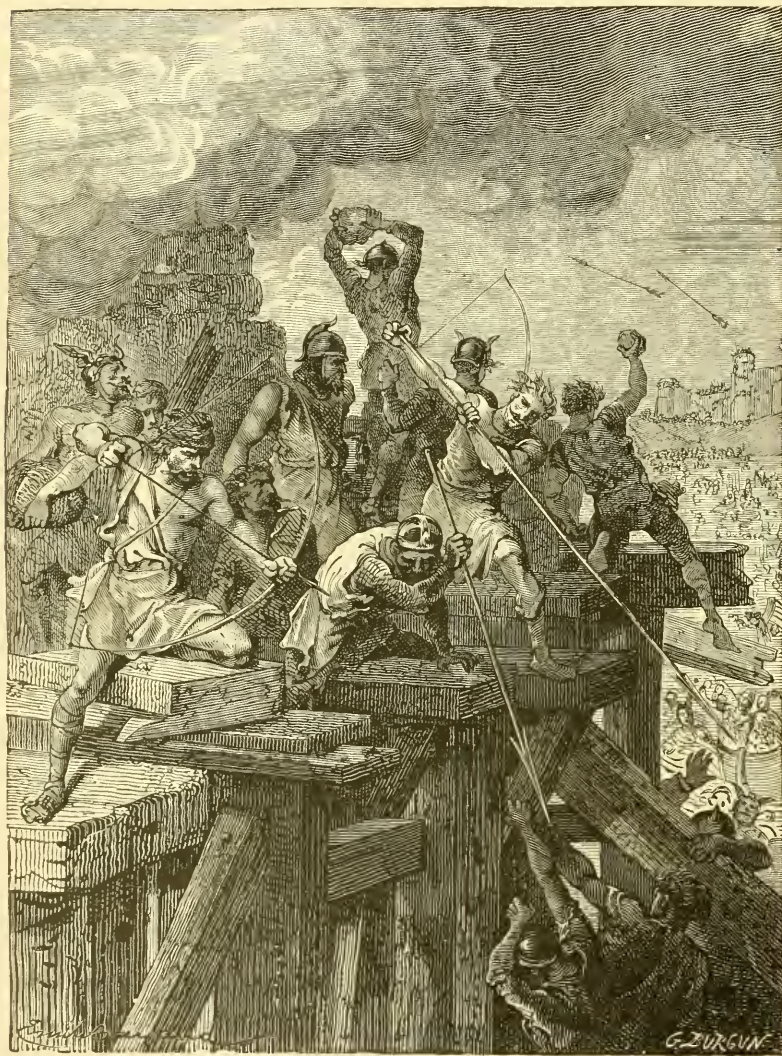
There was thus a period of between four and five hundred years during which Europe was administered from Italy. When we reflect upon the great changes in the aspects of civilization within the limits of a single century, we may readily apprehend the extent to which the rough peoples north of the Alps and the Pyrenees were transformed by Roman influence during the ages of its ascendancy. Of all the states outside of the limits of Italy, Gaul felt most distinctly the domination of the Roman race. Many of the cities were completely Latinized. Roman colonies were established, especially in the south of France. The Latin language was taught in all the schools which were established between Marseilles and the Zuyder Zee. As to a history of this period of the true Roman ascendancy over the peoples of Central Europe, it can never be adequately written. We know the method of the Roman provincial government, and have heard the story of wars breaking out incidentally here and there; but anything like a complete narrative of the transformation by which the Celts, the Galli proper, the Belgæ, and the Aquitanians were transmuted first into

The Gallic race gradually transformed and Latinized.

Gallo-Franks and afterwards into the French people is totally wanting.

We shall hereafter discuss the manners and customs of the Celtic race as they were shown in the tribal nations of Western Europe at the time of the Ro-

Western empire of the Romans. The withdrawal of Roman protection from the half-Latinized Celtic populations of the north, whether in Gaul or in Britain, left the peoples of these lands exposed to the fierce inroads of the Germanic in-



DEFENSE OF PARIS AGAINST THE NORMANS.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

man conquest. We here consider simply the development of that race under Roman and Frankish influences and amalgamations into the French people. The conquest of Gaul by the Franks was nearly coincident with the destruction of the

Frankish invasion begins with withdrawal of Roman posts. The Western empire of the Romans. The withdrawal of Roman protection from the half-Latinized Celtic populations of the north, whether in Gaul or in Britain, left the peoples of these lands exposed to the fierce inroads of the Germanic invaders. Once more the reader must fix his mind upon the border line which Rome had established as the *thus far* of barbarism in the times of her power. From northwest to southeast across Europe lie the two rivers Danube and Rhine. This was the demarcation. Along these streams Rome planted herself and builded her fortresses. The ruins of them may be seen at the present day in attestation of her ancient policy. But with the recession of the Roman legions from the frontier posts, the barbarians broke in like a flood. Gaul was struck by the Frankish nations, just as Italy was struck by the Visigoths and Great Britain by the

Anglo-Saxons. It was a common wave, stayed in some parts of the exposed coast, breaking through in others.

The people whom the Franks overran in Gaul had already become a new composite race. As to their political and warlike character, they had been weak-

ened by a long period of subjection to an authority south of the Alps. The

Gauls receive
new masters and
amalgamate
with them.

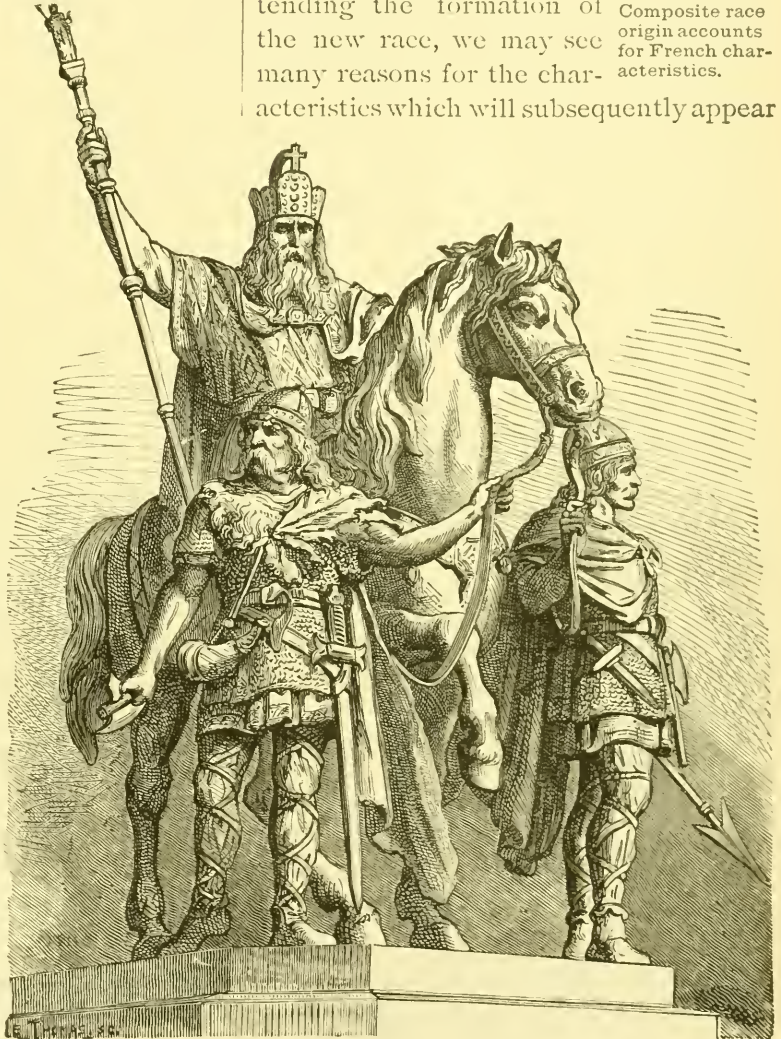
Frankish marauders came in and took possession. It was in some sense an exchange of masters, not for the better, certainly, for the Merovingian rule in primitive France was withal the darkest and most disgraceful period in the history of that country. A German power was now established in the place of the Roman, and that final amalgamation, the union of the Frankish race with the Latinized Gauls, took place. Between the beginning of the sixth century and the age of Charlemagne at the beginning of the ninth, the final ethnic change was accomplished by which the French people proper were to arise from the elementary race conditions which had preceded it.

The Carolingian monarchs of France were Germans. It was a German dynasty down to the accession of Hugh Capet. But the Western descendants of Charlemagne became more and more Gallic in their character. Under their sway the remaining effects of the old Roman domination passed away, with the exception of so much as was preserved and diffused by the Church. That re-

mained a Latin institution as it had been from the first; and to the extent of its influence in France the language, laws, and customs of Rome still survived and were transmitted to the French people.

In the circumstances here sketched attending the formation of the new race, we may see many reasons for the characteristics which will subsequently appear

Composite race
origin accounts
for French char-
acteristics.



EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF CHARLEMAGNE, AT PARIS.

in the rising people. Among these may be mentioned the versatility and diffusiveness which the French have displayed during their whole career. The multiplicity of elements which entered into the original formation of the people gave variety to the activities of the re-

sulting mind. It is not unlikely that the high spirit and enthusiasm of the race may be also accounted for in part by the excited temperament which always results from a composite character. Waters poured together foam and fling their spray; and in like manner the confluence of races, the convergence of different tides of blood, produce an excited, not to say stormy, current, tossing with many passions and swayed by many winds.

Should we attempt to analyze the French character as it appeared in the

Estimate of different race elements in the new people.

times when the monarchy became regular under Hugh Capet and his successors, we should find perhaps *one half* of the ethnic potency to be Gallic; that is, derived from the original Celtic stock which Cæsar found in possession of the country at the opening of the Christian era. This race had been many times subjected, but never exterminated or seriously displaced as the major population of the country. In close union with this we should find the Roman potency, which we might estimate at *one fourth* of the whole. The remaining fourth would have to be traced to a Teutonic origin, first in the half-German Belgæ who constituted one major division of the people at the time of the conquest of Gaul, but more particularly to the Frankish conquests after the overthrow of Roman authority. Possibly the fractions would have to be much altered from what is here suggested if the facts were better known; but in any event the French character, as it has presented itself since the epoch of the Crusades, has in it a preponderance of original Gallicism and only an admixture of Roman and Teutonic elements.

The analysis here suggested has re-

spect to the blood of the French race. Institutionally considered the proportions would have to be changed—greatly changed—in favor of the Roman element. Rome by her organizing and governmental capacity greatly impressed the half-barbarous peoples whom she conquered. In course of time they came to regard her dominion as a blessing rather than a curse. They accepted her laws, her institutions, her methods of government, her language, her literature, and her religion. It was in this sense that the Gallo-Frankish peoples west of the Rhine were transformed to such an extent that, notwithstanding their large derivation by blood from Celtic and Germanic sources, they may be most properly set into the Græco-Italic stem, and regarded as one of the Latin races.

Institutional life of the French derived mostly from Romans.

In the formation of the French people there was after the downfall of the Western empire a long period of social and civil retrogression. When the supporting hand of Rome was withdrawn, chaos, long kept at bay, returned, and the evidences of order disappeared. During the Roman supremacy the cities of Gaul had reached a considerable degree of enlightenment. They became assimilated in their government and their arts to the cities of Italy. Nor might one well discover a difference in the character of the people as he journeyed around the coast from Genoa to Nice, from Nice to Marseilles, or took thence his way to Lyons or Aix. In general, the southern communities were most largely affected by Latin culture, while the towns of the north approximated the barbarian condition. But the greater part of this enlightenment was obscured in the time of the

Decline of the Franco-Gauls after the collapse of Rome.



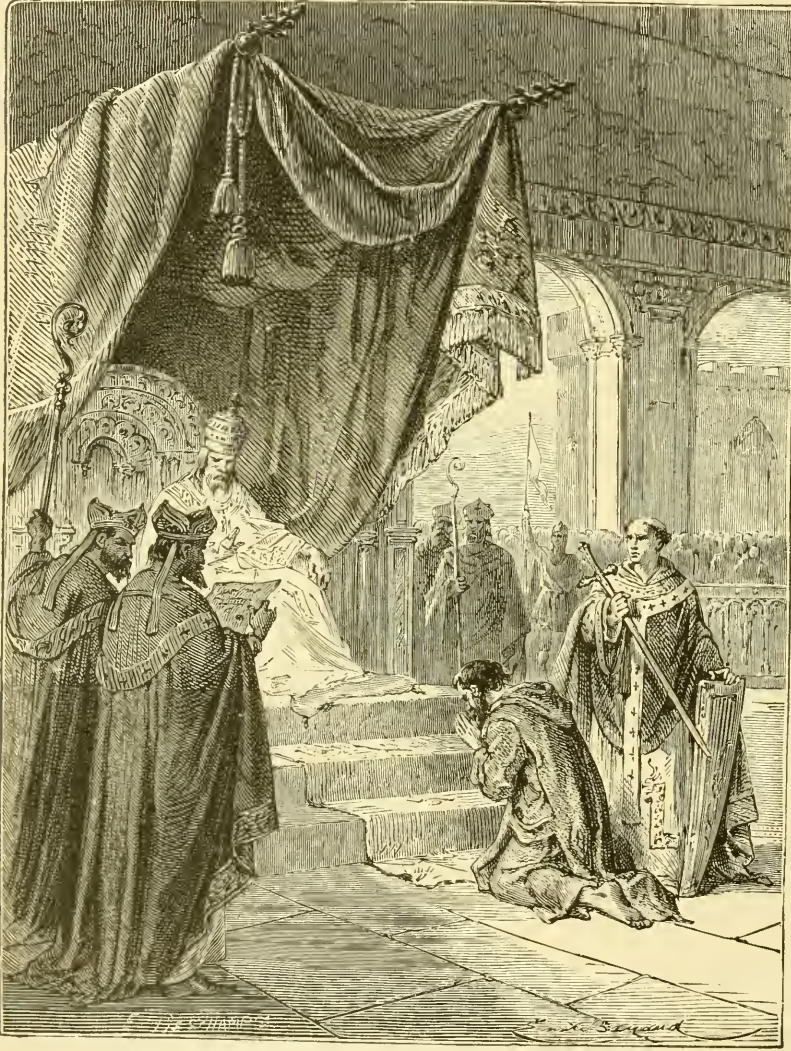
FRENCH CRUSADERS DEPARTING.—PROCLAMATION OF GODFREY AS LEADER.

Merovingians. Great was the disaster when the Roman laws gave way to the rude customs of the Franks; greater still when the Latin schools disappeared from the country, and when the guttural voice of the Franks was heard in-

It was at this epoch in history, and particularly in France, that the Church of Rome displayed her powers in a manner advantageous to the interests of mankind. Whatever may have been

Church of Rome interposes to rescue the ancient learning.

her motives, she sought diligently to shore up the old learning and institutions of the south. The people of France were in a state of extreme ignorance. Few of the citizens, even of the commercial towns, could read; still fewer could write or compute. Geographical knowledge, which had been at once corrected, enlarged, and diffused by the Romans, was again forgotten. In many instances, the people of one town did not know the direction to another in their own country. Skill in the practical arts had disappeared. In a few places, such as Lyons and Marseilles and Paris, manufactures were



POWER OF THE CHURCH—LOUIS THE PIOUS DOING PENANCE.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

stead of the sonorous tongue of Rome. It was a dark and chaotic age. Nor was there evidence of revival until Charles the Great reëstablished the old learning—or so much of it as his coarse, strong mind was able to apprehend—both in France and Germany.

carried on, but not with such vigor as had been displayed of old. As to abstract and general learning, it was neither possessed nor desired.

To remedy this deplorable condition the Roman priests strove diligently during the Dark Ages. They were the

only men in any degree capable of teaching or managing schools. Wherever there was a priest or a bishop in those gloomy times there was a man of superior culture—according to the standard of the age. He belonged, moreover, to a society, to an organization, which was still young, vigorous, ambitious, seeing visions and dreaming dreams. He possessed the only inspira-

tive society of France was salutary in the highest degree. It was the agency of the Church that Charlemagne was able to employ in the revival of learning which he promoted, and which in turn preserved the memory of himself and his deeds.

The student of history is well informed as to the dissolution which ensued after the reign of Charles the



THE FRANKS RECOVER NARBONNE.—DEPARTURE OF THE SARACENS.

tion, the only enthusiasm of humanity known in a dolorous and half-barbarous epoch. He showed himself, moreover, capable of great activities and of great courage. He boldly faced the barbarian chieftain, and holding before his breast the ægis of his priestly office, did not hesitate to rebuke, to counsel, to order the rude ruler in his manners and conduct. It cannot be doubted that the presence of such a force in the primi-

Great. Notwithstanding the support of the priests, notwithstanding their enthusiasm which had been kindled into the highest fervor by the seeming restoration of the empire under Charles, the light proved to be only a fitful gleam on the horizon of a still more doubtful and dismal age. The momentary revival gave place to a complete break-up of civil society. It must not be understood

The Gallo-Franks fall under the dominion of feudalism.

that the estate of man was so low under the feudal system which now ensued as it had been in the times of the Frankish kings; but civil and political unity was completely destroyed. We have seen that in Italy the municipal life triumphed somewhat over feudalism, but in France the latter system—if system that may be called which had none—was completely successful. Society in all its parts fell under the dominion of the feudal principle, and general government, together with all general interests, disappeared.

In another respect the society of France in the Middle Ages furnished a strong contrast with that of Italy. It was greatly affected by the Crusades.

Striking effects of the Crusades on the French race.

In no other country of Europe was the excitement so great and persistent as in the Gallo-Frankish kingdoms. All the social elements were set on fire with the common passion of the times. France was the center of the volcanic disturbance. Her great feudal counts were they who led in the Holy Wars. It might appear that the whole of French society was drawn in the wake of these invasive campaigns into the East. At first the route was overland, across Germany and by way of Constantinople, but afterwards the preference was by way of Italy and the Mediterranean. To see Rome and Venice became an incidental enticement, and the later Crusaders were not satisfied with their work until they had visited the Eternal City and bowed to the successor of Peter.

As the returning bands came home into France, they brought a multitude of new ideas which were at once set free, and filled all the air with their buzzing. Meanwhile, during the two centuries of war the smaller fiefs of the

Frankish kingdoms had been absorbed in the larger, and these into the still larger, until monarchy rose over the ruins of the former system of society. An age of unification set in in which each part of the society of France sought union with the other parts. It was the beginning of that enthusiasm for oneness, for a common cause and a common structure, which has prevailed in the country during the last three centuries. The Crusaders also brought from the East the knowledge of many arts with which they were hitherto unacquainted, and these likewise began to be imitated by the unskillful artisans of France. Various kinds of knowledge were diffused in the French cities, and a new life, more refined and varied, began to prevail. One may see how chivalry as an institution may soon take possession of a society which had thus been purified by agitation and elevated by the introduction of a host of new and romantic ideas.

Now it was that a new language and a new literature arose in France. For centuries Latin had struggled to hold its own against the strong vernacular

Rising of a new language and a new literature.

tendencies, but in vain. The soul and the tongue of the Gaul and the Teuton would have their way, would obey the universal evolution by which the old is abandoned and the new comes to pass, would follow the leadings of patriotism and passion rather than the leadings of foreign grammar. Latin at length yielded the contest and receded into the monasteries. On the tongues of the people something of its resonance and variety remained, but its grammatical forms were lost, and a wild efflorescence of Gallicisms and Teutonisms came out with the springtime on the growing tree of French.

The processes by which an old language is transformed into a new are among the most interesting studies upon which we may enter. Such changes are closer to the mind than any of those external, material changes which we are able to see with the eye and touch with the hand. The transformation is the transformation of thought. It is a lin-

Linguistic evolution indicates a transformation of thought.

grants journeying down a broad highway come to a fork in the road, they may divide at a sharp angle, one taking the right and the other the left-hand branch. For a short distance the company is but little divided; only a tongue of land is between them. Even the children may for a while call across the included angle, shouting their salutations;

In what manner languages part;
Langue d'Oil et
Langue d'Oc.



CEREMONY OF FEUDAL SERVICE.—Drawn by Emile Bayard.

guistic effervescence and precipitation like that of chemistry. But in this case it is the chemistry of the intellect and the spirit of man. Two great varieties of speech now sprang and flourished as Latin fell into decadence. We may fix their areas geographically by the river Loire. North of the Loire the linguistic development took one form; south of the Loire, another.

When a company of travelers or emi-

but as the journey proceeds it requires a louder voice. At length only the hunter's horn, as it is sounded with the morning light in one camp, is heard and answered by the discharge of a fowling-piece in the other. Then the two companies have parted. So in the progress of national differentiation. At the first the new tongue, called the *Langue d'Oil*, spoken north of the Loire must have differed but little from the rising speech

called *Langue d'Oc*, spoken in the south. *Oil* was the old French *ja*, or *yes*, while *oc* was the primitive Provençal for the same affirmative particle. By so slight a circumstance linguists begin to discriminate the one speech from the other. The people on one side of the river were the *Oil yessers*, while those on the other side were the *Oc yessers*. Soon the dialects diverged. Each took its own course, its own aspects and development. Thus from the original Latin root, modified by Gallic and Teutonic influences through several centuries, we see the bifurcation of the French tongue into two varieties, one of which was destined to become, first Old French and then New French, and the other to become Provençal—the latter representing a branch of the Latin race which ethnologists regard as distinct from the Frankish division.

Meanwhile, on the western borders of France, the northwestern borders next the sea, the great province of Neustria has suffered an invasion from the north.

Rolf, the adventurer, the Goer, or Rover, as he was called, has come in with his Norsemen and has possessed the country. At the time of the conquest the inhabitants of Neustria, ethnically considered, were one with the other peoples of France; but under the domination of their northern masters a transformation was soon effected. The phenomena here presented are almost exactly identical with that which afterwards occurred in England. There the Saxon people, after two or three centuries of subjection, grew up like a long-suppressed vegetation through the Norman film, and gave by its superior strength the final impulse in the formation of the new English race and the new English language.

So also the Gallic Neustrians, after

one or two centuries of subjugation, prevailed in numbers and absorbed their conquerors rather than were absorbed by them. But the Norsemen had given a large foreign bias to the manners, the speech, and the institutions of the country; so that by the middle of the tenth century a new language had appeared, which sounded strange to French ears, and which was destined first to produce a literature of its own and afterwards to infect the speech of England to so great an extent as to constitute a powerful element in that language to the present day. This modified and developed tongue of the Neustrians was the Norman French, being the third form of new speech which sprang up within the limits of France after the retreat of Latin from a hopeless contest with popular forces in the field.

Beautiful, even in its germs and first sproutings, was the literature which sprang into being along with these new languages. It was the springtime in all France. Two classes of "makers" appeared. The one sang songs, and the other told stories in verse or prose. Romance was in all the air and in the hearts of men. The singers appeared mostly in the south, in Provence. They were the men of the *Langue d'Oc*, rhapsodists who took the name of troubadours, and became the ballad-makers of the people. Their songs were of love and sentiment. To a certain extent they created their own subject-matter; but otherwise they gathered it out of the past.

Far off to the poets of this early morning appeared the classical ages. The stories and legends of old had been transmitted by many agencies and had become discolored by many transformations. The

Rolf the Ganger comes, and Neustria becomes Normandy.

Gallic Neustrians absorb their conquerors; Norman French appears.

Troubadours and trouveres fill the air with song and story.

Latin monks and schoolmen had recited with an infinity of variations the traditions of kings and emperors, of lords and ladies, of olden time. That great work of fable and miscellany which we now possess under the title of *Gesta Romano-*

From what sources the new poetical literature arose.

that the troubadours flourished in the south of France. The land was full of their warm, fresh songs. The dew of the dawn was on them, the fragrance of early flowers. In course of time this hymnody will be taken up by a more ambitious race of poets. It will be trans-



BALLAD SINGER OF LANGUE D'OC.—Drawn by Emile Bayard.

rum, then lay scattered in its elementary condition in the monasteries; but out of these vague references, escaping by the lips of priests and holy men, the bards gathered the outlines of many a sketch and song. Moreover, the Crusading wars were now in full tide. It was from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries

ferred to England, translated and resung by the poets of the Chaucerian epoch, and will give something of its color and odor to all the subsequent poetry of the English-speaking race.

In the central and northern parts of France the genius of the men of the morning took the form of story. It was

the beginning of verse epics and of romantic prose. Here the *trouvères*

The early story-tellers take up the theme of love and war. wrought into elaborate prose fictions the same legends and traditions which had furnished the subjects of the brief

shoon to the Holy Land, or had worn helmets and wielded swords in actual warfare with the infidels of Palestine, returned to tell the story of the things which they had seen in the far East, and to decorate the narrative with imagina-

tive materials which none might contradict. Truth and fancy were wrought into one so that no man might find the line of the welding. A new life of thought, quickened with visions and dreams, appeared in the feudal castles and in the martial cities of chivalrous France; and a new form of literature became the interpreter of the hope and aspirations of the race.

It was at this early age that the society of France, under the refining influences now present, began to take the lead in Western Europe. The social state was thenceforth more tolerable as well as more enlightened than in Germany, Spain, or England. The fact of



THE TROUVERE ADENEZ AT THE COURT OF MARIE OF BRABANT.

Drawn by Emile Bayard.

songs of their brethren in the south. War and love and wild adventure were the themes which the primitive novelists of the French race took up and adorned with all their wealth of fancy. Already literature was becoming an art in these strong, rude hands. Men who had been pilgrims with scallop shell and sandal

this progress and preëminence was recognized in other countries; and from the thirteenth century onward the polite

people of foreign cities were wont to visit France and to consider her society as the glass of fashion. The industrial arts were also promoted, and French

The new French society takes the lead of Europe.

manufactures became so elegant that those of Italy and the East were almost forgotten in the commerce of the western and northern states.

It was from this epoch that the penin-

countries north of the Alps and the Apennines. Only the Church of Rome, from her throne in the ancient city of the Tiber, continued to assert her rights of religious government, and even of the direction



HENRY OF NAVARRE.—From an old painting.

sulas of Southern Europe, the peoples and institutions thereof, and even their traditional greatness, were measurably neglected in the larger and more promising social and political life of the broad

Civilization leaves the southern peninsulas for the north.

of secular society, in all lands and among all peoples. This circumstance kept Italy bound up in her destinies with the states of the north and west. Otherwise history might be said to have abandoned the south, to have passed the mountains,

and to have set her face toward the North Atlantic.

It can not be doubted that in some respects the kinship of France with Italy, the mother country, her more immediate

derivation from the south, was favorable to her development. Already, in the Middle Ages, France aspired to become the Italy of Northern Europe. She was ambitious at an early epoch to substitute her language for that of Rome in all the polite intercourse of the kingdoms. In this she ultimately succeeded; and for two centuries French was the vehicle of European diplomacy. But in other respects her alliance with Italy, the close relations which she maintained therewith, cost her dearly. It was a fact which stood in the way of the reformation of religion. The predominance of Italian ideas, moreover, since they were such ideas as the papacy approved, encouraged absolutism in the French monarchy, and discouraged the growth of popular liberties. The House of Bourbon was the faithful ally of the Holy See, and the latter was reciprocally true to the Lily of Bourbon. The long prevalence and deep-grounded hold of Bourbonism on the destinies of France were traceable, in part at least, to the prevalence of Italian ideas and influence, the immobility of Romanism, and the protection and support which it afforded to the French throne.

Glancing back again to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, we note the greater growth and expansion of France proper than of Provence. This was seen in the literature of the period. The romances greatly surpassed in extent and variety the simple lyrics of the south. They took for their subjects the high and heroic actions of men, and wrought

them into narrative in a way to fasten the attention and kindle the enthusiasm of the reader. Charlemagne and his descendants, their lives and deeds, furnished the subject-matter for many an extravagant and high-wrought fiction. King Arthur, of Brittany, gave another group of legends out of which the storytellers of the age wrought their romances of adventure. A third group of incidents clustered around the memory of Alexander the Great, who, though lost in the mist of antiquity, seemed almost as near to the unhistorical minds of the epoch as though he had been a contemporary of Charlemagne or Hugh Capet. Nor was it long until he who may be called the father of modern European history appeared, that quaint old Hainauter, who gave us the *Chronicles* of the age Froissart. Born in 1337, he lived until 1410. His chronicle closes with the year 1400, thus overlapping the greater part of Froissart's life. It was in his works that the French language took its established form and became henceforth the vehicle, not only of intercourse among the people, but of a vast and growing literature which has continued to swell in volume unto the present day.

It is necessary, however, to apply to these linguistic and social phenomena the requisite dates before their nature may be well apprehended. It was in the tenth century that the Latin words *ille* and *iste* were converted by corruption into the French demonstratives *le* and *ce*. So slight a circumstance may indicate the time of the primary transformation. From this period the Visigothic and Burgundian population began to use the word *oc*, equivalent to the German *auch*, for *yes*; while the Franks along the Seine said *oil*. After the year 879 the center of the Langue d'Oc dialect and lyri-

The French become the transalpine Italians.

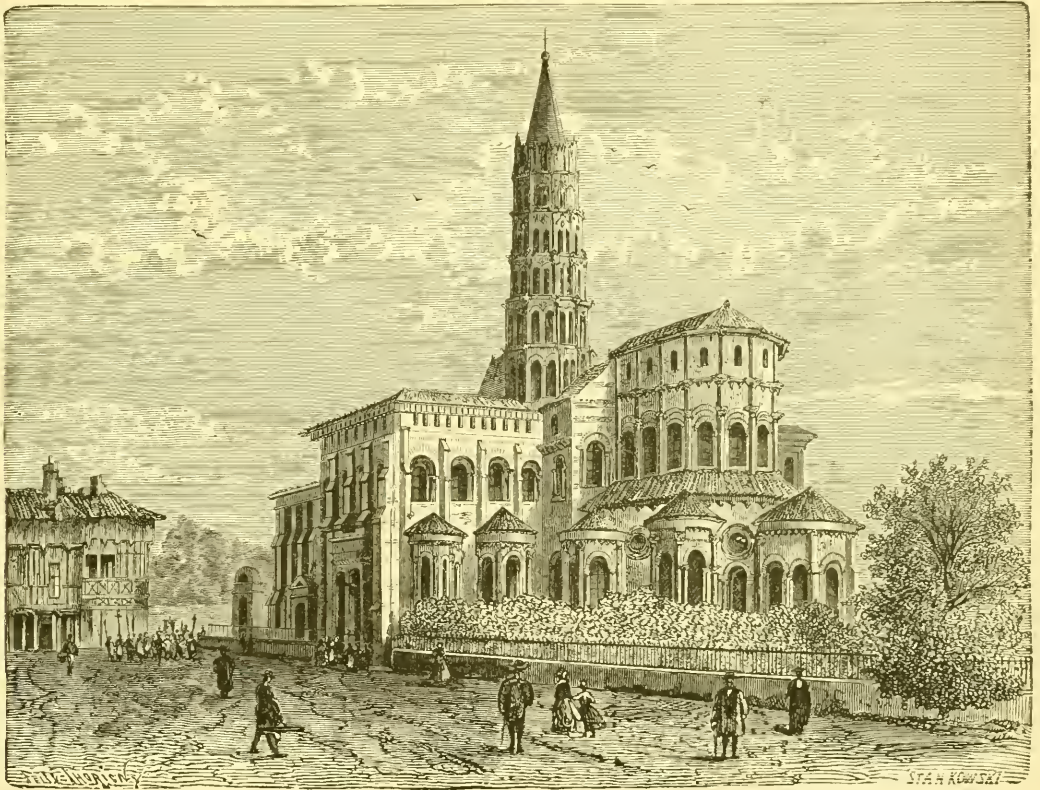
Cultivation of historical fiction; Froissart's "Chronicles."

Times and places of the literary transformation.

cal literature was at the court of Arles. In the first quarter of the tenth century the focus of the *Langue d'Oil*, or rising French, was at the court of the Duke of Normandy. The troubadour effusions were poured out in the two succeeding centuries, while the *trouvère*, or narrative literature, whether in verse or prose, extended from the middle of the

the tendency toward a national literature, had been so marked that as early as the time of the Norman conquest of England, in 1066, the young nobles of that country were sent abroad to receive at Bordeaux, at Toulouse, and especially at Paris, the finishing touches of their education.

Meanwhile, however, the ancient Lat-



PRIESTLY LIFE IN THE CRUSADING EPOCH.—ST. SERVIN, OF TOULOUSE.

tenth century to the close of the eleventh. From the death of Saint Louis the two dialects again approached a common channel. From the council of Clermont in 1095, when the Holy Wars began, to their close in 1291, the dialectical differences existing in France were somewhat obliterated by the tumults and interfusion of the times. The French language proper may be said to date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. But the literary development of France, or

in, in the hands of the Roman clergy, and even at the court, held tenaciously—as the race that formerly spoke it was wont to hold—its old-time prerogatives and power. Not that Latin was any longer employed by the people at large or more than incidentally by scholars and statesmen. But the traditions and usages of the past are not easily unseated from the throne. It was not until the reign of Francis I, in the second

Latin yields to French as the language of the court.

quarter of the sixteenth century, that Latin was formally abolished, and French instituted as the language of the court and the vehicle of diplomacy.

While Central and Northern France civilly, politically, and in a warlike

Provençal society leads in the race of refinement. sense, outgrew the south —while the French language proper and the institutions which sprang therefrom flourished more and more—and while, on the other hand, the Provençal was contracted to a point, the society of ancient Languedoc flourished and blossomed more than that in the valley of the Seine. There has, perhaps, never been a region in which the refinements of politeness were more conspicuous as a national characteristic than in the southern parts of France from the age of the Crusades onwards. Beginning with a chivalrous sense of the deference which was due to woman and with a notion of elegance in costume and manners, this southern culture grew apace until the life of the people seemed devoted to the one great fact of society. Music and song were cultivated. Delicate customs of intercourse were established, and rules of etiquette observed to an extent which might well have been characterized as fastidious in any other than a chivalric age.

It was from this source that Central France began in course of time to draw the elements of refinement. Especially during the reigns of Louis VII and Philip the Fair was the society of Paris set ablaze by the importation of a new culture from the south. Eleanor of Aquitaine came up with her court to be queen of France, and brought with her the exquisite tastes and fancies with which her southern imagination was inflamed. But these qualities grew well

and flourished, springing anew from the soil of Paris. The journey of the French court into the Holy Land, the excitements of that distant campaign, and especially the luxurious winter season which the queen passed at Antioch, still further excited her natural tastes, and led to additional splendor on her return to the French capital.

Thenceforth the court of Paris was the most brilliant in all Europe. Nor has that claim ever been renounced to the present day. Even the setting up of occasional republicanism on the banks of the Seine has not obscured, much less obliterated, the splendid fashions and courtly society of the capital.

This social effulgence of the French people, shining out brilliantly in an age when all the rest of European society still sat in darkness, was in a high degree diffusive. Nothing is more contagious than a fashion, particularly if the fashion relates to elegance and beauty. Queen Eleanor had the fame of carrying polite society to another court, that of England, where she became queen of Henry Plantagenet, founder of the Plantagenet dynasty. Doubtless the burly Englishmen of this turbulent period looked with astonishment upon the French blossom which their king had planted in the fogs of London; but the sight was none the less an inspiration. Other capitals were likewise affected with the warmth and radiance of the French court, and the high society of all Western Europe began to be elevated to a plane of superior refinement. It is not meant that the social condition of France in the period under consideration was as pure as its external elegance might indicate. On the contrary, there were many and dreadful vices hidden under the politeness and courtesy of the

Paris draws beauty and enthusiasm from the south.

draw the elements of refinement. Especially during the reigns of Louis VII

Warmth and diffusiveness of the French society.

age. But even this state was far superior to the coarse brutality, the ribald gluttony and boorishness which had been the prevailing mood in all courtly halls during the Dark Ages.

In the retrospect, changes in human

ancient feudal system of civil government and the new methods of monarchy. Feudalism gave place with extreme reluctance to the improved forms of public administration. The old system was local and peculiar; the new system was



FRENCH CARPENTER AND MAIDSERVANT—MEDIÆVAL TYPES.

society appear to have been easily effected, as if they came about with the saying; but not so. Nearly all social change is violent. Revolution is rarely peaceable in its methods. In that age of history when the New World lay waiting for a discovery, a great struggle was going on in France between the

Struggle of feudal society to hold out against monarchy.

general and of universal application. Feudalism considered as a system was at once social, civil, and political. We might almost say it was a religious institution. At least it compelled the Church to take its form and fashion, if not its substance. As the monarchy of France arose and stood, feudalism opposed it. We speak here of the condi-

tion of affairs in the fifteenth century, when Charles of Burgundy, commonly called Charles the Bold, stood forth as the head and representative of the old system of society, and when Louis XI appeared as the representative of the new. If this had been merely a conflict between an old and a new system of civil administration, it might be passed by with little notice. But the struggle lay much deeper than mere political forms. It involved the very structure and essence of society.

The student of history will readily recall the issue. So far as the government was concerned feudalism went down with Charles the Bold. The great counts and barons became subject to the King of France, and a system of general administration was henceforth prevalent to the borders of the kingdom. It frequently happens, however, in movements of this kind that some elements of society are revolutionized while others remain in their former condition. It is not often, indeed, that all the social forms among a given people are upheaved and remodeled by a single effort. As a political system feudalism passed away about the time of the discovery of America, but as a social system it continued in France for about three hundred years. At bottom it was a system of landownership and rentals for fief service. It encouraged the creation of great estates. It implied that lands belonged originally to the suzerain, and that all subordinate rights were derived from him. The result was that they who tilled the soil were rarely, if ever, its owners. They were tenants, vassals, villains in the language of the times. It was a system which, as we have seen, for a long time held all Europe in its grip. Nor has the feudal system yet been extinguished,

Political feudalism perished, but social feudalism remained.

even under the democratic and republican movements of the English-speaking race. In France it remained for the great revolution of 1789 to give the deathblow to the ancient form of society, and to accomplish the regeneration which had been long postponed.

We may, therefore, look upon French society during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries as a product of feudal and chivalrous principles, modified by literature and the Roman Church. It can not be denied that it was a society which suffered many hardships and won many victories. It was the great formative age so far as the genius and character of the French people were concerned, and it is befitting to notice some of the social qualities which were engendered in the epochs under consideration.

French society the mixed product of several ethnic forces.

Governmentally, it was the long domination of the Houses of Valois and Bourbon. The temper, spirit, and ambition of these monarchs are well understood.

Character of French court under the Valois and Bourbons.

Proud, arbitrary, warlike, unscrupulous, reckless in method, splendid in show, they gave to the monarchy a character of brilliancy, luxury, and wickedness. The French court was the effulgent, formal, and fashionable body in which the remaining energies of magnificent feudalism found vent and expression. Nothing could surpass the showy formalities and mannerisms, the rich costuming, and the inner insincerity of the aristocratic group which the Bourbon kings gathered about their palaces. It served to dazzle the eyes of foreign diplomats and to diffuse through all Europe a reputation for magnificence and courtly grandeur, the like of which has not been seen in any other Western nation.

Ethnic history, however, has not much to do with courts and pageants and royalty. They are many times so far removed from the life of the race of which they appear to be the blossom and fruit as to be utterly misleading. We are obliged to descend from the palace into the city, into the mart, into the country place, before we can discover the real laws and processes of national life. Following the flight of the social arrow, therefore, from the palace to the people, we come, in post-mediæval France, to many and most interesting aspects of human development. It is here that we first in modern Europe strike those lineaments of society with which in some degree we are familiar.

Be it known that the societies of the ancient world are exceedingly difficult to apprehend as they were. The beliefs, the tenets, the principles by which they were actuated, have either perished or been transmuted into other forms. It is doubtful whether any particularity of scholarship or intensity of reflection will enable the modern reader to apprehend fully the feelings, the emotions, the hopes and fancies, even the manners and tangible expressions, of ancient society. Those old forms of human life passed away amid the convulsions in which the Roman empire perished. They have been seen no more, or, if seen at all, in such different guise as to be no longer recognizable as the same. But in France of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries we begin to discover sentiments and manners with which we are familiar. The artificial refinements of intercourse, the indirection and coquetry which have been the peculiarities of all modern courtship, the romantic fervor of the

True race history finds its materials among the people.

Difficulty of apprehending the spirit and forms of old societies.

youthful period as compared with the prosaic commonplace of mature life, and many other features of modern society were already apparent when Henry of Navarre carried the white plume of Bourbon to the throne of France.

If we look carefully at the French people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we shall discover already the full evidence of that joyousness and sociability for which the race has been remarked upon in modern times. The general mood of the European peoples north of the Alps and of their descendants in the New World has been one of gloom, of melancholy, of silent brooding over griefs, and the rigor of sorrowful memories. Since the Dark Ages there has been something half-sardonic about human laughter. The smile of modern times has always a symptom of the geometric curve. It seems to play about a visage whose habitual mood is dolor. One must needs perceive how great an effort it is on the part of modern nations to be hilarious. All modern poetry grades off into the world of melancholy and doubt. The song of the thrush gives place to the song of the nightingale, and the song of the nightingale sinks into the plaint of the whip-poor-will.

French joyousness contrasted with the gloom of other races.

To all this the social disposition of the French people has opposed itself. It has shown its capacity for cheerfulness, even for mirth. That backward look, sweeping far over the graves of dead ancestors, the ruins of dead cities, and the mockery of dead beliefs, has not been able to cast its shadow over the happy disposition which the French mind has possessed and perpetuated. One might almost believe that France had known no sorrow when he reflects

Exuberant spirits and quick revival of the French people.

upon the exuberant spirits which the people for the last four centuries have displayed. No catastrophe has for a long period darkened the joyous instincts and recuperative genius of this light-minded people.

tion of the French, and have made a mock of their airy lightheartedness and joy. They have called it frivolity, recklessness, the absence of serious purpose, and many other reproachful and satirical names. But after all, has it not been

of the vastest importance to modern times that at least one great people of Europe has been able to smile and live?

As early as the times of the great wars with England the French nation, socially considered, began to display striking recuperative powers of the French genius.

that peculiar elasticity and recuperative power for which it has since been noted. Disaster to the people of France has not meant the same irretrievable thing that it has signified in other countries and among other nations. Doubtless the French mind feels most keenly the shock of adversity. Doubtless misfortune, calamity, national and social catastrophe, bring a sudden despair; but

the recuperation is immediate. The French genius turns at once from the contemplation of ruin to the possibility of recreation.

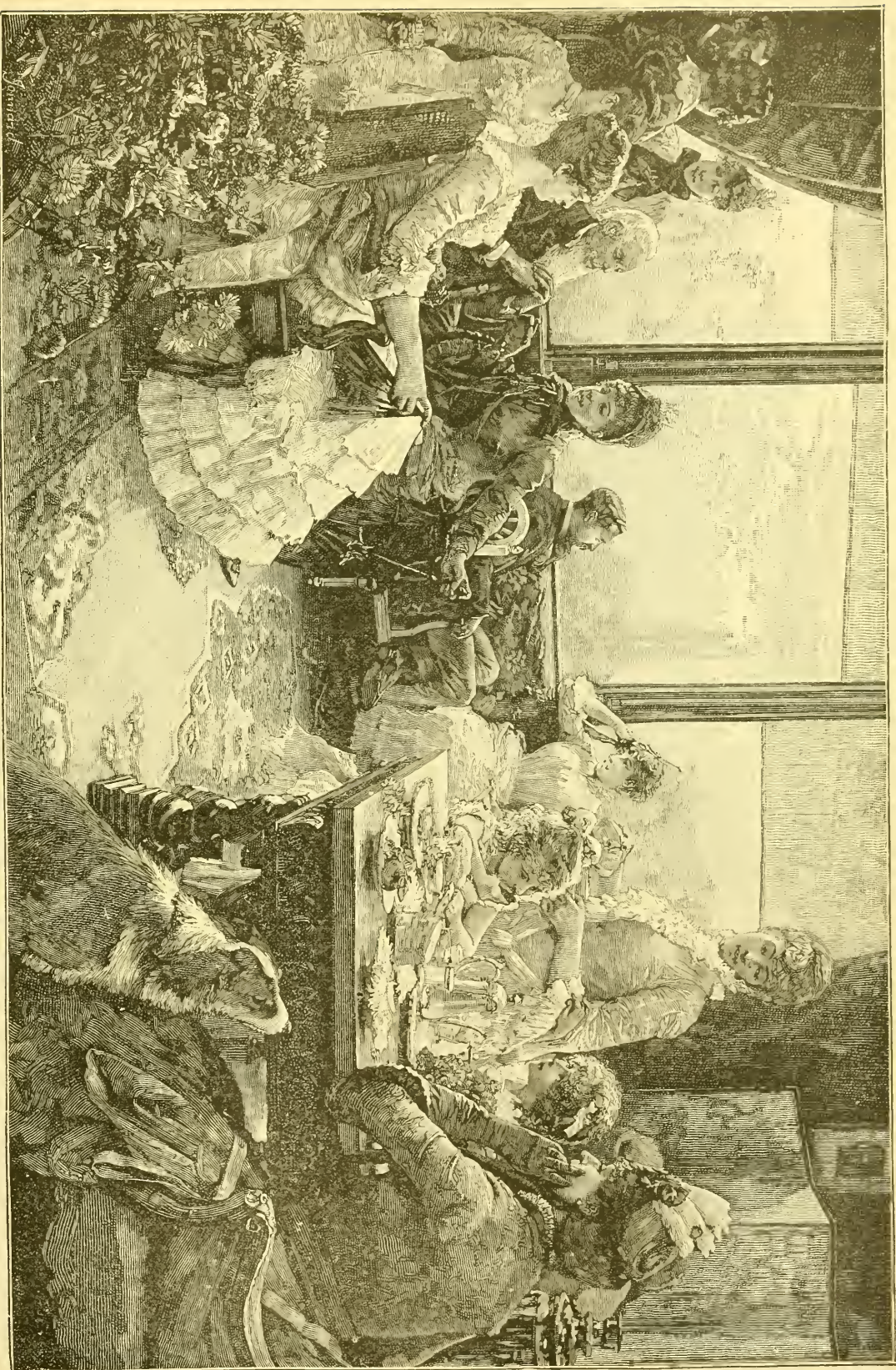
Since the formation of the French character in the century following the Crusades, hundreds of instances might



MEDIEVAL BATTLE OF FRENCH AND ENGLISH—JOHN AT POITIERS.

The heavier and more sedate races round about, particularly those of Teutonic descent, busied with the discouragements of memory and with gloomy philosophical reflections, have been unable to appreciate the jocund disposi-

Other peoples do not appreciate the jocund French spirit.



FRENCH MANNERS.—EVENING Tea.—From the painting by J. L. Stewart

be cited in which both kingdom and people seem to be plunged into ruinous conditions; but the elastic spirit which has pervaded the race has in every instance sprung up on the morrow with renewal of vigor and forgetfulness of disaster. It has thus happened that the French have sustained themselves through such seasons of calamity as would have overshadowed other peoples for generations. It has been the wonder of historians and philosophers, as they have swept the field in the days immediately succeeding the greatest misfortunes, to find in France so little evidence of the recent tempest. There is something in it like the revival of the natural world. We have seen a tempest in early summer, when all orchards promised abundant fruit, when all cornfields were darkly green with their luxuriant growth, when all harvests were touched with the premonitory flush of the golden reaping day, drop suddenly out of the ominous clouds, and sweeping over the landscape, prostrating everything in its course, leaving chaos behind. But behold the work of a single night and the sunshine of a single day! Nature revives. The orchards recover themselves. The stalks of dark green corn rear their tassels and display their silks. The prostrate wheat fields rise and stand, and make ready for the bridegroom reaper. The storm has not proved to be death, but only disturbance. It has been so in French society. The head is lifted after the cataclysm. The elastic spirit comes with the recession of the storm, and the quick genius of the people smiles and recovers itself while the reverberation of the receding artillery is still heard in the horizon.

Another characteristic of the French mind is its love of social beauty. In

this respect the genius of the people would seem to be in analogy with the spirit of the ancient Greeks. It can not be said that the admiration of things beautiful and the desire to possess them are so powerful, so much in the nature of passions, among the French as they were in Athens and Corinth; but there is an analogy. The spirit of the people of France has a further likeness to the old Greek in its neglect of moral principles in the presence of beauty. We are here speaking simply of the beautiful in social organization, in manners, in intercourse, in habit. It can not be doubted that the French people have failed to insist upon the enforcement of certain moral laws in society, but always with the proviso that society shall be beautiful, that it shall be clean and elegant as to its outer forms and semblance. The proviso has been a *sine qua non*. No other modern people have been so intolerant toward all superficial ugliness in society as have the French. They have insisted with single pertinacity that gracefulness, good manners, and beauty of method shall characterize every movement of social life. It is this principle which has made the French people so easily the standard bearers of polite and fashionable life for all the Western nations. It might well seem amusing, if it were not so instructive a lesson, to witness the surly deference and reluctant imitation of French refinement, politeness, vivacity, and fashion which Great Britain for several centuries has been constrained greatly to the hurt of her national pride, to follow with respect to her neighbors south of the channel.

French refinement in the last three centuries has extended both upward and downward from the medium level of manners and social custom: upward

Buoyancy of national character and recovery from disaster.

French love of the beautiful in society and habit.

through all the organizations which the French people have formed for the promotion of knowledge, of art, and instruction. The museums which she has created as the receptacles of her own artistic products, and of the products

French refinement extends upward to art, downward to industries.

of other peoples as well, have been characterized from the first by a certain elegance of subject-matter and method which has drawn to her collections the admiration of all enlightened peoples. Her learned societies have been conducted according to the same principles. Her great libraries, particularly the Library of France, have been no less the exemplification of the good taste and elegant management of

had abandoned the coarse, heavy foods of barbarism, the French had adopted the light and elegant viands on the production of which they have so greatly refined in recent times.

The carnivorous appetite was thus abated and a more delicate manner of



PARIS OF TO-DAY—THE CAFÉ.

which the French mind has shown itself so capable than the depositories of the best knowledge of the age. But the refinement has extended downward also into the industrial arts and to the very labor of the shops and fields. In her food supply—in both its production and its treatment—France has led all the nations of the West. Long before the other leading peoples of New Europe

sustaining life introduced among the French, while the peoples beyond the Rhine on the Baltic shores, and particularly in the British islands, were still feasting in the gluttonous manner of barbarians. It was this national disposition which has led the French peoples to reject and displace the heavy alcoholic and fermented liquors, and to sub-

Coarseness of other races replaced with French delicacy.

stitute therefor those light and elegant wines the drinking of which has been habitual and universal for two centuries. In those means of subsistence which were gathered from the gardens, the orchards, and the fields, the same discriminating taste has led to the choice and cultivation in France of all the more fine-flavored vegetables and fruits and to the rejection of the coarse, fiery, and offensive products which some other peoples of less refinement persist in eating even to the present day.

In the preparation of their food and in the manner of eating, from the common meal of the frugal peasant to the banquet of princes of the blood, the same

The French table becomes æsthetic and banqueting a fine art.

delicacy and good manners

prevailed at an early day

in France; and these have

marked the taking of food and drink among the French people to the present day. Even in conviviality, in the public banquet, in the hilarity and exuberance of wine-drinking and satirical repartee, a certain refinement of manner has half-redeemed the vice and moral relaxation which such customs in society necessarily engender. It has, on the whole, been of no little importance to the great civilized peoples of to-day, all of whom have a barbarian ancestry not very far behind them, that a standard of elegant manners and courtesies should be set up in the heart of Western Europe and promoted by the enthusiastic example of the most sociable people of modern times.

The early and exquisite development of society in France appears in some

Social refinement has been substituted for political development.

sense to have absorbed

the principal energies and

genius of the race. They

who could invent the best manners and customs, the greatest refinements of intercourse, have shown themselves un-

able to devise any wise system of political life. In this respect the early connection with Italy cost France dearly. Down to the present century there has been a slumbering project in the minds of imperialists, carefully cherished by the Roman Church, to recreate on French soil an empire in which Latin principles of government should prevail over the experiences of modern times. While this effort has not been successful, it has postponed to a late age the growth of rational liberty among the French. While personal liberty has reached a very high degree of development, while the personal emancipation of man has gone forward to an extent in France that could hardly be paralleled in any other country, civil liberty, political emancipation, has either lagged or has gone forward with sudden bounds and revolutionary plunges which, on the whole, have been little productive of permanent freedom.

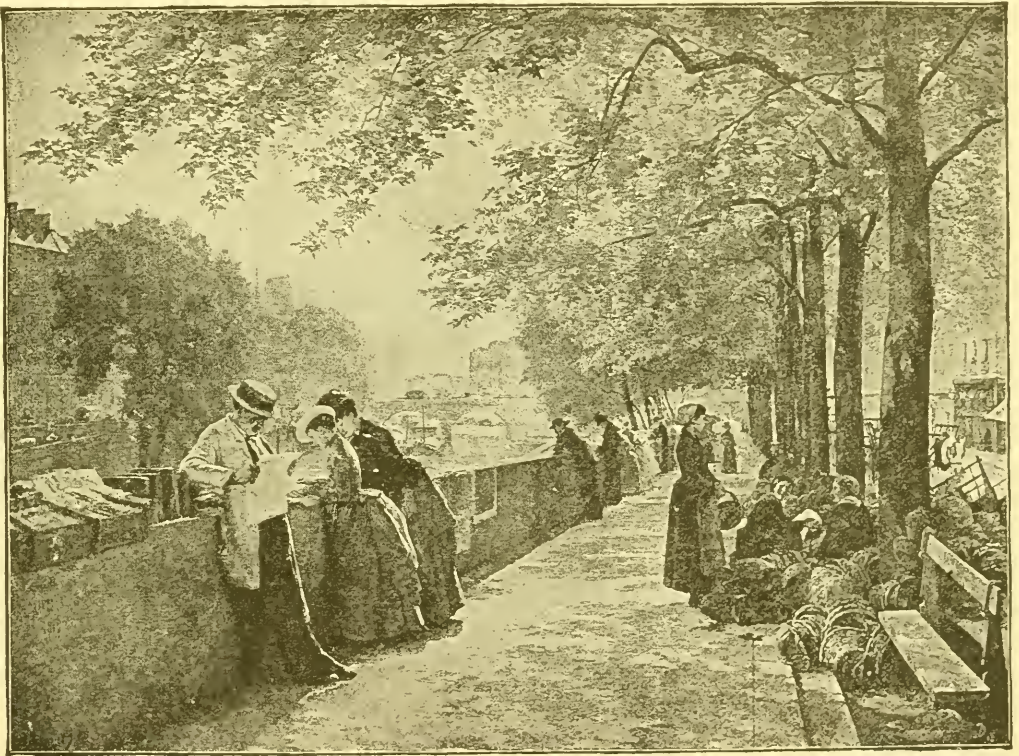
It is one of the most interesting historical studies which the modern world presents to trace out the correlations of social and political growth in the two great countries of France and England. While the society of France has made the most rapid progress, while the mind of man in that country has attained an individual freedom, a largeness of personal and rational activities for which we should look in vain in the British islands, it has remained for England, by adopting the law of experience instead of the law of the past, to surpass France in the establishment of rational civil liberty. On the governmental side the wisdom of the English-speaking race, its prudence, its caution, its common sense, may be contrasted with the unwisdom, the fitful exertions, the reactions, and political follies of France, to the

Contrast of French and English races as to civil growth.

just disparagement of the latter country. Here, however, the true student of history, if he look down deep into the antecedents of the two peoples, will be able to discover how it is that elegance of social forms, politeness of intercourse, geniality, sociability, diffusiveness, enthusiasm, have prevailed among the French people and have become habitual and unconscious in the usages of the

even childish as to be inexplicable to the minds of those whose political judgment has been perfected by close observation and experience in the channels of English and American life.

As a rule the genius of a people flows forth in some particular direction. The development is conspicuous along some peculiar line of activity and only incidental along other lines. We have



PARIS OF TO-DAY—TYPES AND MANNERS.—GOSSIPS ON THE SEINE QUAYS.

race, and how on the other side of the channel a certain heaviness, dullness, apathy, immobility, and coarseness have held back the society of England from the refinement to which, according to other criteria, it ought to have attained. But on the civil and political side the picture is wellnigh reversed. In this feature the Gallic race is disparaged by historical comparisons. In this respect the methods and policies of the French people seem so irrational and

seen how the Greeks gave themselves to the beautiful in literature and art, how the Romans devoted their energies to the construction of a great state and to an elaborate system of jurisprudence. The English-speaking world is political in its activities. In all countries where the English language is spoken political prejudice amounts to a passion, and political affairs absorb the interest and energy of the people. It is one of the rea-

English-speaking peoples sacrifice art for politics.

sons for the slow development of art and the discouragement of genius among the English-speaking peoples.

The French race has given its chief energies to society. At intervals it rouses itself to a very high degree of political activity, but it is difficult to maintain an interest in civil affairs from period to period. The sympathies and tendencies of the people are all really

effect a given result. A social preparation is necessary to every common action and applause is demanded at the close. So strong is this instinct that it has appeared to draw away the energies of the race from public affairs on the one side and from merely domestic affairs on the other. The political organization is almost dissolved in the warmth of society, and the family is almost dissolved in the same heat.

Energies of the French devoted to social accomplishments.



OUTDOOR LIFE OF THE FRENCH.—PROMENADE AT NICE.

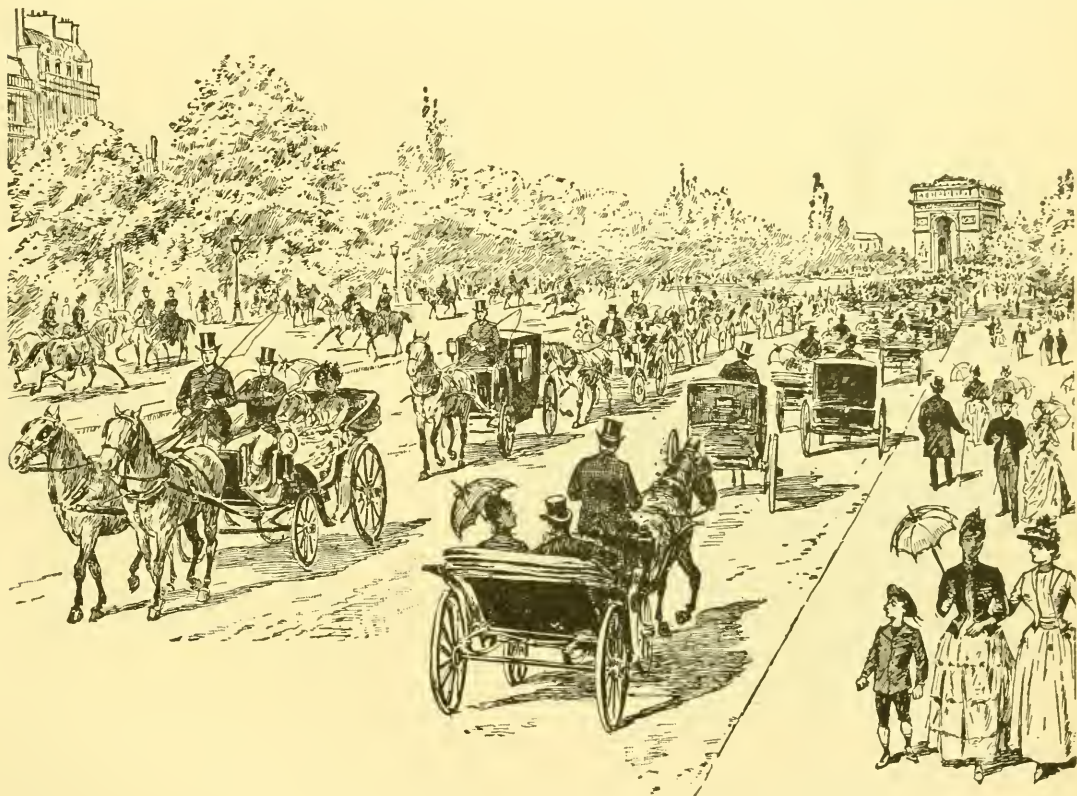
in the direction of society properly so called. All their instincts are gratified with the contemplation of social perfections. They have refined upon all of the processes and forms of intercourse, and have cultivated the disposition of the race in all matters relating to association. There has never been a mind less solitary, less capable of single exertion, less able to maintain its energies in an isolated state than is that of the French. Every kind of activity depends upon a rushing together of many, and a common exertion is required to

Considering the disposition of the French people to rush into association, to crowd into public places, to throng all gardens and all cafés, under the desire of intercourse, we might suppose the people to have a tropical environment. We should expect that such instincts could only be displayed under the fascination of a snowless, stormless climate. France, as compared with many other parts of Western Europe, has a genial air and a balmy sunshine; but there is no such excess of these elementary con

Desire for social intercourse predominates over other passions.

ditions as to excite the social passion which we see in full activity among the French. In so far as climatic conditions favor the outdoor life the race has felt the stimulus; but in despite of all climatic opposition the instinct works out the same results. Winter and summer, north and south, under all circumstances and all conditions the people respond with alacrity to every social incitement,

the German- and English-speaking channels of life the more perfect the social structure the more complete the absorption of the single life. No other circumstance in modern civilization is a greater menace to the welfare of mankind than the irrational and forceful suppression of individuality in the higher forms of German, English, and American society. From it there is no escape



FRENCH SOCIETY.—THE BOIS DE BOULOGNE.

and find their chief pleasure and consolation in mingling joyfully with their fellow-beings.

There is, moreover, something peculiarly praiseworthy in the dispositions of the French with respect to the individual

English and
American races
destroy individ-
uality.

life in its relations with society. Among the Teutonic races the complete devel-

opment of social forms has always meant the subordination of the individual. In

except a flight for refuge to the wild frontiers and fastnesses of the mountains. One of the striking features of American society during the larger part of the nineteenth century has been the constant emigration of its best and strongest elements from the older and stricter communities to the freedom of the frontier line. Not that society has been good on the edge of the wilderness and the prairie; not that advantages

have abounded in the wild Western valleys; but there has been an emancipation by flight, a reassertion of freedom, and a consequent growth of all the hardier virtues and stronger faculties which were quenched under the precisianism of the old societies. For a century past the strongest, most active, most resolute residue of the Anglo-American people, now the most numerous branch of the race, has been found fluctuating further

played itself, particularly since the revolution of 1789. The man of Germanic, English, or American descent is astonished at the molecular freedom of French society. Every particle oscillates among its fellow particles as if the mass were water or quicksilver. There is no rigidity and therefore no suppression. It is a circumstance which has told upon the intellectual development of the French. It has reflected itself into every depart-

ment of mental and even industrial activity. It has given a cheerful and spontaneous character to every aspect of French enterprise. It has permitted the individual torch to shine in the general glow of social illumination, and has thus reserved for the individual man the consciousness of contributing to the warmth and light, the effulgence of his age and country.

Closely connected with the swarming sociability of the French people is another quality of mind which has given tone and character to all the literature of France. This is the disposition to generalize on the results of knowledge, and to construct from miscellaneous data gathered from many sources the laws and principles by which they are governed. Society may be called the

Strong disposition of the French mind to generalize.

generalization of man, and literature is in some sense the generalization of knowledge. It could not be truly said that, as a rule, the French mind has been patient in the investigation of details; but it has been exceedingly patient in investigating general laws. It may be well in this connection to explain briefly those two great processes of analysis and synthesis by which knowledge has been increased and diffused among mankind.



FRENCH MILITARY OFFICER—TYPE.
Drawn by Riou, from a photograph.

and further from the reach and domination of those hard and inelastic social structures which Old England and Old America have insisted on building as homes for the habitation of men.

In France this disposition has not existed. She has agreed that her people may be sociable in the

The French concede individuality and social freedom. last degree and yet retain their individual volition

and spontaneity. This is the happiest circumstance of French life as it has dis-

If the inquirer strikes with his stick a fragment of a nutshell, how shall he proceed to learn as much as possible of the fact which is discovered? In the first place, he may proceed *analytically*. He may weigh the bit of nutshell in a balance. He may note its color and its form; its physical qualities as to hardness, brittleness, tenacity, etc. He may test its specific gravity by noting the quantity of water which it will displace. Then he may begin a chemical examination. He burns the nutshell or dissolves it in acid. He finds so much oxygen, so much carbon, nitrogen, hydrogen, potash, soda, salts of the earth, etc. Thus downward and downward he proceeds from the fragmentary fact with which he began until he has divided that fact into its ultimate elements and considered each as to its quantity, its quality, and its essential nature.

Or, on the other hand, he may start upwards from the fragmentary nutshell and proceed *synthetically*. He may draw, in the first place, a conjectural sketch of the whole nutshell of which this is a part. He may then proceed to consider the fruit of which the nut is but the seed. From the fruit he will rise to an inquiry concerning the tree which bore the fruit; what kind of a tree it was; where it grew; the circumstances of its growth, and the conditions necessary that such a tree may grow and bear. From this he rises still higher, to consider the group of trees of which the particular tree is a member; the other species of the group; the genus of tree to which all these species belong, and the place of the genus in the vegetable kingdom whereof it is only a part. He

may then glance at the whole vegetable kingdom, noting the locus of the particular genus which he has had under consideration, and from the vegetable he may still glance upward to the other general kingdoms of nature; the animal, the mineral, etc. He now has before him a general view of all nature so



YOUNG WOMAN OF ZICAVO—TYPE.
Drawn by G. Vuillier.

far as the world is concerned. He apprehends the order of physical existence on our planet. But from this he may rise to the consideration of other worlds, to the solar system, to the universe, and to the infinite laws and processes by which that universe is governed.

This is to generalize. The inquirer has in this process employed synthesis as he employed analysis before. He has risen instead of descended. He has

Illustration of
the synthetic
method of inves-
tigating facts.

reached up by successive steps from the small fact to the greater fact of which it was a part, whereas in the other case he proceeded from the given fact to the smaller facts which were the parts thereof, and so downward and downward to elementary conditions.

Now there is a widespread ethnic difference among men with respect to these two processes. Some Great difference among races respecting the analytic and synthetic methods. races prefer analysis. It is their natural intellectual mode of action. Others are naturally synthetic in their dispositions. The former are patient in the investigation of details; the latter, in the discovery of general laws. The former produce the elements of knowledge, and the latter combine those elements of knowledge into general systems of thought.

The French have been peculiar, even preëminent, among the peoples of modern times in their ability to generalize. They have a natural tendency to rise from the consideration of particulars to the contemplation of generals. They take the results of inquiries which they themselves would never have had the patience to prosecute, and are skillful in placing together those results and in discovering the laws by which they are to be explained. In a few instances French scholars of the last two centuries have shown themselves capable of investigating the difficult details which have been presented in new fields of inquiry; but they have been the exceptions. As a rule, French thinkers have pursued exactly the opposite course. They have gathered up the *disjecta membra* of human knowledge and put them together in coherent systems, making those systems valuable in the intellectual development of other peoples, and indeed of the whole human family.

It may be said that synthesis is not originality. This, however, will depend upon the definition. If it be meant that originality consists only in discovering new data, in bringing new facts to light, then it might be said that the French people are not strikingly origina^{ti}ve. If it be claimed that it is not an origina^{ti}ve process to find the immaterial principles which underlie such facts, then it might be truly alleged that the French are an unorigina^{ti}ve people. But if originality should be defined as the process of discovering the general laws by which facts are elucidated and held together in organic union, then the first claim to the origina^{ti}ve faculty might be allowed to the French. They have shown themselves more capable than any other modern or ancient people in discovering and binding together the segregated parts of human knowledge; and it is for this reason that the contributions of other nations to the wisdom of the world are frequently sent through France before they are delivered to the world—a fact which Guizot was the first to point out and emphasize.

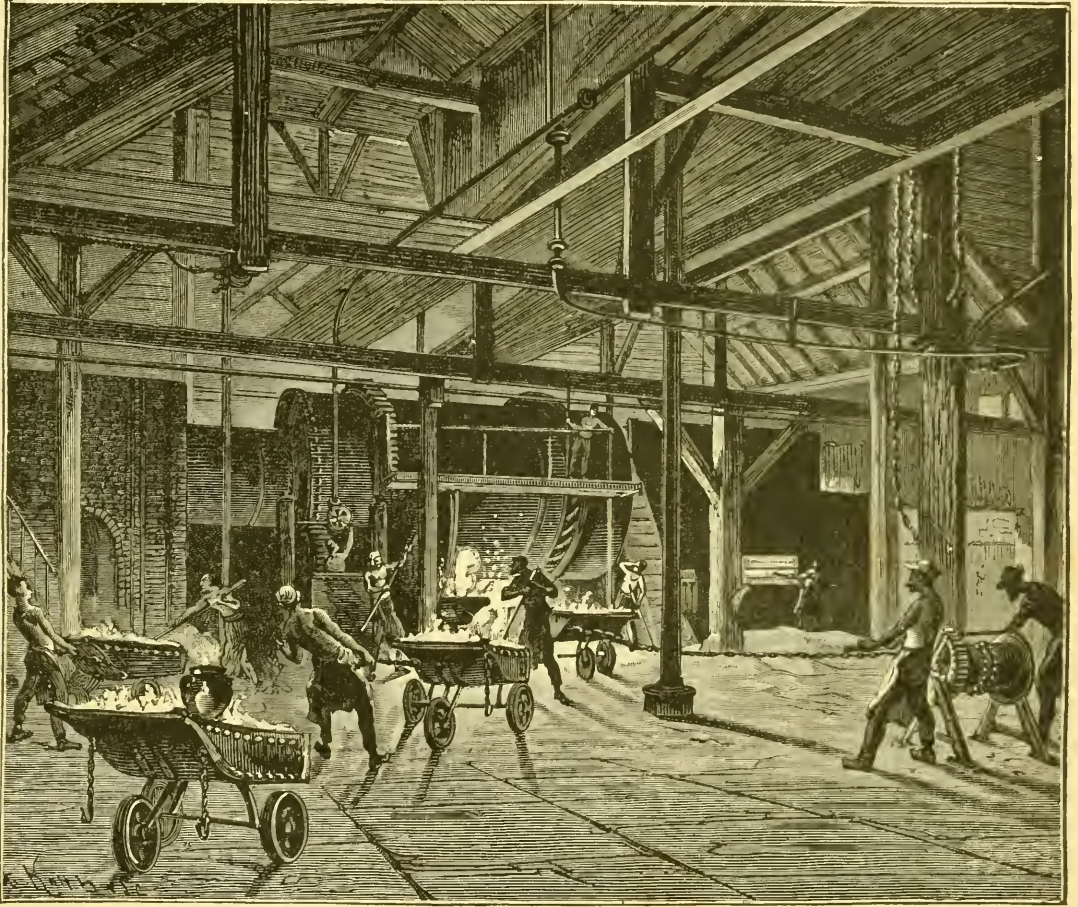
As a result of this peculiar relation which the people of France have sustained to the intelligence and learning of other races, they have furnished the models of excellence for most of the mental and artistic products of the last three centuries. Other peoples have not freely acknowledged their indebtedness in this respect to France. They have appropriated her styles of composition, her work in all branches of literature, and the results of her excursive genius, and have hidden under the guise of translation and by many other devices both the fact and the obligation of the taking. We here speak of the models

The power to generalize is a true originality.

French furnish models of excellence in literature and art.

and types of things rather than of the things themselves. In the industries of the Western nations the French have frequently furnished the model, while some other nation has furnished the execution. The same is true in literature. But in this case there has been a

the affinity with the ancient Greek. French society is capable of great excitement and susceptible of great pleasure from pageant, drama, show. The passion is revealed with respect to the drama proper. For nearly two centuries dramatical literature has overtopped



INDUSTRIES OF THE FRENCH.—SWING-OVEN WORKS, IN ROUEN.—Drawn by Barclay.

large appropriation of French material as well as French styles of thought.

Several other features remain to be noted as conspicuous among the French people. They are exceedingly dramatic.

Passion of the race for things dramatic and spectacular.

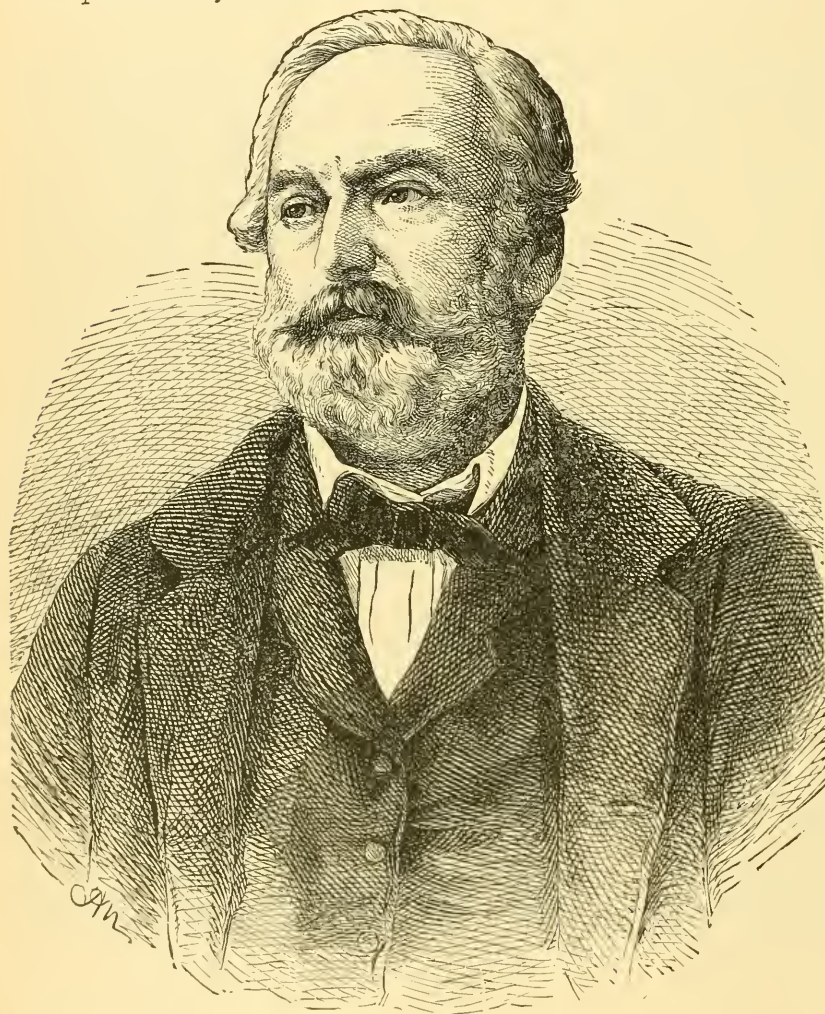
The quality has been present in the race ever since the Crusading wars. Objec-

tively it manifests itself in a love for things spectacular. Here again we note

every other species of composition. Excellence in this art has given rank to French authors above that attained by any other literary achievement. No other production of the French mind is so sure to bring the laurel, to win the enthusiastic applause of the whole land, as is a successful comedy or a great tragedy. In some instances, as in the case of Victor Hugo, who wrought in

many departments of literature, the reputation, the fame of the work, has been proportional to its dramatic quality. While foreign peoples have admired the essayist, the novelist, the historian, the French have admired the poet, and more particularly the dramatist.

rian period. Most of the Latin races of modern times have not had the self-concentration of their great original, but the French have preserved it well. They admire themselves and their works. They believe that France is Europe, and that Europe is the world. It is a deep-



LITERARY TYPE—VICTOR HUGO.

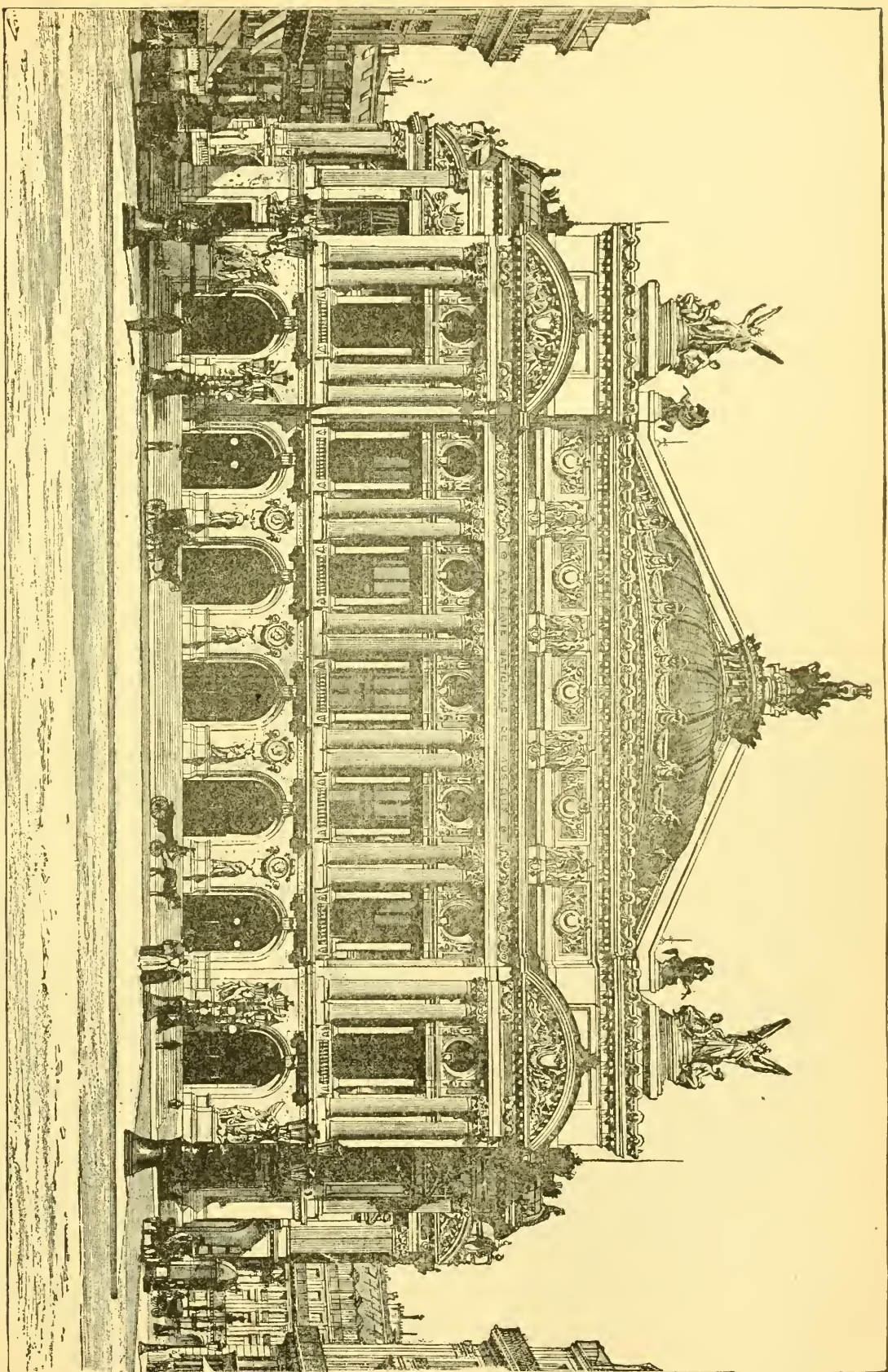
It has been claimed that the intellect of France is the most self-conscious of any that has appeared in modern times. Doubtless a good deal of this quality was derived from the Roman stock. It was the characteristic of that race in all stages of its history down to the barba-

Self-conscious-
ness and self-suf-
ficiency of the
race.

the people; but there is a large residue of the feeling which has better reason for its existence—the reason of merit and superiority.

One of the results of the disposition which we here note is that French architecture and art are less varied, less composite, than the corresponding works

seated conviction that the products of French genius are superior, each in its kind, to the corresponding products of other nations. The people are, therefore, little disposed to borrow or to imitate either the works or the ideas of others. It is not precisely just, in view of the great achievements of the Gallic race and of its conspicuous position in the history of modern times, to charge up the self-confidence and self-dependence everywhere exhibited to innate vanity. Doubtless national pride must be accredited with a part of the self-centering disposition of



FRENCH ARCHITECTURE.—FACADE OF THE GRAND OPERA HOUSE, PARIS.

in other modern nations. The architectural principles employed by the builders of France are nearly all classical in their origin, but have been modified by the principles of the Renaissance. Within the present century there has been but little variation from the fixed standard, and there is no other great city in the world which presents so homogeneous a character as Paris. It has been said that even the streets are characterized by "magnificent regularity." The building line on either side is perfectly straight, and though the buildings have their individual features they are all marked by uniformity of style, totally unlike the picturesqueness and variety of London or New York. A like sameness holds in the matter of color. The elegant monotony which distinguishes all the building of the French capital is heightened by the universal gray color of the whole.

Viewed in comparison with the other divisions of the Roman family the French race is greatly pre-
The French lead the Latin races in thought and action.
 eminent. Historically considered, its rank among the peoples of modern times is not to be mentioned in connection with that of the Italians, the Spaniards, or the Portuguese. In some respects the latter have surpassed the French, as in the matter of adventure. The same concentration which we have mentioned above, the intense patriotism of the race, and its satisfaction with its own achievements in its own country, have sufficed to make the French less adventurous on distant seas and shores than several of the other peoples of contemporaneous age. They have been feeble in respect to colonization, and have shown no aptitude for the extension of their nationality over subject peoples. The weakness of political

development, which we have already noticed and lamented, has also hindered the pushing out of French genius into foreign lands. As navigators and discoverers the Italians, the Portuguese, even the Spaniards, have surpassed the French. But in genius, in industrial arts, in national power, in enthusiasm, in achievement, and in self-assertion among the greatest nations of the world the French have wellnigh overshadowed their kinsmen of the other Latin races.

An ethnic sketch in which a given people are considered only as a branch of a race, derived from a certain stock and exhibiting certain peculiarities of development, must necessarily be brief. What shall be omitted from such a picture of human evolution is a more troublesome question than what shall be inserted. An adequate picture of the Gallic race would include many features of great interest, but only a few additional elements of the national character can here be presented. With the discovery of Gaul by the Romans, the forms of paganism peculiar to the Celts were prevalent in all parts of the country. The Belgæ sympathized in their superstitions with the nations beyond the Rhine. Roman paganism was exceedingly tolerant, and the establishment of Roman authority in Gaul did not much affect the religion of the various peoples. What those religions were we shall see when we come to speak of the Celtic division of the Aryan family.

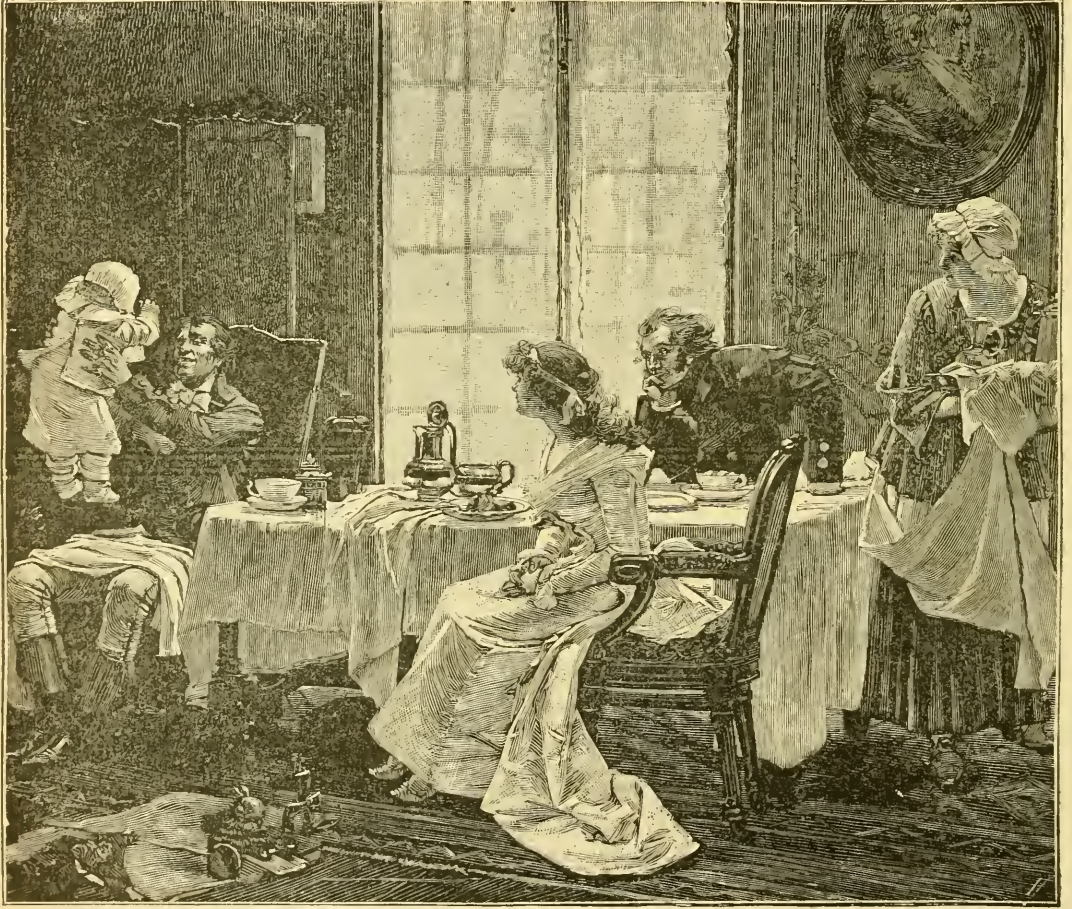
As Rome became Christianized she carried out into her provinces the doctrines and practices of the new faith. Before the establishment of the Carlo-
The Catholic Church takes deep root in the soil of France.
 vingian dynasty Gaul was already nominally Christian. Charlemagne and his successors were not indifferent to the



PEASANT TYPES OF RURAL FRANCE.—RESIN GATHERERS OF AVIGNON.—Drawn by V. Kaveemann.

religion which they had accepted. They sought, after the manner of kings not yet recovered from barbarism, to promulgate the principles of Christianity and to establish it among all their subjects. The greater part of Charlemagne's wars were prosecuted with this end in view. The Roman Church was deeply planted

tion, if not positively stayed with her borders, were so greatly checked that the ancient Church remained in ultimate possession. She sat immovable in her dominion until the philosophical revolution of the eighteenth century brought the French intellect into hopeless antagonism with her tenets and practices.



REVOLUTIONARY TYPES.—CAMILLE DESMOULINS AT HOME.—After the painting by Flameng, Salon, 1882.

in the soil of primitive France. It grew and flourished under the Valois and Bourbon monarchs. In the tumults of Italy and the frequent schisms that rent the Church the popes on several occasions found refuge in France. Avignon was for sixty-eight years the seat of the papacy. France became profoundly Catholic, and the inroads of the reforma-

In the great revolution of 1789 Rome made common cause with the old monarchy. She stood with it and fell with it and was restored with it. It has thus happened that the French people of today are at the two extremes of Catholic legitimacy on the one hand and absolute radicalism on the other. The philosoph-

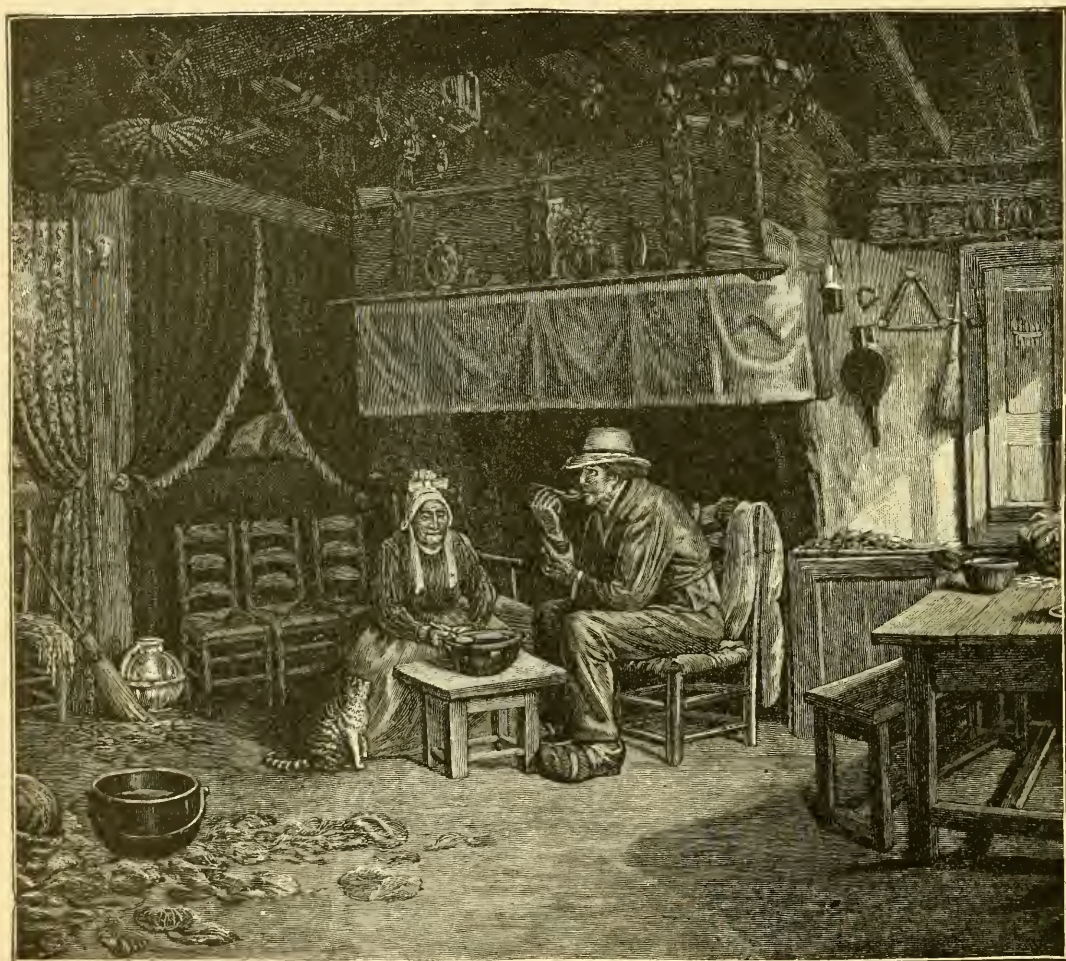
Catholic legitimacy and radicalism join issues in France.



ENTHUSIASM OF THE FRENCH.—INSURRECTION AT PARIS.—From *Magazine of Art*.

ical mind has escaped from the mother Church, and has renounced not only her, but the very principles on which she is founded. The meeker and less insurrectionary peasant mind remains under the ancient dominion. But between these two extremes there is little of that graduated belief which is the peculiarity

We can not conclude this ethnic outline of the French race without a second reference to its patriotism. Strength of the patriotic passion in the French people. After the social instinct of the people, the patriotic instinct is the strongest of their passions. It may be that in some other countries of Western Europe or in America a



INTERIOR OF FRENCH PEASANT'S HOME.—THE DINNER HOUR.

of the English-speaking race. The intensity of the French mind, the heat of the French genius, will not be satisfied except in the bosom of Rome or in the bosom of unbelief. It has happened from these conditions that Protestantism has to the present day obtained but a precarious footing in any part of France.

rational and deep-seated love of country prevails to as great an extent, or even greater, than in France, but in no other is the enthusiastic devotion to native land so powerful and lasting. We have spoken above of the indisposition of the French to adventure on foreign shores, to plant colonies, and to subject barba-

rian races to their control. This is largely due to the fact of the passionate attachment of the people for their own country, love for its institutions, and devotion to its cause.

If we make a circuit of Europe and America at the present time we shall

Love of the soil
prevails over the
allurements of
adventure.

find a vast and nebulous distribution of alien populations. The German race has continued as of old to swarm into distant regions. While it can not be said that the Germans are devoid of love for fatherland and mother tongue—while it may even be said that they are ardently devoted to Germany and Germanic usages—they nevertheless emigrate freely, and readily form new attachments under conditions totally different from those to which they have been accustomed. The other populations along the coast of Europe, particularly the English and Irish, have also the emigrant instinct. In short, all the Western peoples with the exception of France have distributed themselves freely into foreign countries, and are furnishing their respective parts in the great composite race of the future. But the French do not share this disposition. The passion for *La Patrie*, their country, prevails over all allurements of land and sea. They are attached to the soil by a tie stronger than that which binds man to the earth in any other civilized region of the globe. Indeed, the native instinct of the Gaul, which has led him to prefer the society of his own people and to admire and love the institutions and customs which they have created, has been intensified in the highest degree by the free landownership which has prevailed in France since the great Revolution.

Under the feudal land title and the oppressive monopolies that prevailed before the cataclysm of 1789, French patriotism was under an incubus, and

The French race
flourishes with
free landowner-
ship.

nothing but the native impulses of the race held the people fast in their allegiance to a system which was so destructive of their happiness. But with the great break-up the feudal land tenure was swept away, and a system of free ownership was instituted by which even the French peasant might possess himself of a few acres of land. He has done so. He has built thereon his home. He has created there a nidus from which he flies forth into general society, but to which he returns with his peculiar affection. It is not so much the domestic life which draws him back as it is his cottage, his garden, his vineyard, and his violin.

Of all modern countries, not excepting the United States, France has best solved the problem of the distribution of her population upon the land. While she has her great cities, while it is said in our own era that Paris is France, she nevertheless has a landowning peasantry distributed thickly and evenly into all parts of her domain. This common people is planted on the soil and held thereto by ties that will not give away. There are more than four million of these landed estates within the limits of France, and it is there as much as in her splendid capital that the local attachment of the Gaul for the place in which he lives is promoted—there, where his patriotic instincts are gratified; there, where his innate love of country is fanned into a flame that not even the deluge of war and infinite disaster can subdue or extinguish.

CHAPTER LXIX.—THE SPANIARDS.



PERHAPS the saddest example of ethnic decline witnessed among the modern peoples is that of the Spaniards. It seems incredible that the relative position of the various peoples of the West, such as it was at the beginning of the sixteenth century, could have been so completely altered and reversed during the com-

with political imbecility, aggressiveness with timidity, self-confidence with abasement, and warlike passion with peaceful somnolency and effemination. Only this has remained of the instincts of the race such as they were three hundred years ago—an inveterate pride and sentiment of haughty superiority. That will, perhaps, disappear only when the last of the race shall fall into silence.

Ethnography has had no more difficult



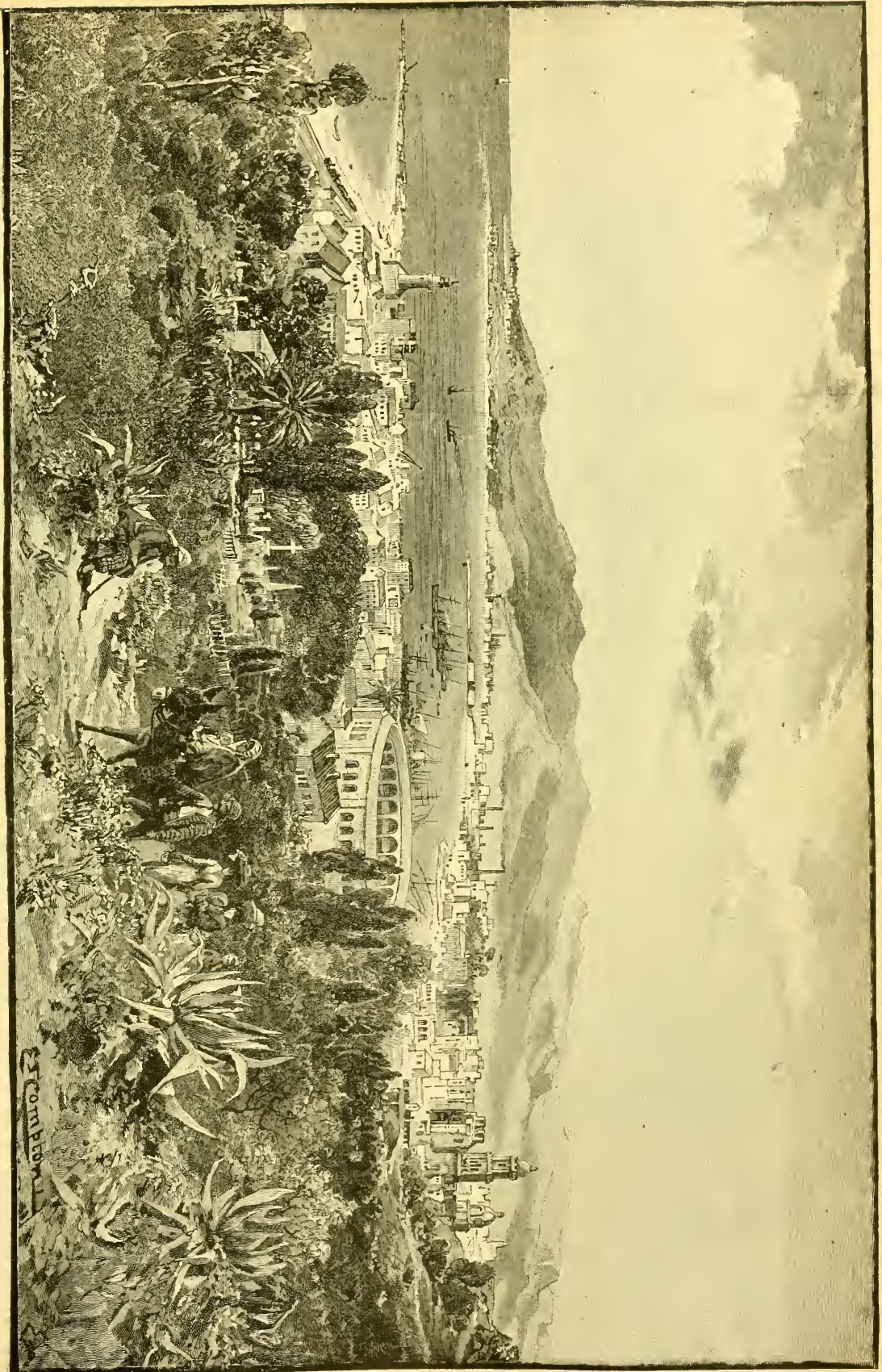
ENTRANCE TO HARBOR OF BARCELONA.—Drawn by E. T. Compton.

paratively brief period that has since intervened. At that time Melancholy decline of the Spaniards in last four centuries. power, enterprise, genius, adventure, capacity for affairs, aggressiveness, self-confidence, warlike passion, and almost every other ingredient of what is called national grandeur belonged to the Spanish people. But power has been replaced with weakness, enterprise with apathy, genius with mediocrity, adventure with inaction and lethargy, capacity for affairs

problem than to ascertain with even approximate certainty the race derivation of the original Spanish tribes. The largest and most conspicuous of these were the Iberians, whose name and fame were common in the annals of antiquity. We shall not here again enter upon the discussion of the ethnic descent of the Iberi. On the whole, they appear to have belonged to the Brown races or the Hamitic family, and to have had,

Obscure problem of derivation of Iberians and Basques.

LANDSCAPE IN SPAIN.—MALAGA, LOOKING WEST.—Drawn by E. T. Compton.



geographically, an African derivation. There is little doubt that they and the Basques, who lay north of them, occupying both slopes of the Pyrenees, were kinsmen, and we have in another part of this work assigned to both a place in the distribution of the Brown races.

But the Iberians and Basques were not the only primitive peoples of the Spanish peninsula. There was in this

The Celtic element predominant in Spanish ethnography.

broadly expanded projecting part of Europe a still larger dispersion of the Celtic race. We have in another place referred to the migratory movement which carried the Celts to the south of the Pyrenees, and ultimately bore that race, by a reflex migration, to the northeast, and thence across the larger part of Europe. It can not be known with certainty to what extent Celtic tribes were planted in Hispania with the progress of this movement, but they were certainly a part—a large part—of those peoples with whom the Romans first came into contact when the republic put forth its strong arms into foreign regions. We may say, therefore, that the *populus originalis* of Spain was a composite of Celts, Basques, and Iberians, the former people predominating, especially in the north. It may not be far from correct to say that the Iberian population held to the subsequent development of the Spanish race under the dominion of Rome a relation very similar to that of the Etruscans with respect to the dominant people of Italy.

It was Spain thus peopled that in the times of the Carthaginian wars passed by conquest under the dominion of Rome. The usual policy of colonization and provincial development ensued. Spain—as did Gaul afterwards—became Romanized, but the transformation re-

Rome conquers and colonizes the Spanish peninsula.

quired several centuries for its accomplishment. At the first the coast region of the east, from Barcelona to the Straits, was planted with colonies. Intercourse between this region and Italy became regular and continuous. It was not, however, until the times of Hadrian and the Antonines that the Roman race was sufficiently predominant by its extension into the interior to constitute a really large percentage of the people.

During the long period when Hispania, under the republic and the empire, was a province of Rome, the

people were amalgamated in the manner which we

The peoples south of the Pyrenees are Latinized.

have already described as happening in Italy and France during the Middle Ages; that is, Spain was Latinized. The Latin language was accepted, except in interior and mountainous districts, and Roman institutions took the place of those which had prevailed under barbarism. In fact, no one of the countries that became a part of the Roman empire received more completely the spirit and genius of the dominant race than did those provinces of Spain which were adjacent to the Mediterranean. The traveler along the Spanish coast during the second or third century of our era might have thought himself in Italy.

The overthrow of Roman authority in the southwest was almost coincident with the downfall of the empire proper. Both catastrophes resulted from the

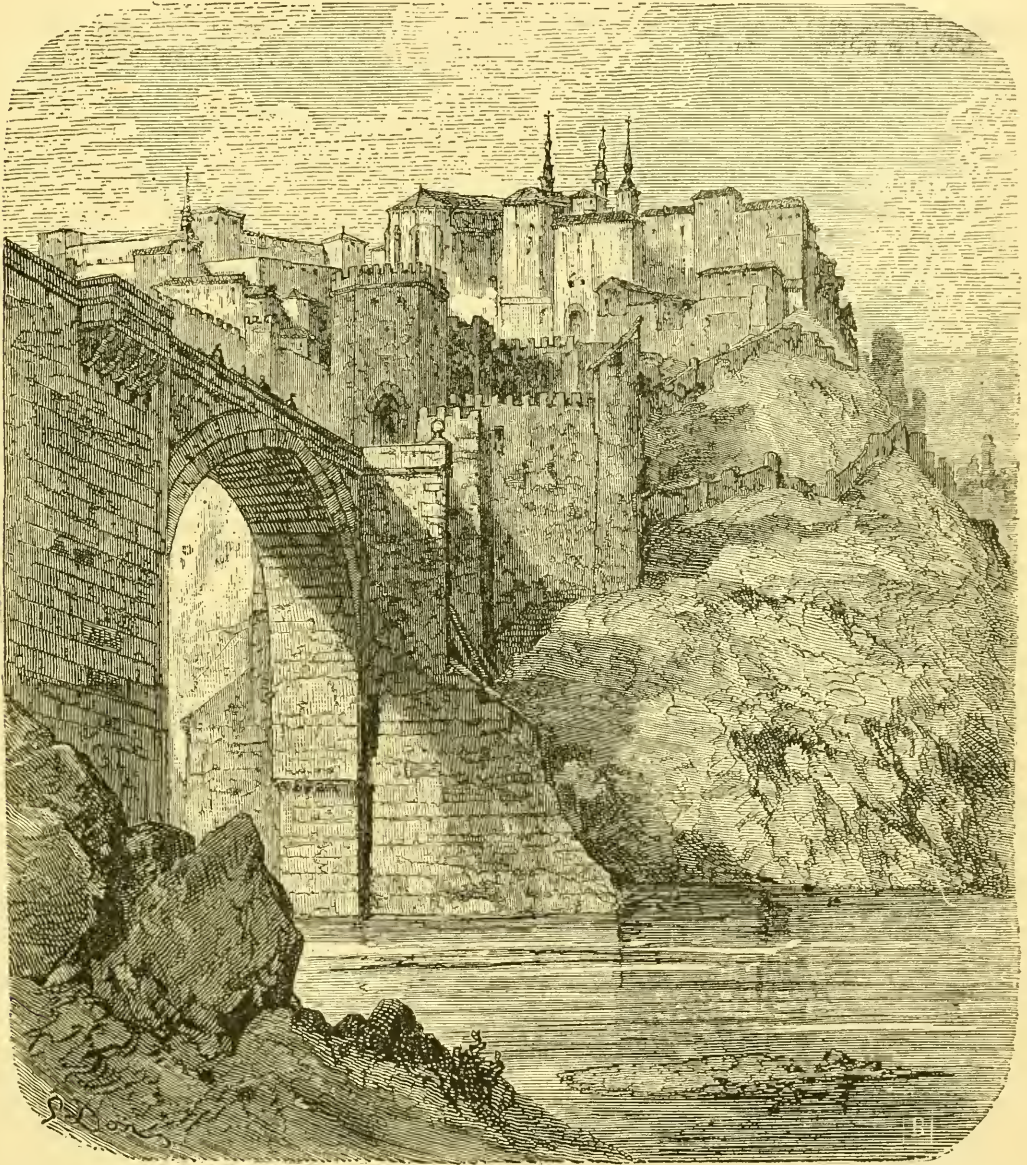
Gothic conquest; antecedent career of the Visigoths.

Gothic invasions. The Goths were divided into two great families called the West Goths, or Visigoths, and the Ostro- or East Goths. It was the former family that passed across the north of Italy and made its way into Spain; while the Ostrogoths, turning to the left, overthrew and trampled under foot

whatever remained of the imperial government.

It is not the place to look into the antecedents of these Gothic invaders of Italy and Spain. It is sufficient to say

of Dacia, which had become in a large measure assimilated with the Roman empire. They had received the Christian religion, and had shown some signs of literary development before their re-



VIEW IN TOLEDO.—BRIDGE OF ST. MARTIN.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

that the Visigoths were much the more enlightened division of the race. They had dwelt on the Danube, first on the left and afterwards on the right bank of that river. They had held the province

moval to the far southwest. As soon as the Roman power was no longer able to defend them, their neighbors on the east jostled them from their seats, and the migratory movement began which

ended in the invasion and conquest of Spain. There was thus superimposed upon the original populations of that peninsula a Teutonic race which became dominant, and gave a new direction to the ethnic lines of Spanish development.

The situation was much like that which resulted from the Frankish invasion and conquest of Gaul. The Visigoths were to the Spanish races what the Franks were to the Gaulish peoples west of the Rhine. We are again lost in conjecture with respect to the proportion of the Visigothic admixture which came with the overthrow of the Latinized Iberians. We may judge, however, from the parallel condition of affairs in Italy that the Gothic contribution to the population of the peninsula was not more than one fourth or one third of the whole. We may suppose that the state of affairs in the century which followed was similar to that which was presented in Neustria after the subjugation of that country by the Normans. In Spain, as in Normandy, the old Latin speech and institutions survived the invasion of the Goths, and the latter were constrained to accept the tongue and in a large measure the usages of the people over whom they had established their authority.

From this time forward the nationality of the Visigoths was an accomplished fact. They established an independent kingdom, having its capitals at Toulouse and Toledo, the former being the seat of authority for the whole Visigothic kingdom and the latter the center of administration for Spain proper. The political power thus instituted continued without serious interruption from 418 to 711 A. D. On the whole, it

Percentage of Gothic population to preceding peoples.

The Visigothic kingdom; superiority of the race.

was the most enlightened barbarian state established within the limits of the Roman empire. This superiority must be attributed largely to ethnic considerations. The Visigoths before their migration to the southwest were the leaders in refinement among all the peoples beyond the Danube and the Rhine. They brought with them into Spain the character which they had justly earned for a civilized and civilizing disposition. Their treatment of the conquered race was in keeping with the reputation of the conquerors. The first great invasion by the Suevi, Alani, and Vandals was characterized with much barbarian fury and devastation, but the Visigothic conquest proper, headed by Adolphus, who was an ally of Rome, was characterized by as much humanity and moderation as might be expected in such an age and under such conditions.

Several of the Visigothic sovereigns were men of high character, great native force, and no inconsiderable learning. The monarchy was elective. The larger number of the administrative offices were held by the Visigothic aristocracy. A code of laws, which has been justly praised for its liberality and uniform bearing on all classes of people, was adopted. The bishops and clergy of the Roman Church had great influence in Toledo, particularly in the councils which were held there, under the auspices of which the constitution of the kingdom and the statutes at large were prepared or amended. Though at the time, owing to the superior learning and intelligence of the prelates thus engaged in civil affairs, an element of justice and rationality was present in the Visigothic laws and administration, the same influence cost the Spaniards dearly in after

Excellence of the Visigothic administration and laws.

ages by giving an ecclesiastical bias to secular affairs, by mixing the one with the other, and thus paving the way for the horrors which were afterwards prepared in the peninsula under the auspices of the Church and executed by civil authority.

After an ascendancy of some three hundred years the Visigothic power was overturned by the sudden inroads

The Islamite Moors overthrew Teutonic Spain.

of the Moorish followers of Mohammed. The story of the invasion and its results

is a familiar page in current history and need not here be dwelt upon. It is sufficient to note the universality of the conquest, and that it was accomplished by a comparatively small army of foreign warriors who crossed the Straits to gain a footing in Southern Spain. The event belongs to the early years of the eighth century. It has been regarded as a matter of wonder that such a conquest of a great and widely extended kingdom, with numerous large cities and strongholds and a vast population whose ancestors at least had been warriors of no mean reputation, could have been so easily and speedily effected.

This fact, however, is another example of the general dissolution of all

The ease with which the conquest was effected.

things social, civil, and political in the West in the centuries following the

downfall of the Roman empire. Under the shadow of that great power the few reclaimed barbarian races had approached the civilized condition, but had not acquired self-confidence and strength. In the course of the Visigothic domination the real rulers had sunk to the popular level, and the old warlike virtues had disappeared. On the other hand, the Moors were inspired to frenzy by the flaming zeal of their new religion. They made war with the fury of barbarians and the steady valor of fatalists.

All of Spain, with the exception of the mountainous parts in the northwest, fell under their dominion; and thus was superimposed upon a people already of the most various ethnic origins the new layer of another alien race.

It was in the year 711 that the first army of Moors, numbering about five thousand, crossed the Straits, under the leadership of Tarik. The Visigoths under Roderick were overthrown on the

Liberal spirit and method of the African conquerors.

Guadalete, and the submission of the whole country rapidly followed. But the Arab rule was easy. Their intelligence and liberality were as conspicuous as their prowess, and they dealt with their Christian subjects as though the conquest had been effected in an enlightened age. The Spanish Jews were freed from the persecutions to which they had long been subject, but otherwise the people were not much interrupted in their religious practices. An odd contingency did much to quench the proselyting zeal of the conquerors. The Visigothic Christians were generally well-to-do in wordly matters, and the plan of taxation was adopted by the conquerors as a method of filling the coffers of Islam. So long as the Christian *remained* a Christian he was a proper subject for the levy. Should he become a Mohammedan the tax must be reduced or altogether abated. The desire to preserve the revenues stimulated the tolerance of the conquerors, and became a sort of protective system over the Christian subjects of the Moorish kingdoms.

It was not until the year of the discovery of America by Columbus that the Moors, after suffering hardships, reverses, and decline through several centuries, were finally expelled from the Spanish peninsula. An inter-

Expulsion of the Moors and restoration of Christianity.

val of nearly eight hundred years had elapsed since they had entered the country. The first half of this period was the

at the hands of the Christians, who gradually recovered their territories, narrowed the foreign race to the province



BATTLE OF SPANIARDS WITH THE MOORS.

time of Arab effulgence and glory in Spain. The last half was the epoch in which the Moors suffered more and more

of Granada, and finally effected a complete expulsion of the Islamites into Africa.

We should expect from so long a domination, and particularly from the splendor and effulgence of the Moorish ascendancy left behind. Cordova and Granada, that a large residue of Moorish blood and a still larger trace of Moorish manners and institutions would be left behind as a permanent contribution to the Spanish race. We must here observe, however, that the Arab conquest of Spain was a Semitic movement. Not, indeed, that the Moors were properly Semites, so called; but the Arabs, who were the power behind the invasion, and who constituted the predominant element in the march of Islam westward through Africa and across the Straits into Europe, were out of Shem, and they brought with them the exclusiveness of their race. Like the sons of Israel who had long been a foreign body in the Spanish peninsula, so the sons of Ishmael, though the masters of Spain, continued foreigners; or, if not foreigners, the alienation of race always existed between them and the Visigothic stock of Christians. The struggle between the two races had been from the first religious rather than political. That is, the Arab conquest was the result of the Islamite propaganda in Arabia, Syria, and Europe. There was thus less union between the dominant and the subject race during the times of the Mohammedan ascendancy in Spain than has ever happened under like circumstances in any other country, and the final expulsion of the Moors removed to a large extent the ethnic influence of the long dominant people.

But if there was only a slight admixture of blood between the Moors and the composite race over which they so long held the scepter, there were left other abundant traces of their supremacy

Slight ethnic traces of the Moorish ascendancy left behind.

in the Spanish peninsula. There was a time when under their auspices their capitals in Spain were the intellectual centers of Europe. If some of the Italian cities possessed a greater amount of lore, the Mohammedan cities possessed a greater degree of knowledge. In the palaces of the grandees and oligarchs who had inherited to some extent the treasures of the Roman race in Italy, and among those treasures a considerable portion of the whole intellectual wealth of antiquity, there was doubtless a greater recollection of the past, a greater aggregation of its literary and artistic residue. But in the Spanish Mohammedan capitals of the corresponding age there was a far greater aggregation of that positive and aggressive knowledge which belonged to the future rather than to the past.

Between these cities of Islam in Spain and the far East there was constant intercommunication. Whatever of scientific acumen the polite and astute Arabs of Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad possessed was transmitted and replanted for a new development in the brilliant Islamite courts of Spain. It were difficult to say to what extent modern Europe is indebted to the intellectual activity and progress of the Mohammedan peoples during their Spanish evolution. We may say that the larger part of the rudiments of those exact sciences which have taken possession of the intellect and in a large measure directed the energies of modern times had their germinal beds in the scholastic haunts of Cordova, Toledo, and Granada. The Arabian system of notation was carried from these intellectual centers to the countries beyond the Pyrenees, and was made the foundation of the mathematical development which was presently to begin its mani-

Intellectual and artistic life of the Arabs remained.

Learning transmitted to Europe through Moorish Spain.

festations in France, in Italy, and in Germany. The rudiments of chemistry and astronomy were also borne into the



CHARLES THE GREAT—EMPEROR AND SCHOOLMASTER OF WESTERN EUROPE.

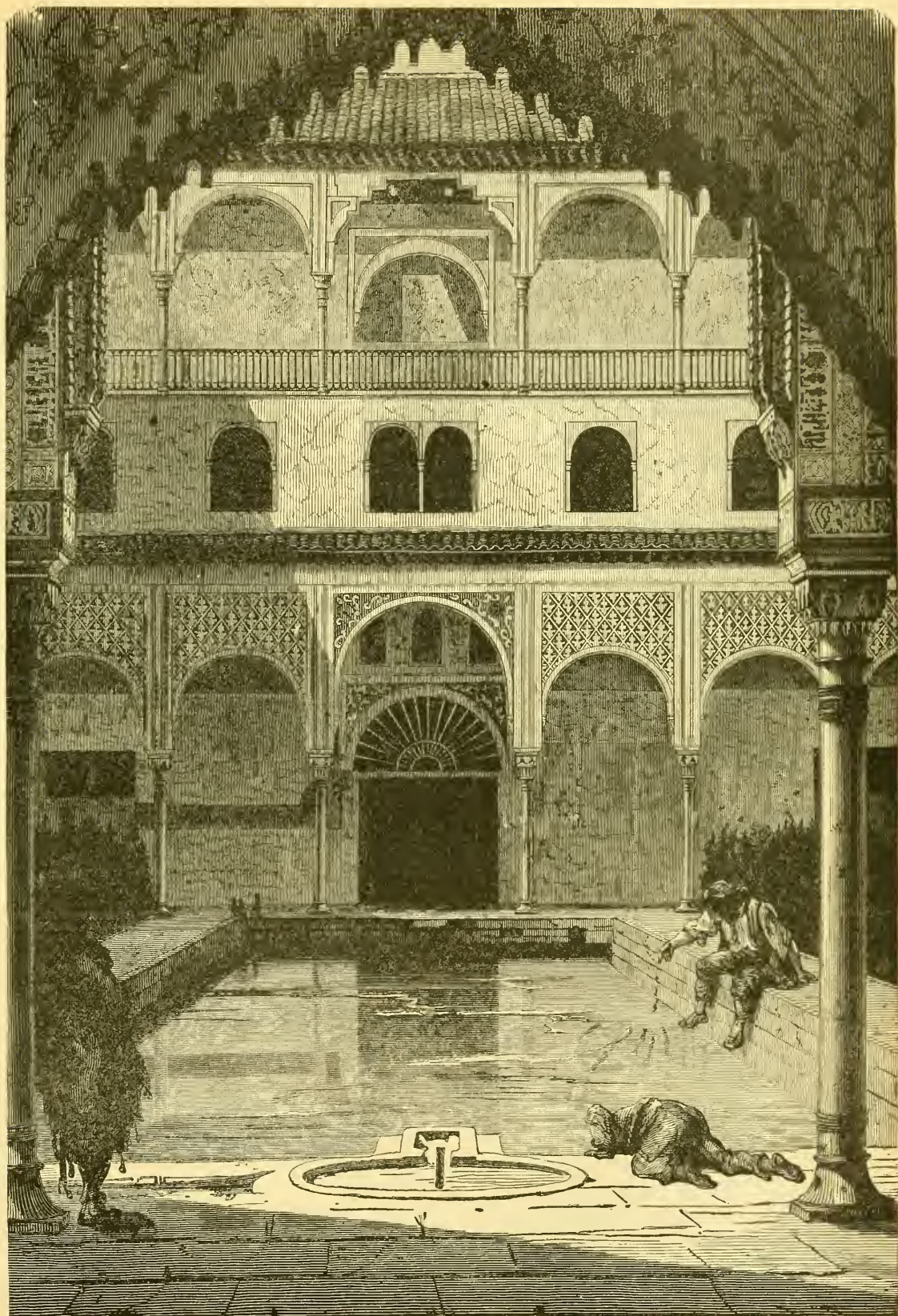
of Charlemagne, the most intellectual and learned monarch of the Dark Ages, both general and schoolmaster of his people, the Frankish court was touched with these influences out of Spain. Nor can it be denied that the progress of the physical sciences in the hands of Italian scholars should be referred for many of its primary impulses to the experimentation and deductions of the learned Arabs who frequented the court and adorned the administration of the Moorish kings.

Equally pronounced was the influence of the Arabs in Spain on the architecture of the country and subsequently on that of all Europe and America. That peculiar, half-Oriental style of building known as Moresque was introduced at the Moorish capitals and brought to a high degree of per-

northern countries, and there became the fruitful themes of investigation and speculative inquiry. Already in the age of Charlemagne, the most intellectual and learned monarch of the Dark Ages, both general and schoolmaster of his people, the Frankish court was touched with these influences out of Spain. Nor can it be denied that the progress of the physical sciences in the hands of Italian scholars should be referred for many of its primary impulses to the experimentation and deductions of the learned Arabs who frequented the court and adorned the administration of the Moorish kings.

Equally pronounced was the influence of the Arabs in Spain on the architecture of the country and subsequently on that of all Europe and America. That peculiar, half-Oriental style of building known as Moresque was introduced at the Moorish capitals and brought to a high degree of per-

fection. Scarcely has Europe or any country seen a more elaborate and elegant form of architecture. It may be said to be



MOORISH ARCHITECTURE.—MYRTLE COURT OF THE ALHAMBRA.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

in the West the representative in tangible form of the dreamy spirit and illusion of the Oriental builders. So the Moorish architecture. Splendor and diffusion of the Moorish architecture. it soon prevailed over the Romanesque and Gothic methods of structure which had hitherto been employed by the Spaniards. The beauty and magnificence of the great buildings, which the Moorish architects reared in Spain, especially at Cordova, Toledo, and Granada, gave them a reputation in their own age which subsequent times have ratified and approved. The ruins of the Alhambra are the best preserved specimens of the ancient work of the race. It is a style of ornamentation and building which has been disseminated into every country, which has reappeared in the work of almost every great artist from Raphael to Kaulbach, and which is used in decoration in all kinds of structure from the arabesques of the Vatican to the frescoes of humble ceilings in the homes of American farmers.

The ethnic situation in Spain during the greater part of the Middle Ages was one of the most picturesque which has ever been presented. Intercourse but nonunion of the Christians and the Islamites. The race prejudices of the Visigothic Spaniards and the Arabs, and more particularly their religious antipathies, prevented such union and amalgamation of the two peoples as might under other circumstances have been expected. Such admixtures, indeed, occurred in all the other countries of Western Europe, with the exception of Great Britain, in which islands the fury of the Saxons was not appeased until the ancient Celtic populations were driven back into the mountains of the west. But in Spain the two peoples continued to live together. In some districts they were actually intermingled, and in most parts of the peninsula the

Moorish and Christian settlements were approximate. Constant intercourse was almost a necessity of the situation, and yet hatred was the bottom sentiment with which each regarded the other. The first centuries of the Moorish domination were most peaceful. Afterwards, the relations of the two races became more and more strained, and those perpetual wars ensued which resulted in the ultimate expulsion of the Islamites.

The first conquerors assumed toward the Christians an attitude of haughty tolerance, and for a while Policy of Islam toward the Christian populations. the subject people bore with equanimity the mastery of Islam. But the elevation of the Crescent and the suppression of the Cross were always grievous facts to the Christian Spaniards. The Mohammedans were quite as zealous in proselyting as were the Christians. They held out to the latter the overtures which the followers of the Prophet always made to the conquered, and in course of time many of the people passed over to the fold of Islam. These were known as Renegades, and were looked upon by the Christian people with horror. The apostasy was nearly always incited by self-interest. It was profitable to stand well with those in power.

But in course of time the condition of the Renegades became pitiable. With the relaxation of Mohammedan authority they would gladly have returned to their old faith, Self-inflicted embarrassment and hardships of the Renegades. but the rules of Islam denounced the punishment of death against every apostate. In course of time the rite of circumcision was prescribed for Christians and Mohammedans alike, and this the Visigothic Spaniards resisted. The idea of being thus classified with the hated Jews was intolerable to those who had for ages persecuted the

sons of Israel with vindictive bitterness. Many other causes of dissension existed, and in course of time constant warfare ensued.

Meanwhile the Crusading wars had come on, and the fight between the Christians and the Infidels in the East was renewed between the Infidels and the Christians in the West. The age of

Age of Spanish
chivalry and pil-
grimages.

knighthood came. While in all of Europe north of the Pyrenees and the Alps the institution was heroic in show rather than in fact, in Spain the heroism was in fact rather than in show. In certain ages the country was full of Christian warriors clad in mail, who sallied forth, attacking and destroying the Mohammedans. The epoch was redeemed from universal savagery only by the polite sentiments and chivalrous rules of conduct which had, fortunately, become prevalent. At length the minstrels appeared on the scene, and the pilgrims. The minstrel had his harp and his songs of love and war. The pilgrim had his scallop shell and wore the sandal shoon. He had either come from the tomb of Christ or was journeying thither in order that some wickedness of his life might be condoned. As between the two religions, there was hostility, violence, hatred. Such were the conditions under which the most romantic literature known in modern times had its origin—the literature of chivalry and war between the Moors and Christian knights in Spain.

We may easily perceive in these antecedents the sources of the sentimental, romantic, and stilted character which the

Ethnic antecedents of Spanish character in sixteenth century.

Spaniards displayed from the fourteenth century onward. They had the pride and haughtiness of the Roman, the adventurous disposition of the Goth, the

bigotry which a universal Catholicism had instilled, and a chivalry which relapsed into cruelty after the expulsion of the foreign race. It was under such aspects of ethnic development that the Spaniards presented themselves after the discovery of the New World and the opening up of distant islands and continents to conquest and spoliation. Of all the European peoples, they were first and strongest to avail themselves of the new conditions afforded on sea and land. Hitherto the Spanish people had been separated in petty principalities. Castile was one state, Leon another, Aragon a third, while the Moors still held Granada, until they were expelled by Ferdinand the Catholic. Then came the consolidation. The two houses of Castile and Aragon were united by marriage. The peoples coalesced. The Spaniards became one under the consolidated monarchy, and the enterprise of the nation was at once conspicuous both at home and abroad.

Now it was that the Spanish race was carried by its own excursions into the New World. A more vigorous and successful series of conquests has rarely

Impelling spirit of Spanish adventure and discovery.

been witnessed than were those by which Mexico and Central and South America were brought under the Spanish flag. The peculiarity of these movements was their irrational character. Many passions were gratified in the lawless activities which the Spanish soldiers and adventurers were able to put forth in the wilds of the New World. But we should look in vain for any settled or systematic policy of conquest. Many traits of the national character were now unconsciously revealed in the expeditions of the Spaniards. In the first place they were impelled by the lust of gold. Vague traditions, enlarged

and ornamented by fancy as they flew, entered the ears and inflamed the cupidity of the Spaniards. They sailed hith- and committed unheard of brutalities upon the aborigines in the hope of filling their coffers with gold.



SPANISH BARBARITIES IN THE NEW WORLD.—DESTRUCTION OF THE FLOWER OF GOLD AND HER PEOPLE.

er and yon among the islands of the West Indies, anchored first on this coast and then on that, struck into the interior, traversed unknown regions,

In the second place, the motive was religious propagandism. This, however, was an excuse rather than a real reason for the Spanish expeditions. It

seemed to cover and palliate the barbarities of conquest, the sack and pillage of cities, and the butchery of whole peoples to allege the hope of salvation for the conquered under the uplifted Cross which always accompanied the banner of Castile and Aragon. The student of history is familiar with the dreadful story of devastation and blood in which the subjugation of Mexico is recorded. We view it here simply as the ferocious process by which the Spanish race was established in the city of the Aztecs, from which it was destined to diffuse itself and commingle with the native Mexican races in the production of a not unimportant branch of the human family in the New World. The same thing happened in the isthmus and in the northern countries of South America. But in those regions the amalgamation with the native tribes was by no means so well accomplished as in Mexico. To the present day the Spanish race in the countries last referred to flows in different channels from those which contain the potency of the aboriginal nations.

It was from the first quarter of the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century that the Spanish people displayed their energies in the highest degree of activity and grandeur. Between the epoch of the Spanish conquest in the New World and the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, a culmination was reached in the destinies of Spain. The reader will not fail to observe, moreover, that the period here referred to is exactly coincident with the first century of the Reformation. Cortez was on the march from Tlascala to the siege of Mexico when Luther was burning the Papal Bull before the Elster

gate of Wittenberg. The planting of the Spanish power in the New World was thus coincident in time with the antecedents of its destruction in Europe.

Within these limits the whole exertion of the government and people of Spain was directed either to conquest and aggrandizement abroad or to the suppression and punishment of heresy at home. It is, on the whole, one of the most doleful and disgraceful chapters in modern history. The story of the methods employed for the extension of the dominion of Spain in the two Americas includes almost every atrocity, injustice, and barbarism known to warfare and subjugation. At a later period in the century all the passion, the vindictiveness, the animosity, and the vigor of the race were turned to the stamping out of heresy in the Netherlands. Doubtless Protestant historians, under the passion of just resentments, have been little disposed to acknowledge any provocation which the Dutch and Flemish reformers may have given to the mother Church and the home authority of Spain. Perhaps they have been little disposed to concede any occasional trace of humanity and justice which the Spaniards may have shown during those long and cruel wars. But enough remains to brand the conflict as the most merciless, vindictive, and cruel of modern times.

The war in the Netherlands was a war engendered in the bosom of imperialism and ecclesiastical bigotry. Its methods were invented by a series of agents who were at once the crowning glory and the crowning shame of the Spanish race. More than any other war of modern times it had in it the elements of butchery, of assassination, and murder. It was one of those per-

Passion of propaganda combined with the lust of gold.

Dark race character revealed in the wars against heretics.

The Spaniards reach their acme at close of sixteenth century.

Alva's campaigns the climax of human depravity.

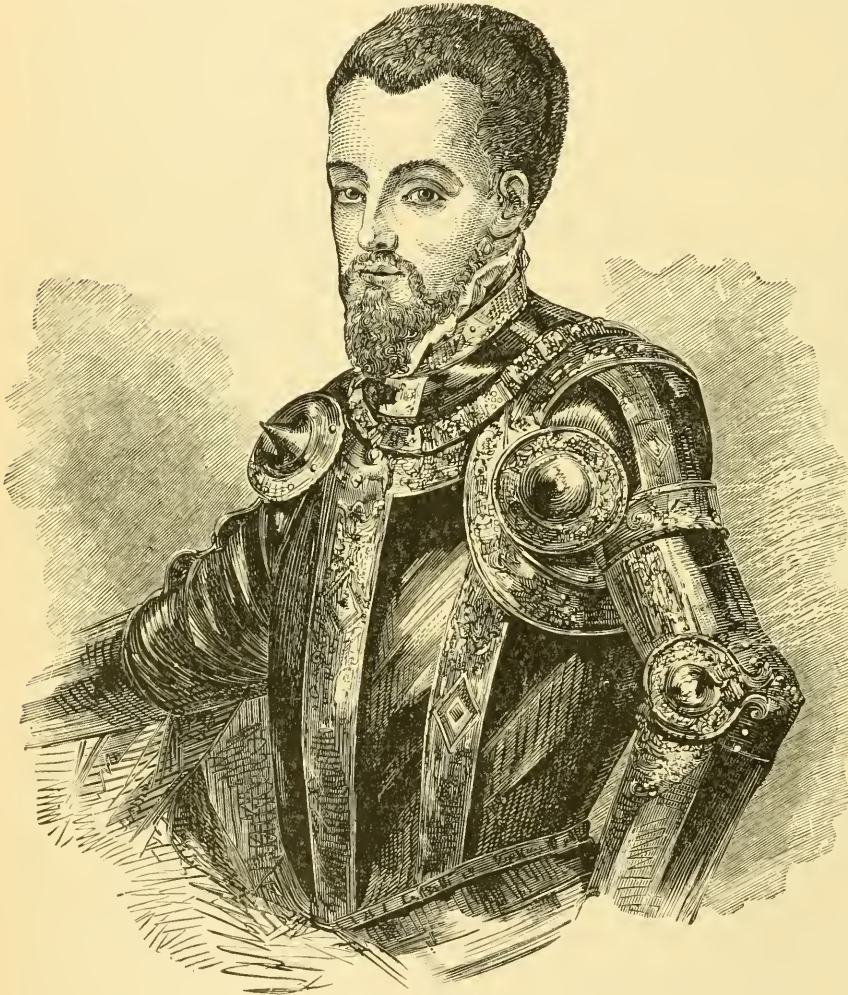
nicious climaxes in which the forces of evil, accumulating for centuries, are suddenly expended in violence, devastation, and death. History is not easily provoked, and thinketh no evil, but if she be forced to select from the annals of the past the particular period, the

and the malignity of Philip II and the Duke of Alva.

The climax was fatal. The laws of human life and of nationality are so adjusted as to make it impossible that any people could long survive such a crisis

The result a fatal catastrophe to the Spanish race.

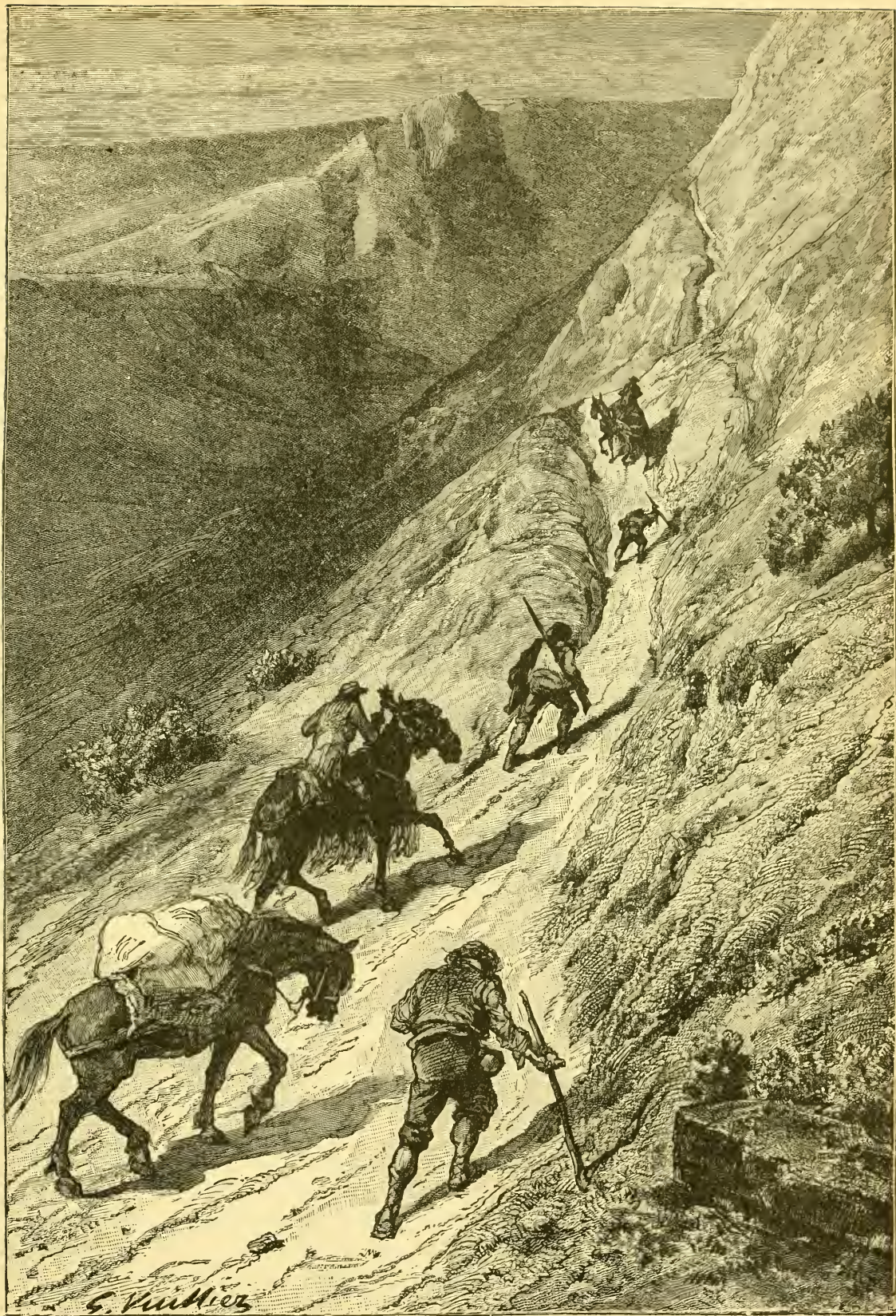
and such a catastrophe. From the reign of Charles V, Spanish influence in Europe declined with such rapidity as to indicate a complete decadence of the race. Spanish energy collapsed in every department of enterprise to which the precedent genius of the people had been devoted. The great governmental system disappeared as though it had been a shadow. The foreign excursions of the race came suddenly to an end. All of the out-



SPANISH ROYAL TYPE.—PHILIP II.
From the painting by Titian.

particular event, and the particular agency in which the wickedness, the folly, and the desperation of the human race reached the extreme of infernal insanity, she must, with little hesitation, choose the epoch with which the sixteenth century closed in the Netherlands, the Spanish wars of invasion,

posts of Spanish power were suddenly withdrawn, or by maintaining a precarious station abroad became in course of time locally independent. The Spanish intellect abandoned even the claim of superiority. The industries of the country sank to that secondary level on which they have ever since been prosecuted.



IN THE PYRENEES.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, from nature.

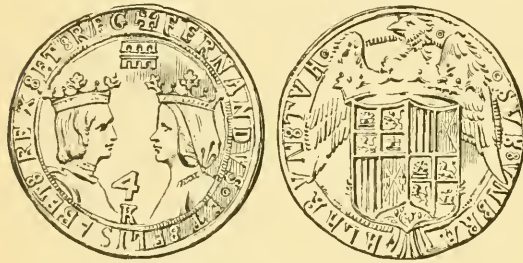
The machinery of progress was so reversed that the industrial action of the Spaniards turned back from commerce and manufacture to the mere production of raw material.

The reader may not well apprehend without a few specifications the fatal

Swift decadence
of nationality
and ethnic life.

decadence of the Spanish
race during the seventeenth
century. In every ele-

ment of power Spain fell back and
receded from sight. Territorially con-
sidered, Holland extorted a recognition
of her independence. Portugal became



COIN OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA.

a separate kingdom. Even the Catalonians were insurrectionary, and scarcely recognized the authority of the central government. France took Roussillon and Cerdagne, and also wrenched away the great provinces of Franche-Comté and South Netherland. Even in Italy, Spanish influence was supplanted by that of the French. On the side of population the falling away was equally momentous. In the epoch of the Arabian ascendancy the peninsula had contained fully twenty million of people. When America was discovered Ferdinand and Isabella had still twelve million under their united scepter. But in the time of Charles II, who reigned from 1675 to 1700, the whole population had fallen to fewer than six million!

Meanwhile the agricultural interests had waned after the departure of the Moriscos. One fourth of all the lands had gone to the monasteries. Nearly

all of the secular estates had concentrated, under the law of entail, in the hands of a few grandees, Spanish industries go back to primitive conditions. who were as ignorant of production as they were

proud of the name of Spaniard and Catholic. A system of half-primitive sheep farming succeeded the cultivation of the soil. A regulation as old as the twelfth century had forbidden the inclosure of lands, to the end that the flocks might be driven from place to place. The revenues of the government were farmed out to a monopoly, called *La Mesta*, which maintained itself by taxes on wool. The rich old forests had been swept away, but no new trees were planted, and the country tended to a desert. Skilled artisans were not to be found anywhere in the peninsula.

There was, perhaps, at the middle of the seventeenth century not a native Spanish shipbuilder in the kingdom. In the meantime Madrid and the other leading cities were crowded with foreign

Merchant marine and war fleets sink into insignificance.

adventurers, who fleeced the inhabitants and went away with the remaining store of gold. The *Carava*, or revenue tax on sales, which had been devised by Ximenes, was reestablished under Philip II, and the rate was increased to fourteen per cent. Five sixths of all the manufactured goods used by the Spaniards were imported from foreign countries. At the battle of Lepanto, in 1571, Don John of Austria, son of Charles V, had in his fleet a hundred Spanish men-of-war. Seventeen years later the invincible armada, with its one hundred and thirty ships and two thousand four hundred and thirty-one guns, bore down on England, portending the overthrow of the monarchy and disaster to the whole English-speaking race. And yet the same power which sent forth these

tremendous armaments was in the reign of Charles II compelled to borrow a few insignificant Genoese vessels in order to



PEASANT OF JIJONA—TYPE.
Drawn by Thiriat.

maintain even a nominal connection with the Spanish settlements in the New World!

Only in one respect was the ancient status maintained. Only in one particular did the beginning of the eighteenth century—aye, the beginning of the nineteenth find the Spanish race as it had been at the beginning of the seventeenth. Religiously, it had held to the ancient dogma with a tenacity worthy of a better cause. The reformation of religion in its progress from Germany to the west and southwest had been as speedily and effectually stayed with the Pyrenees as though it had been a malarial infection which could in no wise ascend the mountains. The inquisitorial apparatus of the orthodox faith and the countervailing vigilance of the Spanish Church did their work so effectually in the Spanish peninsula that to the present day the protest of the human conscience,

the cry of the human intellect for emancipation, has been unheeded and unheard; and it may well surprise the reader to note that of the sixteen million six hundred and thirty-four thousand three hundred and forty-five inhabitants returned by the census of 1877, no fewer than sixteen million six hundred and three thousand nine hundred and fifty-five were professed adherents of the Catholic Church. The solidarity of the ancient house has never been shattered or disturbed.

In reviewing the multifarious elements which come into the composition of a race, the beginner in ethnography is likely to be confused with the suspicion that all peoples are mere conglomerates, made up from diverse sources through different ages of development. In the instance before us we have seen a sub-

Summary of race elements in the Spanish composition.



WORKMAN OF ALICANTE—TYPE.
Drawn by Thiriat.

stratum of Iberians, Basques, and Celts overlaid with a stronger but thinner covering of Roman life. Subsequently a

Visigothic layer was spread over the surface of this, and finally a Moorish element was distributed over the country. In the meantime, through many centu-



A PESCADOR—TYPE.

Drawn by G. Vuillier.

ries, marriage and cross relations of every sort had fused the blood of the Spanish race, and the people had taken a new type as peculiar to themselves as any of the simple ethnic characters of antiquity. We should, therefore, viewing the question superficially, conclude that the designation of the Spaniards as a Latin race is to strain the natural conditions and force a construction which the facts may hardly warrant.

But it must be remembered that in the admixture of life with life and of the compound thus formed with some other life one or other of the elements will,

in course of time, assert itself and pre-dominate over the rest. There is always a *strongest* component part which gains the ascendancy in the new formation and gives character to the whole. In the intermixture of the animal races the same thing is true. In the cross-breeding of two species it very rarely happens that an intermediate type is fixed between them. However equally the two specific elements may be blended, one or the other will gain the mastery, and the new variety will drift off in the direction

Always a strongest part in the character of a race.



OLD WOMAN OF VICENTA—TYPE.

Drawn by G. Vuillier.

of one parentage until the marks of the other have disappeared.

This law becomes stronger and stronger in its manifestation as we

ascend through the various races of living creatures. In individual men we

Dominant element in Spanish life was the Roman.

find the unmistakable lineaments and character of some particular ancestor.

Many of the other fathers and mothers who have contributed equally in blood to the formation of the individual life before us have left no distinctive traits in its composition. One single element has been transmitted downwards from the ancestor who may be, either on the father's or the mother's side, distant by seven generations. So it is in ethnic composition. A given race element in ancestry will rise above all the rest, and will assert itself in determining the character of a coming people. This ante-

cedent element is the strongest part of the new national character. In the case of the Spaniards, it was the Roman fatherhood of the race that gave it its character. All the other elements—Basque, Celtic, Iberian, Visigothic, and a trace of Arabian—were absorbed by the master blood and used as nutriment by the dominant power, which determined the character of the whole. Thus the Spanish race perpetuated the traits of its Latin ancestry, showing only incidentally and in certain aspects the traces of its derivation from another lineage.

It nearly always happens that this determining element in the formation of ethnic character is closely associated with the fact of language. Language

Language an index of the prevailing race paternity.

may be generally used as the index to discover the predominance of blood in a composite race. Perhaps in a few instances the law may not hold good; but as a rule it may be used as a certain indication of the leading element in race character and derivation. This is to say



BULL FIGHTERS—TYPES.

that the same antecedent condition of strength which gave the superior element of blood also gave the preference for one among several varieties of speech. The dominant blood prevails in the tongue and in the brain, in the formation of thought and in its utterance; so that the ethnologist, as a rule, may fasten upon the tangible fact of language as a sure evidence of the source from which a composite people has derived its strength and predominant ethnic traits. This is true in the case of the Spanish people. Their language fixes them into

the Latin stem, and shows conclusively that the prevailing disposition of the race has been derived ultimately not from the Iberians, not from a Visigothic source, but from the persistent and powerful blood of ancient Rome.

The Spanish language, though distinctly a romance or Latin speech in the secondary stages of development, presents itself under at least two forms of evolution. The first of these is *Castilian*, and the second *Catalan*. The Cas-

The Spanish tongue parts into Castilian and Catalan.

the secondary stages of development, presents itself under at least two forms

of evolution. The first of these is *Castilian*, and the second *Catalan*. The Cas-

present work we shall consider the Portuguese race by itself, as an independent derivative of the Latin stirps. It was Castilian and not Catalan which, in the sixteenth century, was carried by the Spanish navigators westward into the New World and eastward into Asia. There was a time during the Spanish ascendancy when, like the English of the nineteenth century, the Castilian language seemed destined to become the language of mankind. But it suffered shipwreck and ruin along with the political and civil destinies of Spain at the close of the sixteenth century.

Castilian is preëminently a Latin language. It competes with the Italian in the nearness of its affinities with the parent speech. It is a well developed

Castilian a Latin derivative; linguistic deterioration abroad.

language, showing unmistakable marks of the vigor and independence of the Spanish mind in the age of its formation. As fully as any other of the Latin derivatives it has preserved the sonorousness and stately dignity of the original. It has, moreover, taken on a musical character much superior to the corresponding quality in Latin. While it is wanting in the freedom, variety, and cogency of English, it may with justice be regarded as one of the most dignified and elegant media of intercourse employed by any people of modern times. Away from its native center in Spain, the Spanish tongue has been corrupted by the races that have adopted it as a vehicle of expression. In Mexico, for instance, except in the capital and a few other cities of culture, Spanish has been greatly deteriorated both in its structure and vocabulary by the intermixture of elements derived from the native languages of the country.

We shall not here enter into linguistic particulars to show at what time and



BLANCHE OF CASTILE—TYPE.

tilian dialect is spoken in about two thirds of the peninsula, and the Catalan in the long strip of territory bordering the east and southeast of Spain. The name Castilian as applied to the principal variety of Spanish is derived from the kingdom of Castile, which is the center of its development. It may be regarded as the true language of the Spanish race. Some linguistic reasons might even be advanced for regarding Castilian as the mother-stock of Portuguese, but in the

by what agencies the Castilian tongue was fixed in its character or by what features it is distinguished from the cognate languages such as Italian, Provençal, and Portuguese. As throwing light upon the ethnic divisions of the Spanish race, we may mention the fact that there are recognized by scholars four dialects of Castilian, though the differences among these are hardly sufficient to be made the basis of dialectical classification. The first of these forms is the *Asturian* idiom spoken in the Asturias, in the extreme north of the peninsula. The second is the *Navarro-Aragonese*, the name of which again indicates the locus of the dialect next to the French frontier. The third idiom is the *Andalusian*, in which the departures from the classical Castilian tongue are more pronounced than in either of the preceding dialects. The province of Andalusia, which is the home of the dialect, is in general coincident with the valley of the Guadalquivir, being the southernmost region of the peninsula.

It is of interest to note that Andalusian rather than Central Castilian appears to have been the origin of those varieties of Spanish which are spoken under many local inflections in the countries of South America. It has been remarked by scholars that many of the peculiarities of the South American tongues of Spanish descent are identical with the like features of Castilian as it is spoken in Andalusia. Whether this fact may indicate a historical connection between the Hispanio-South Americans and the people of the southern portion of the Spanish peninsula, or whether it is simply a coincidence of development in the two countries, it were difficult to determine.

The fourth and last variety of Castilian is *Leonese*, being that form of the language which was developed in the ancient kingdom of Leon. The inflection in this instance, however, from the regular standards of Castilian, as that tongue is spoken and written by the scholars of Madrid, is so slight as hardly to constitute a basis of dialectical distinction. In fact, all of the varying idioms which we have here considered have differences the one from the other so unimportant as to be neglected in the common intercourse of the people of the Spanish provinces.

The other principal branch of the Spanish language is the Catalan. Its seat of development is in the northeastern part of the peninsula, high up next to the mountains. Its distribution is not coincident with the political division of the country known as Catalonia. The language is strongly distinguished in its characteristics from Castilian, insomuch that we might infer a distinct stem set into the Latin race as the origin of the Catalanian peoples. But we are able to account historically for the peculiarities of the language, particularly for its divergence from the classical Castilian tongue.

The antecedents of this epoch of linguistic development and of several other ethnic peculiarities of the Catalanians are referable to the Moorish conquest of Spain. When the Arab armies came in on the south the Visigothic populations were greatly disturbed and distressed. As the war of subjugation proceeded northwards from the Straits in the direction of the Pyrenees, the native populations were crowded back upon each other. It always happens in such emergencies that a part of the resi-

Dialects of Castilian; Andalusian parent of South American.

Slight deflection of Leonese from Castilian Spanish.

Place and linguistic descent of Catalan.

dent people will take the hazards of remaining in their settlements, while the more timid prefer flight and exile. There was thus started a wave of Visigothic migration which rolled northwards before the Mohammedan invaders, ascended the mountain slopes and poured over into France.

During the time of the Moorish ascendancy, extending through several centuries, the population on the northern side of the Pyrenees was largely the result of this Spanish exodus. In this epoch the language spoken by the Visigothic immigrants coalesced with Provençal spoken in the French provinces of Roussillon and Cerdagne. In course of time the Mohammedan power began to wane, and the Christian peoples regathering their courage attacked the Moors, and the retrograde movement which ended in their expulsion began. No sooner had the Mohammedans begun to recede from the north than the transmontane Spaniards were drawn back across the Pyrenees, bringing with them the language and customs which they had formed in common with the peoples of Southwestern France. It thus happened that in the northeastern part of the Spanish peninsula the Catalanian race came into possession of a speech very different from that which had been developed in the meantime in the center of Spain. This language became the vernacular of Aragon, and was spoken in that mediæval kingdom at the time of the union of the crown with that of Castile and Leon.

It can easily be perceived from the movements which we have described in the last paragraphs how completely the Provençal and Catalanian races were interfused. The highlands of the Pyrenees constituted no impassable barrier

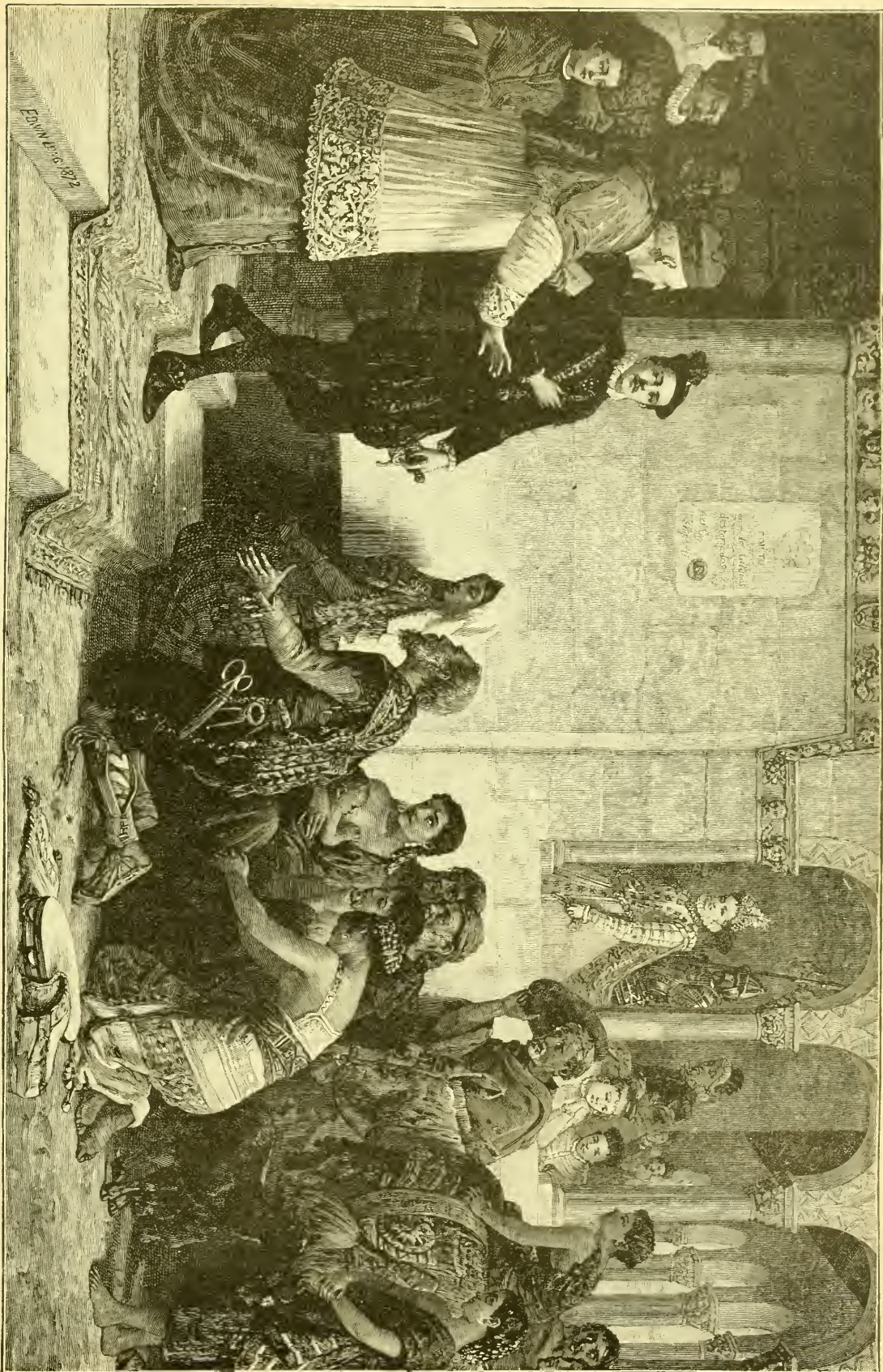
between them. The original Basques had belonged to both slopes of the mountains. In subsequent times the peoples on the north and those on the south of the dividing range fluctuated back and forth according to the race movements by which they were pressed in the one direction or the other. The passes of the Pyrenees are more easy than those of other mountain chains of equal height. The dangers encountered on passing back and forth from France into Spain are less than those attendant upon similar expeditions in other mountainous regions. The primitive Celts found it so when they passed into the peninsula and afterwards returned into France and Germany. The Basques found it so; and the Visigoths easily made their way through after the Vandals and the Alani. Charlemagne had no trouble in carrying his armies from side to side. In all subsequent times the movement has been easy, and the peoples on the two sides of the dividing line of the Pyrenees are to-day less discriminated in blood and language than are they on the two banks of the Rhine.

It is a strange fact that literature begins where language ends. We speak of the living language and the living literature. By this is meant that the expansive, formative, growing age of a language is preliterate. So soon as a given speech passes into literary use it ceases to grow, becomes fixed, and, as a language, dies. The first great poets of a race give, without intending it, the death-stab to the splendid vehicle of thought which they find already prepared to their hands. When the first great epic is written in any tongue, the lexicon becomes a possibility; and the lexicon is the monumental shaft, white and cold,

Easiness of race
interfusion
across the Pyr-
enees.

Influences by
which the lan-
guage was fixed
in its forms.

How the birth of
literature is the
death of lan-
guage.



RACE CONFLICTS IN SPAIN.—EXPULSION OF THE GYPSIES.—From the painting by Edwin Long

above the language whose life and death it commemorates.

The Spanish language became, by growth and expansion, a fitting instrument of expression as early as the twelfth century. The oldest extant Spanish book dates to about the year 1150. It is called the *Mystery of the Magian Kings*, and was intended, at the time of its composition, as a liturgical play, to be enacted in the Church of Toledo at the feast of the Epiphany. It corresponds in its subject-matter and somewhat in its manner to the old *Mysteries* of English literature.

Already by this time had been prepared the materials of epic poetry. The great national hero of Spain, Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, commonly called the Cid, died in the year 1099, preceding his antitype, the Lion Heart, of England, by precisely a century. It was the exploits of the Cid, his fidelity and heroism in his relations with King Alfonso VI that furnished the Spanish Homers with the materials of their *Iliads*. The age was rife with adventure. Moorish civilization had reached its acme in Europe. All the conditions were present in the Spanish peninsula for the morning of song. Nor did the bards fail to rehearse, after the manner of their kind, the great deeds of their idols. Roderick, the last of the Visigoths, Bernardo del Carpio, who overthrew Roland at Roncesvalles, and the Infantes of Lara, were the other heroes whose lives and fame were celebrated by the Castilian rhapsodists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

Next came an epoch of religious and didactic poetry, and then, in the fourteenth century, arose Juan Ruiz, greatest of the Spanish poets of the Middle Ages, who gathered by translation and imita-

tion from Ovid and others the materials of his *Poem of Love*. It was an age of many songs. The minstrels and troubadours were abroad. The air was filled with romance and adventure. The composition of short, epic or narrative poems and historical ballads and lyrics to be sung to the accompaniment of the harp was the amusement of the age. During the latter half of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century the romances of Spain surpassed in number and variety the literary productions of any other country in Europe, with the single exception of Italy.

Meanwhile prose chronicles had appeared, and the materials of formal history began to be prepared after the manner in which old Fabian and Hall and Holinshed laid the foundations for the historical and dramatical literature of England. The expulsion of the Moors, the memory of their long presence in the country, the tradition of the endless conflicts between them and the native Christians, had contributed to the age the subject-matter of a large mass of authentic annals and of infinite romances. The latter style of composition continued to absorb the genius of Spain until the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the composition of *Don Quixote*, by exciting universal laughter at the expense of the high-wrought and fictitious stories which had occupied the reading hours of the Spaniards for so long a time, swept away as if by magic the romantic style of authorship. It was literally true that

“Cervantes smiled Spain’s chivalry away.”

Miguel Cervantes was born in the year of the death of Henry VIII of England. His life overlapped that of Charles V by

Juan Ruiz and the outburst of mediæval song.

First passages of the Spanish muse in drama and epic.

Prose chronicles; Cervantes smiles Spain’s chivalry away.



DON QUIXOTE DE LA MANCHA.—Drawn by Gustave Doré.

eleven years. He was contemporary with Philip II. Had it not been for his

Historical settings and background of "Don Quixote."

capture by the Algerine corsairs, he would doubtless have been compelled to serve under the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, for he was a soldier. The first part of his great work was published about 1604, and the second part eleven years afterwards. It was the culmination of the genius of Spain. We might well regard it as one of the most astonishing contrasts afforded in the history of mankind—this picture of an impossible and absurd knighthood, exciting first the hilarity of Spain and afterwards the laughter of all the world, hung up against a background of burning towns, swinging gallowses, and bloody gibbets in the Spanish Netherlands. Astonishing spectacle to see the son and successor of Charles V looking out of his palace window at Madrid, watching the hilarious convulsions of a student with a book in his hand on the other side of the river Manzanares, and saying of him, "He is either crazy, *or is reading Don Quixote!*"

The rise of the Spanish intellect was coincident with the culminating tendencies in the race. These reached their acme, as we have seen, with the close of the sixteenth century. The literature of Spain ran the same course, and fell afterwards into the same paralytic condition. A few fitful gleams of intellectual activity survived the decadence of the kingdom; but on the whole the genius of the Spanish race perished with its power amid the crimes and follies which closed at once the century and the life of that most conspicuous of all historical marplots, Philip II. During the whole of the seventeenth century the Spanish intellect declined in its powers, and consequently in its

products. Hardly any works in any department of literature were produced which have exercised an influence on the destinies of civilization. Some slight allowance must be made for the fact that Spain, being shut off by the Pyrenees from rapid and easy communication with the rest of Europe, and still more isolated by her prejudices and reactionary policy, has not fallen in with the intellectual, and particularly the literary, activities of modern times. But the essential weakness, the mediæval cast of the Spanish mind, and the political and religious simplicity of all the writings of Spain are still more the causes of her deterioration in rank and the abasement of her fame.

Two great crises in the history of Spain have occurred in modern times which, under more favorable circumstances, might have electrified the half-dormant genius of the people and produced a corresponding revival in literary production. The first of these was the accession of the Bourbon kings at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Not, indeed, that the incoming of a new dynasty is of itself a circumstance likely to produce intellectual results. But the accession of Philip of Anjou to the Spanish throne must needs bring the monarchy, and with it the whole Spanish people, into close sympathy, not to say affiliation, with the French. The preceding age, that of Louis XIII, in France had been marvelous for the extent and variety of French literary products. The reign of the Grand Monarch has generally been accredited with the literary effulgence which more properly belongs to his predecessor's time. It can not be doubted, however, that with the conclusion of the seventeenth century the volume of French intellect

Political crises fail to arouse the Spanish intellect to activity.

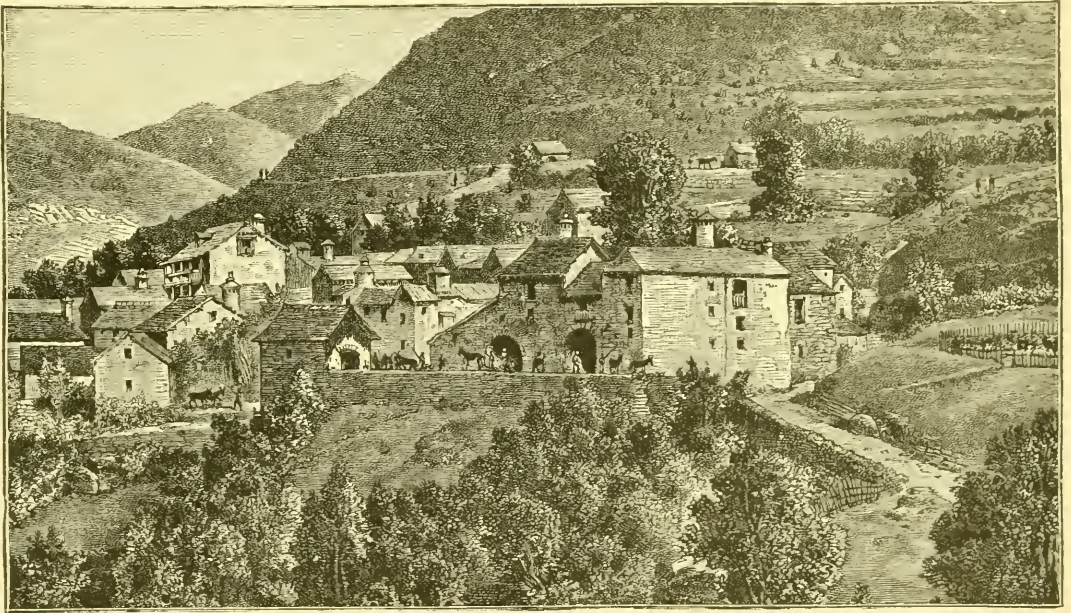
Coincident development of literature and nationality.

and learning was rolling in full and copious currents through every channel of activity. That Spain under the Bourbon princes might be expected to sympathize with the culture north of the Pyrenees was not an unreasonable thought.

The result, however, did not answer to the expectation. The same is true of the much greater crisis at the beginning of the nineteenth century. From 1808 to 1814 the Spaniards were engaged in a

ence, they brought with them the elements of culture which were germinating in Provence. It was of that peculiar Gallo-Roman type which was destined, in the hands of the Provençal troubadours, to create an ideal, but evanescent, poesy. During the latter half of the thirteenth and the whole of the fourteenth century the Catalan literary development might be regarded as a branch of that of Southwestern France.

Symptoms of an independent Catalan literature.



VIEW IN CATALONIA.—BEUSA.—Drawn by Albert Tissandier, from nature.

tremendous struggle for national existence. They had been cozened by the Man of Corsica out of all semblance of character or independence, and were aroused to a considerable degree of resentment and vindictive passion. But the genius of the race was too lethargic to be shocked into life even by this powerful galvanism, under whose currents all Europe was quivering into new conditions of progress.

As to Catalan literature, only a few words need be said. With the return of the Catalonians from beyond the Pyr-

It was the poetry and romance of the old Langue d'Oc transplanted to the southern slopes of the Pyrenees. In the fifteenth century the Catalan culture reached its golden age. The kings of Aragon patronized literature, and there was founded in Barcelona a literary consistory called the "Gay Saber," similar to that of Toulouse.

From this center sprang up a second development of song in a form more different from the Provençal than had hitherto existed in the south. Meanwhile, in the period from the thirteenth

to the fifteenth centuries, a class of prose writers who modeled their works after the chronicles of the Provençal school sprang up, and presently rivaled the Catalan troubadours in the extent and variety of their compositions. In the fifteenth century many translations were made into Catalan from the Latin classics, and the foundations were laid for a permanent and extensive literature.

The Catalonian stream flows into the Spanish channel.

But in the meantime Aragon, by the union of the two crowns, had been merged in the monarchy of Spain. The nationality of the Aragonese was thus abbreviated; and the distinctive intellectual features of the race subsided in the common culture of the country. To the present time, however, the speech is preserved and is taught as a classic in the schools of the province, where the language still subsists as the vernacular.

CHAPTER LXX.—THE PORTUGUESE.



Now come to consider the fourth of the Latin races, the Portuguese. There may not be discovered in geography much reason for regarding Portugal as a country different from Spain. It is not separated therefrom by any mountain range or other natural demarkation. All of the three principal rivers of Portugal have their rise and upper waters in Spain, and the two countries are uniform in constitution along the border line. Nevertheless, it is more in accordance with the facts to regard the Portuguese as a distinct branch of the Latin stock than merely as an offshoot from the Spanish race. The relations of the Portuguese to the Spaniards, ethnically considered, are very much like those of the Provençals to the French—an analogy which will hereafter be further elucidated.

The ethnic composition of the population of Portugal is another example of the admixture of many bloods. The northern provinces are settled by people who are derived from the same fam-

ily with the Galician branch of the Spaniards. It is in this part of the country that the race is of purest derivation, as with the advance southward the inter-fusion of foreign bloods becomes more noticeable. In the Middle Ages the Portuguese held more friendly relations with the Moors than did the people of Castile or Andalusia. They contracted many marriages with the Arabs and their descendants, and the trace of this affiliation is still present in the blood and speech of the people.

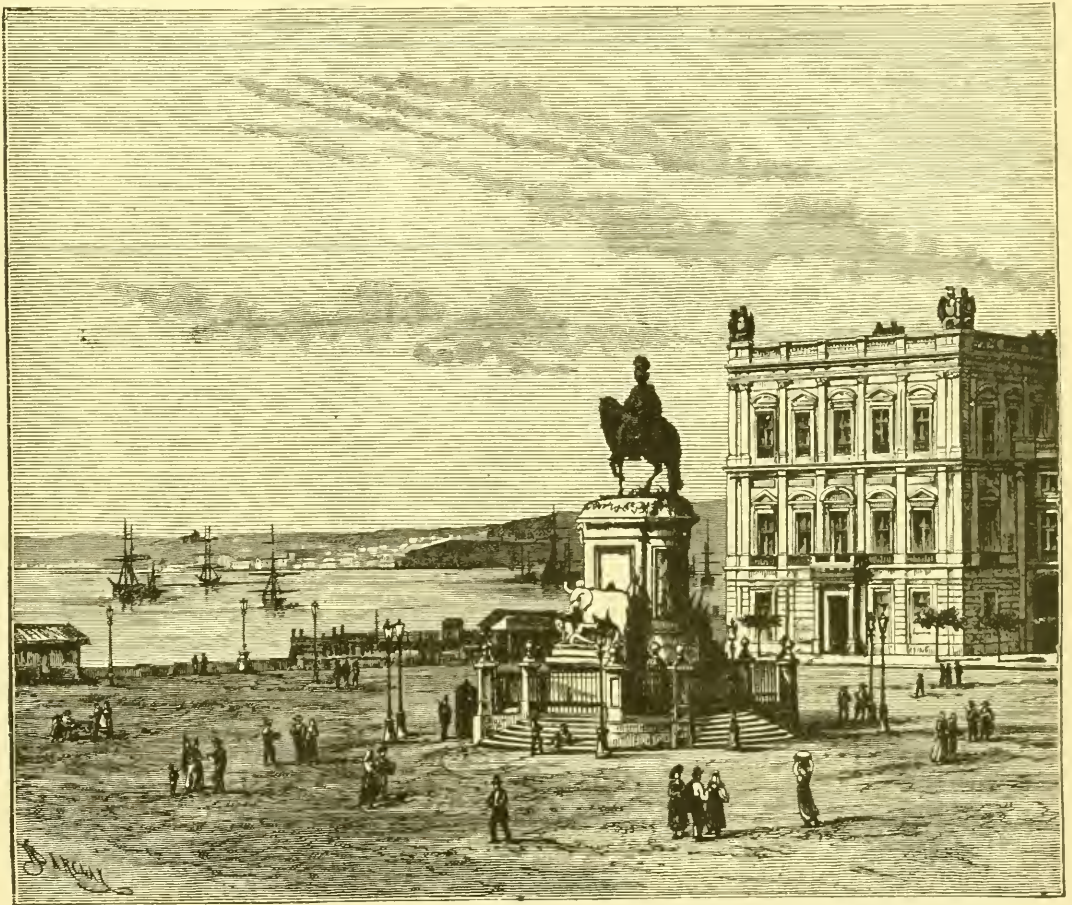
Admixture of bloods in the formation of the stock.

At a later age, when the Moors were expelled, the Portuguese adopted the policy of planting colonies of Crusaders in the place vacated by the African foreigners. Large numbers of French, English, Dutch, and Frisians were thus incorporated, about the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, with the Portuguese stock. The people were more tolerant of foreigners than were almost any other of the southern or western populations of Europe. Even the Jews were treated with respect in Portugal, and many intermarriages occurred between the sons of the country and the daughters of Israel. Most or all of these foreign influ-

ences may to the present time be traced by the ethnologist in the physiognomy, the manners and customs and speech of the Portuguese people.

In the first place, however, it is well to glance back to fundamental conditions. Portugal is a part of the Iberian peninsula, and has from the first shared in general the ethnological and histori-

the early relations of the peoples of this region with those of the South and the East were such as to give a tinge to the whole subsequent ethnic evolution of the race. In the fifth century the Visigoths followed the Vandals and the Alani in their conquests of the country; but the Visigothic invasion was permanent in its results. The situation was the same as that in Spain Proper. From



SCENE IN LISBON.—PALACE OF COMMERCE AND STATUE OF JOSEPH I.—Drawn by Barclay, from a photograph.

cal vicissitudes of the countries south of the Pyrenees. In the horizon of the prehistoric ages we discover the first strata of population in the Iberians and the Celts. There are traditions of the colonization of the country by the Phœnicians and of conquests by the Carthaginians. It may not be doubted that

the time of the establishment of the Gothic race to the close of the eleventh century the destinies of Portugal were in no essential particular different from those of the other Spanish provinces.

The separate career of Portugal, historically considered, is said to begin with the year 1094, when the country

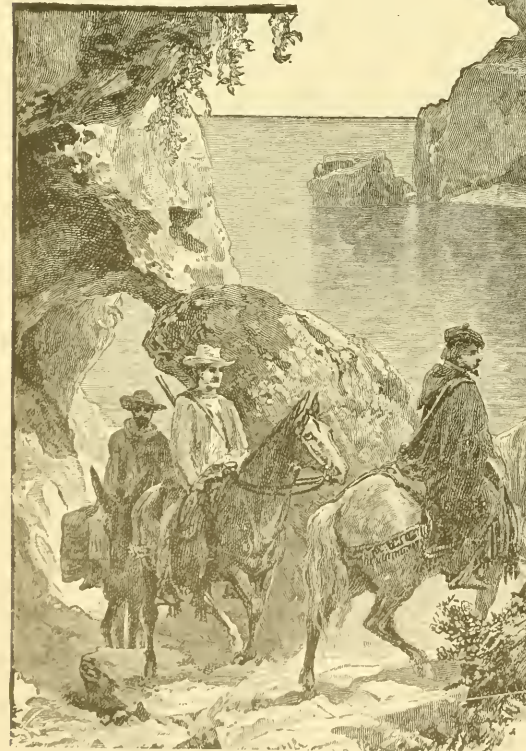
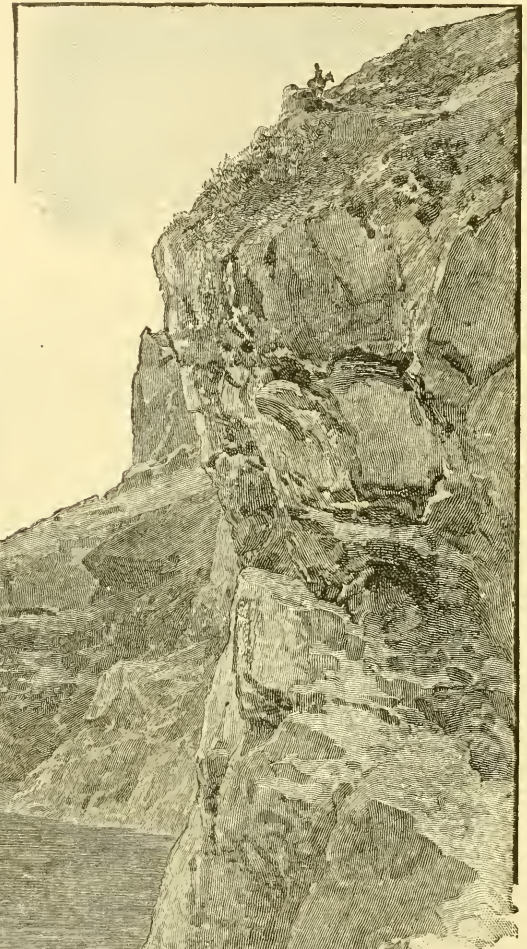
called Terra Portucalensis was given as a fief to Count Henry of Burgundy.

Historical outline of Portuguese development.

The attempt has been made to show that the rudiments of Portuguese nationality were laid by the ancient Lusitanians. No doubt the latter people became a constituent element of the new race, but the limits of the one people were not coincident with those of the other. The poetical name of Lusitania has been retained in modern literature as a name of Portugal, but such use of the word is the expression of a conceit rather than a reality.

It is by no means our intention to delineate in this place the progress of civil and political affairs in Portugal from the cession of the country to Henry

lished in 1580. There may have been times in this long span from the be-



COAST ROAD NEAR ADRA, IN ANDALUSIA.
Drawn by F. T. Compton.

of Burgundy down to the time of the Spanish domination, which was estab-

ginning of the eleventh to the close of the sixteenth century when the country and the race could have been merged with Spain. The other mediæval states of the peninsula were consolidated, as we have seen, in the times of Ferdinand and Isabella. The political union of Castile and Aragon was merely a tangible expression of the fusion of the

Spanish people, but in this consolidation the Portuguese were not a part.

It was about the middle of the fifteenth century when the race became

self-conscious. Portuguese genius began to express itself in various forms of

enterprise, some of which have been reflected into current history. Vasco da Gama appeared and discovered the southeast passage around the globe. Not long afterwards Magellan took the southwest route across the illimitable waters, with the same triumphant result. Alfonso de Albuquerque, following in the pathway of Da Gama, established on the island of Ormuz—the great *entrepôt* of commerce between Persia and India—the first Portuguese colony in the East, from which as a center has radiated all the subsequent European domination of that country. In course of time the settlements thus established were destined to give place to the Dutch, then to the French, and finally to the English, whose magisterial skill has placed a population of two hundred million under the sway of the British scepter.

These outpourings of Portuguese power and enterprise awakened the ambition and consciousness of the race; and when

three quarters of a century afterwards Philip II of Spain attempted the consolidation of Portugal with his own dominions, he found that the spirit of nationality would not brook the merging of the Western people with the other states of the peninsula. The domination of the Spanish crown, called in the half-satirical language of the Portuguese historians “the Sixty Years’ Captivity,” only extended to the year 1640, when Portugal reasserted her independence, and has maintained it, with only an occasional break, to the present time.

The race distinguished by its adventurers.

The “Sixty Years’ Captivity;” Brazilian colonization.

The excursion of the race through the Western waters to the shores of South America was destined to produce much greater results. Of all the plantings by foreign peoples in the New World south of the Rio Grande del Norte, that accomplished by the Portuguese at the mouths of the Rio Amazonas and Rio São Francisco were the most permanent and successful. Brazilian independence and nationality have risen in majesty and strength from these plantings; and a Great Portugal, like the Great Greece



VASCO DA GAMA.

of antiquity and the real Great Britain—which is America—has surpassed by nearly ninety-fold the geographical area of the mother country.

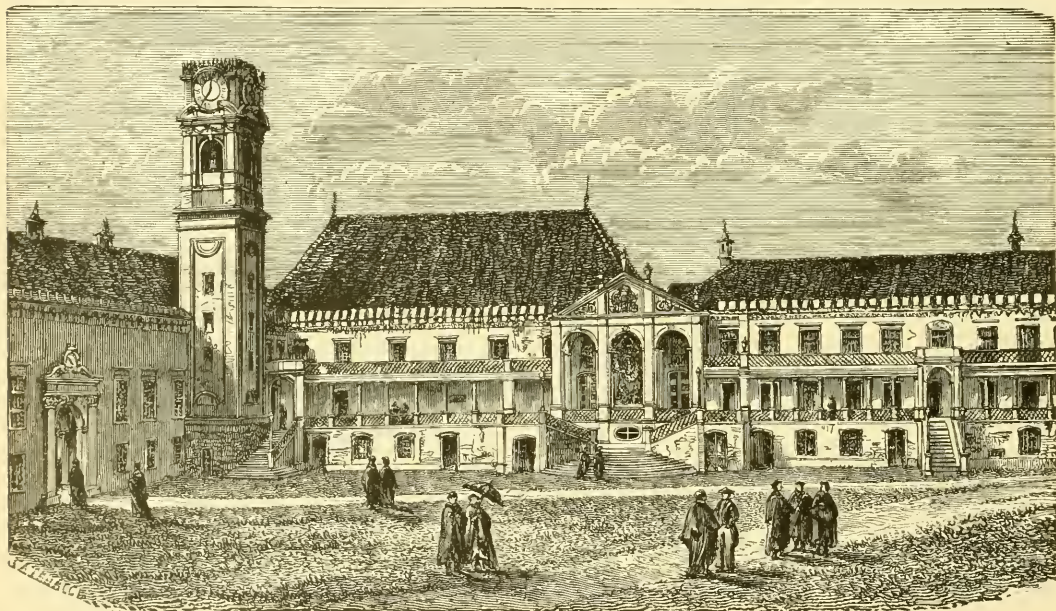
The consciousness of having a national history of their own has in all of their career stimulated the spirit and maintained the independence of the Portuguese people. The large intermixture of foreign elements to which we referred above has also added to the Portuguese character some traits of personality for which we should look in vain among the Spaniards.

Circumstances tending to produce a Portuguese literature.

These facts have contributed to the individual development of a Portuguese language and literature. We have seen that the first forms of the folk speech which succeeded Latin in the countries north of the mountains were the *Langue d'Oïl* in the north and the *Langue d'Oc* in the south of France. Corresponding to these two forms of language there was developed in the Iberian peninsula what was known as the *Lingua Romana Rustica*. This was produced in the

Christian populations only accepted the language of their Arabian conquerors by force of authority. In the country provinces the Rustica continued to be spoken until the decline of the Moorish kingdom. Portugal shared with Spain the linguistic vicissitudes here described. With the recession of the Moors and their replacement, as we have seen, with colonies of Crusaders, the Rustic Latin revived and took a new develop-

Rustic Latin revives after the expulsion of the Moors.



PORTUGUESE LEARNING.—UNIVERSITY OF COIMBRA.—Drawn by H. Catenacci, from a photograph by Seabra.

century following the Visigothic conquest, and continued to be the language of the provinces south and west of Catalonia until the time of the Arabian ascendancy. The language of the Moors then took the place of the *Lingua Rustica*, and became the speech of the country, at least of the upper classes of society, in all parts except in some of the remote and mountainous districts.

The situation in Portugal for two centuries—from the tenth to the twelfth—was not unlike that which succeeded the Norman conquest in England. The

ment in the form of Portuguese. It was at this point that the linguistic history of Portugal departs from that of Spain, and maintains ever afterwards an independent course of development. Portuguese bears a strong resemblance to Spanish. Its origin in its present form may be traced to the eleventh century. But the speech of that early epoch was not refined into a vehicle of literature and polite communication until two hundred years afterwards; and it required three centuries additional to bring in what is known as the golden age of

Portuguese literature. In the sixteenth century the language had reached a completeness in its grammatical structure and vocabulary from which it has departed but little to the present day.

It is claimed by scholars that the Portuguese language may be regarded as the eldest daughter of Latin. In many respects the features of the original tongue are better preserved in Portu-

Notable preservation of Latin in Portuguese.

Rome. It is a strange and instructive fact that, flowing forth on the tides of ethnic history and drifting across continents and oceans, through a span of fully eighty-eight degrees of longitude and more than seventy-five degrees of latitude, passing through the equatorial regions of the earth and suffering all manner of violence and disaster, the Portuguese language has thus, even on the frontiers of Brazil, so well preserved



PORT OF SERPA.—Drawn by Riou.

guese than in any of the cognate languages. It is, perhaps, true that the traveler will hear in the streets of Rio Janeiro at the present time a language which, in its pronunciation, its tone, its accent and harmony, is more nearly a reproduction of Latin, such as it was in the first centuries of the empire, than is the language heard in the streets of

the tongue of the Albanian fathers as it was heard in the forum at Rome before the Christian era.

Portuguese is one of the softest and sweetest media of communication employed among the modern races. It is more easy of utterance and more fluent than Spanish. Sismondi, employing an

Characteristics of the language; spoken by fifteen million.

anatomical metaphor, calls it a *boncless* Castilian. The Spaniards themselves, recognizing the mellifluous character of the sister tongues, define it as a language of flowers. It can not be doubted that it is one of the softest and most voluptuous languages of modern times, melting into cadences and tones that might well remind one of the music and rhythm of Ionic Greek. Doubtless these qualities which have been attained by the reduction of the consonantal and the augmentation of the vocalic elements of the language have somewhat weakened it as a vehicle for robust and energetic expression, but it has retained so much of the precision and force of the original Latin that it must not be regarded as merely an effeminate and tropical form of speech.

Portuguese has shown itself capable of containing a fair average proportion of modern literature, and has more than held its own in recent centuries with the more pretentious language of Spain. It is at the present time the vehicle of intercourse, in Europe and South America, for more than fifteen million of people, and is spoken over a territory nearly four million square miles in extent.

The literary development of Portugal has been correlated in every part with the civil history of the country. We have remaining for our study many fragments of the songs of the courtly troubadours who, as early as the latter part of the twelfth century and during the larger part of the thirteenth, constituted a literary class as well in Portugal as in Spain and Provence. At this epoch the language was becoming a vehicle of literature, perfecting its forms, choosing its meters, and filling its vocabulary. At the beginning of the twelfth century,

Outline of the literary evolution in Portugal.

with the accession of Affonso Henriques, the influence of Southern France was distinctly felt at the Portuguese court, and gave a direction to the work of the poets. Lyrical productions continued to constitute the exclusive literature until the thirteenth century, when the epic appeared. The history of the Portuguese, their relations with the Moors, their inheritance by the hands of the returning Crusaders of a vast collection of stories out of the East, gave the material for narrative compositions similar to those of the French *trouverses*. The first Portuguese novel in prose was a translation of *Amadis de Gaul*, by Vasco de Lobeira, who died in 1403. A little later the historical chronicle appeared and theological writings, such as those which were cultivated among the schoolmen of the north.

During the fifteenth century there was a revival of lyric poetry, and with the sixteenth came the golden age, in which, by the rendition of the Latin classics, the Portuguese intellect was turned to the imitation of classical models and the production of original works in the same spirit with those of the ancients. The Portuguese biographies, histories, and travels of the sixteenth century are among the most brilliant and fascinating writings which the modern world has inherited from that age of romance and adventure. About the exploits of Da Gama, Magellan, and Albuquerque, a whole cycle of literary narratives, written for a large part by the participants in the adventures recorded, sprang into existence, reminding one of the similar works produced by the English maritime heroes—Drake, Frobisher, Hakluyt, Smith—of the age of Elizabeth.

Influence of classical models: romance and adventure.

In one particular at least the Portu-



FISH MERCHANTS OF LISBON—TYPES.—Drawn by F. Ronjat.

guese race, considered as a branch of the human family, has distinguished itself from the cognate Spanish division. It

The Portuguese has preserved to the present day much of its original force and character. It

has never suffered such a disastrous decline as that which has afflicted the Spanish family. The paralysis which overtook Spain at the close of the sixteenth century, and which has left her inactive and lethargic to the present day, did not seriously spread into Portugal. Whether we examine the industries of the country, the commercial and colonial enterprises which were started with the discovery of the New World, or the intellectual and literary achievement of the Portuguese of the present age, we are spared the spectacle of race decline which is presented in the rest of the Iberian peninsula.

It is not meant that the Portuguese have in the last three centuries kept pace with the energetic nations north of the

mountains. Much less have they rivaled the prodigious activities of the English-speaking family in the Old and the New World. But they have not Genius of the race repressed by the spirit of Rome. lapses into imbecility— have not become a carica- ture and mockery of themselves as they appeared in the sixteenth century. Portuguese genius has been oppressed and distressed, in common with the spirit and intellect of all the Latin races, by the shadow of Rome, but the anti-progressive repression of that ancient power, having its center in the Vatican palace, has not been so dreadful a weight on the Portuguese as on the Italians and the Spaniards. Indeed, it remains to be seen whether this branch of the Latin family will not yet, in the republic of Brazil at least if not in the mother country, assert itself against the traditions of the past, challenge conservatism, and rise into those vast and progressive activities which mark the forward march of all the emancipated peoples.

CHAPTER LXXI.—THE PROVENÇALS.



E have still to consider briefly the two remaining divisions of the Latin family. The first of these is the Provençal stock, planted and developed in Southern

France. To what extent this race may be regarded as a separate and distinct derivative from the Roman family, or to what extent it should be considered as

Race distribution not adequately represented with linear diagram. an offshoot of the Gallo-Latin race in Northern France, is still a question of controversy. In fact, that species of diagram which represents the departures of

the different races of men by lines radiating from common centers and branching here and there is, as we have intimated in other parts of the present work, misleading and erroneous. Such representation is too exact and rectilinear for the facts to which it refers. No doubt the mind is aided in its apprehension of the actual course of race distribution by diagrams and exact description; but the progressive processes by which mankind have been distributed into their present seats were different altogether from linear movements.

Let waters be poured out from a great reservoir in a sluice upon the somewhat

irregular surface of the earth. Observe the movement as it rushes and divides and spreads. Perhaps it is not unlike the progress of the human race over the earth. But the spread of the water is more rapid and sensible. It is not such a slow and creeping process as that by which men have gone in tribes and families to their destination. While, therefore, we retain the method of linear

ing tendency was discoverable between the development in Central and in Southern France. We have already indicated the river Loire as a geographical approximation to the ancient line of division. In course of time, however, the northern development—that is, the French race proper—bore upon the southern development—that is, the Provençal—and pressed it southward by a



VIEW IN MARSEILLES.—THE PRADO FROM THE PLACE
CASTELLANE.
Drawn by J. Fulleylove.

diagrams as an aid to the understanding, the reader must be warned against accepting such configuration as a precise picture of the facts.

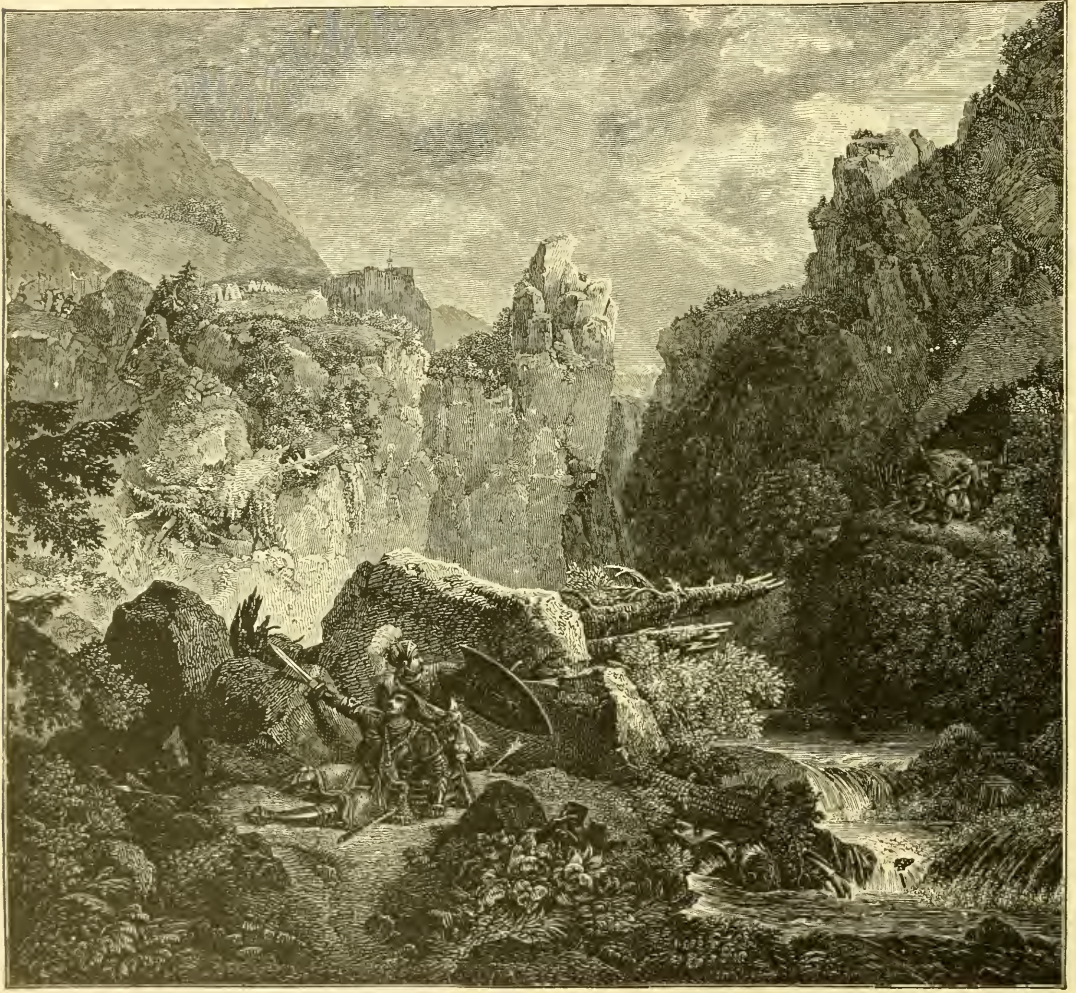
The Gallo-Roman race was formed, after the manner already described, by composition of Celts proper, of Belgians, and Aquitanian Basques, under the domination of Roman colonies, and by a gradual assimilation of the whole into a Roman type. But very early a divid-

considerable space. The original country, which was occupied by the Provençal people as discriminated from the French, may therefore be defined as bounded on the south by the Pyrenees and the Mediterranean, on the west by the Atlantic, on the east by the Alps, and on the north by a line drawn from the estuary of the Gironde directly east

Geographical
boundaries of
the Provençal
race.

to the Alps at the northern limits of the province of Dauphiné. This would include in ancient Provence not only the small modern province of that name on the Mediterranean, but also Dauphiné, Languedoc, Roussillon, Foix, Guienne,

North and the Old South French, we might have hesitated—might still hesitate—to recognize the ethnic division into a Frankish and a Provençal family. But the linguistic phenomena, present in the two parts of the country, point



DEATH OF ROLAND AT RONCESVALLES.—From the painting by Michallon.

Gascony, Bearn, Navarre, and parts of Limousin, Auvergne, and Lyonnais.

It must be understood that this division of the Gallo-Roman race into two is made on the line and by the fact of language.

Language the dividing line between French and Provençal. Had it not been for the marked distinctions which presently appeared between the speech of the Old

unmistakably, not only to a different historical, but to a diverse race origin and development. In the north, beginning with the *Langue d'Oïl*, we have seen the evolution of the French language and subsequently of the French literature of the Middle Ages and of modern times. In the south we see the development, from the basis of



PROVENÇAL SERENADER.—From *Magazine of Art*.

Langue d'Oc, of a mediæval ballad, or lyrical, literature, and a trace—after the subsidence of that type—of an independent class of compositions, even to the present day. It is true that Provençal stopped short of a complete literary efflorescence. While the old dialect of the Ile de France grew and expanded and branched into a great tree, while in Italy, by a similar process of evolution, the Italian language sprang and flourished, no such complete expansion and definite results were reached in Provençal. The idiom failed, and, it might be said, withered before its epoch of leafage and fruit bearing.

The difference between Provençal and French began at a very early age to attract the attention of the mediæval scholars. In the time of the Crusades the dialect of the warriors from the south was notably different from that of the northern horde. Not long after the fall of Acre and the conclusion of the Eastern wars a rhetorical treatise, called the *Lcys d'Amors*, was composed at Toulouse. It was not the work of any single hand, but the product of several. It is written in what was designated as the *Lenga Romana*; that is, the rising folk speech of Southern France, corresponding in its character to that *Romana Rustica* which we have already described as the foundation of Spanish.

At an early date there had been an exposition of the language by a Catalan poet, named Raimon Vidal, by whom the tongue was designated as *Limousin*, for the reason that the troubadours of that province had achieved unusual distinction—this before the close of the thirteenth century. We have already explained how completely the Catalan language and that of Provence were interfused along the borders,

and also the circumstances by which the Catalonians were carried back and forth across the Pyrenees.

Already in the first century after Charlemagne, while the successors of that strong monarch were bearing the political and civil institutions established by him downwards to a lower and lower level, the Provençals were a gay and happy folk, whose imagination and creative fancy were rising into active exercise. It was one of the earliest intellectual movements in modern Europe. The poetical form of expression foreran composition in prose, and the song cycle which flourished on the tongues and harps of the troubadours was perfected. Historically, the language began its literary excursions in the eleventh century; that is, the first conscious efforts at production belong to that era. The first bards used the Latin orthography, adapting it as best they might to the new speech. The progress was rapid, too rapid, perhaps, to indicate permanence. Within a hundred and fifty years from the time of the composition of the first poems the language and literature had reached their complete evolution, and from that time both declined and finally disappeared.

Provençal was used for administrative and literary purposes to nearly the middle of the fifteenth century. It expired, or sank into a patois, in the different provinces at different times. The province of Bearn preserved the original speech as an official language to the seventeenth century, but in most of the other countries of the south it fell into decadence and disuse. Meanwhile, however, a great change had appeared in the tongue, particularly in the manner of writing it. The Latin orthography

Early linguistic separation of the two peoples.

Rapid and transitory development of Provençal literature.

Transformation of the language into vernacular forms.

had been found insufficient. The troubadours or their copyists had introduced new orthographical forms, copied largely from the French. The comparison between the earlier and later works in Provençal show how greatly these changes had worked in what may be called the physical aspect of the language. It was thus within a limit of four centuries that Provençal ran its entire course. After 1450 it was heard only incidentally or on the tongues of peasants. But it had, meanwhile, embalmed itself in a literature so poetical and happy as to elicit the admiration of all after times.

While Boëthius, last of the Roman authors born under the Western empire, was awaiting sentence of death in the prison of Pavia, he composed his *Consolation of Philosophy*,

Relation of
Boëthius to Ro-
manic and Eng-
lish prose.

greatest of his works. Being a mixture of prose and verse, and expressing such philosophical sentiments as have always been appropriate to the human mind in sorrow, the book gained great fame, and held it unimpaired during the Middle Ages. It furnished one of the first bases of mediæval translation. After having been rendered into Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, it began to be turned into the folk tongues of Western Europe. Alfred the Great of England selected it for translation into Anglo-

Saxon, and thus did much to fix the forms of his native language. It furnished also the subject-matter of the first great production in Provençal. An unknown author of the eleventh century took the Latin work as the ground of his own composition, producing what in after ages would have been called an *adaptation* rather than a translation. The author designates himself as a "clerk," reminding one of the colloquial style of Chaucer. A little later, William IX, Count of Poitiers and



THE MINSTREL ADENES LI ROIS BEFORE QUEEN MARY OF FRANCE.

From a manuscript of the thirteenth century.

Duke of Guienne, appeared in the rôle of poet, producing eleven compositions, which have been preserved for the study and amusement of modern times. William himself was a Crusader, but his war was with the Saracens of Spain rather than with the infidels of the East. In these earliest efforts of the Provençal imagination there is a strong reflection of Christian sentiments. Even the work of Boëthius, which was pagan in the last degree, was given a Christian cast, and made didactic in translation by its author.

The Provençal literature thus pro-

jected passed rapidly from the hands of the clerks to the hands of folk bards, of singers who knew not Latin. The popular language and popular strains of thought more and more prevailed over that style which had been at the beginning a sort of classicism. The earliest poems had been given forth by the learned guild, and the subject-matter had little popularity in it. The themes

The folk bards run away with the learned guild.

mental refinement continued to struggle for expression, and though the classical models were abandoned, though the language of the people was adopted, the themes of emotion, particularly of love, continued to be the subject of the song. Dante, in his *Vita Nuova*, remarks that the first mediæval bards who used the vulgar tongue in their compositions did so in order that their ladyloves, *who*

The love and war theme preserved; Dante's reasons.



PLOWMAN OF LANGUEDOC—TYPE.

were rather subjective and personal than objective, descriptive, passionate. But the latter themes came in, and the troubadour cycle of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries proceeded from the Joglars, or folk singers, rather than from the clerks.

It was the prevalence of the latter class of composers in the north of France that gave to the early poetry of that country its rough, popular, and war-like cast. In the south, the old senti-

could not read Latin, might enjoy the effusion of sentiment and chivalry poured out in the folk speech rhymes.

In the south country, in all places where Provençal was cultivated, in Catalonia beyond the Pyrenees, and indeed throughout Spain and Portugal, the troubadours became ever-welcome visitors to the people. Their influence over the public mind was very great. Even in the north of France, where this class

Age and ascendancy of the Provençal troubadours.

of bards were not well received, their productions were admired. They had caught the national spirit. Their effusions did much to kindle the rising consciousness of Europe. The reader must revert in mind to the complete break-up of society under feudalism and to the Crusades as the first common effort of Europe in a common cause. In this cause were blended the zeal of the Church and the lyrical enthusiasm of the troubadours. The traveling monk, going from place to place, inciting the people to insurrection and to march against the Infidels of the East, found his readiest helper in the wandering rhapsodist who recited in castle halls, and even at the doors of the homes of peasants, the ballads of war and devotion.

We can easily see in these influences the antecedent suggestions of that chivalry which was soon to gild

Sentiment and song become corporeal in chivalry.

the darkness of the age.

The ideal sentiments which the Provençal poetry embalmed, which it reiterated and enforced in every quatrain, were the premonitory flashes of that gallantry and knighthood which, however fictitious, were the redeeming features of the subsequent epoch. It is in the nature of a popular poetry to encourage fidelity, to fan the flame of devotion, to make heroism beautiful, and love the principal thing. All of these tendencies were promoted by the Provençal literature. No other peoples of modern times have had the lyrical disposition so strongly developed as those of Southern France and Spain. Provence was the land of song and of singers in an age when gloom and violence were the prevailing facts in the general society of Western Europe. We can but look back with admiration and sympathy to the small but ecstatic flights of the human

mind as it rose, lark-like, with the revival of morning in the sunny regions of ancient Languedoc and around the Mediterranean coast from the spurs of the Alps to the foot of the Pyrenees.

What is here said is intended merely as illustrative of the character of the Provençal branch of the Latin family of nations. We can discover in the conditions of early intellectual development in Southern France the antecedents of much of the future history of the country. It has been for three centuries difficult to maintain national unity between the French and the Provençals, on account of the diverse spirit of the two peoples. True, the language, the institutions, the manners, the political methods of the French nation have been extended to the Mediterranean, and travel and intercourse and intermarriage have obliterated the more conspicuous features of diversity present in the Middle Ages. But ever and anon, even to the middle and after part of the nineteenth century, the old prevailing spirit of the Provençals revives in some form of political or social action at variance with the general course of the French people.

Most strikingly was this displayed in the movements of a hundred years ago which led to the revolution of 1789, and which gave in several crises a deter-

Loyalty and liberty struggle for mastery in Provence.

minate course to that great conflict. *Loyalty* was a quality of mind and action for which the Provençals had been immemorably distinguished. Should they abandon the venerable monarchy? Should they remain quiet while the ancient aristocratic liberties of France were swept away? Should they tamely submit to the disgrace and overthrow of the mother Church? Much of the

history of the revolutionary struggle turns about the negative answers which were given by the Provençal loyalists in the south to these critical questions. It was difficult in all stages of the great transformation to secure the coöperation of the southern populations in the work of transforming France. Time and again the generals of the republic were com-

Wherever the republican spirit broke out in Southern France in the days of the French revolution, it flamed with unusual coruscations. In no other part of the kingdom did leaders of the revolution appear who so readily grasped the bottom principles of the conflict, and who at so early a day reasoned it out to its ultimate consequences.



A GIRONDIST GUARD OF THE REVOLUTION.—Drawn by Eugene Girardet.

pelled to visit the southern and southwestern cities with fire and sword in order to compel acquiescence in the course of action which was resisted by the ancient spirit of the race.

At the same time another old-time quality of the Provençal mind brought forth an opposite result. The patriotic enthusiasm of the people operated to produce in certain classes and in certain characters precisely the reverse of that loyalism which we have described above.

Many of the principal characters of the revolutionary epoch came out of southern cities. The whole Gironde may be regarded as Provençal. The Girondist principles of society and government may be said to have been the very bloom of the Provençal mind. Mark well, also, the Comte de Mirabeau. No abler than he, no stronger, appeared in all that stormy horizon. He was out of Provence. Whence came that

Provence gives
her soul of fire
to the revolution.

body of republican soldiers, marching from afar? Steady, steady is their tramp, tramp, on their way to the north, to Paris. Tall, swart men, but lithe, they are; great-skulled, strong, resolute, unshorn during the long journey; republican to the core. They are singing this song on the march and at the gates of Paris:

"Ye sons of France, awake to glory!
Hark, hark! what myriads bid you rise!"

It is that most fiery of all revolutionary songs which the sons of men have sung as they have gone into the conflict. It is *La Marseillaise*; and the name carries with it to all posterity the place from which and the soldiers by whom the patriotic pæan was first chanted.

What town is that yonder on the coast, precipitous on one side, fortified, held by royalists in league with the English shipping in the harbor, hateful to republican France? And who is that bronzed artillery captain, now sleeping among his guns, now bounding with a lion's spring on Fort L'Eguillette? The town is Toulon, and the slight, swarthy artillery officer has the name of Bonaparte! So also Lyons tumbles from her foundations, and Marseilles is half consumed with fire by this republican wrath which has turned back to bite and burn the royalist wrath which it had left behind it. All this is Provençal—the remains of an old race conflict between the men of the Mediterranean coast and the men of the Seine.

We have already remarked upon the extent to which the French nation as such has been indebted to Provençal influences for its enlightenment and progress. Especially in a social point of view did the predominant people take the form and fashion of the south. In

the Middle Ages Central France had not by any means become the mirror in which all the rest of European society must discover the lineaments of politeness and elegant form. The society of Paris, such as it became under the Bourbon princes, was an importation from the south. At the time of the Crusades it had already been discovered that in manners and customs, in costume and address, the southern knights and their ladies were far superior to those whose demesnes lay north of the Loire.

Thus came into the valley of the Seine, to Paris, to Versailles, that type of gay and gallant social intercourse by which all modern societies in Europe

Teutonic races underestimate the social forms of the French.

and America have, to a certain extent, glassed themselves into corresponding elegance. Such phenomena as we are here describing are not easily apprehensible. A nation is never conscious of its own manners. Society, even by a conscious effort, can not see itself. It does, however, discover in *other* societies certain pleasing things, and is likely to imitate and adopt them as its own. This imitation, fortunately, is generally in the direction of superior things and against the barbarian prejudices of the past. There is existent a certain pessimistic view of human affairs which refuses to recognize the moral and intellectual benefits and elevating tendencies of polite intercourse such as the Gallo-Roman race has developed in France. Others, willing to recognize the superior refinements established by French society, still hold that the ruder forms and manners which have come down to modern times in the Teutonic channel are better for the peoples to whom such usages have descended. But in an age when cosmopolitan influences are abroad, such a view of the case is

French race indebted to the Provençals for refinement.

too narrow and provincial to be accepted. The same compulsion which rests upon French society to accept some of the sterner principles of morality which are, at least nominally, the rules of action among the English- and German-speaking races, rests also among the latter to accept the polite æstheticism and beautiful rules of social intercourse which

French society has produced. And the student of history will not fail to remember that the germs of this beautiful social structure, of its accomplishments, its gaiety, its cheerful spirit and high color, are nearly all to be discovered in that sunny country of love-lyrics and courtesies—the ancient land of the Provençals.

CHAPTER LXXII.—THE WALLACHIANS.



HERE yet remains a sixth and last division of the Latin race, the Wallachian. It may be well in entering upon a brief consideration of this last of the

Roman peoples of modern times to note first its locus. Geographically speaking, Wallachia lies in the bowl of the Danube. The shape of the river is that of the Great Dipper transferred to the earth. The cup is open to the north. The situation is such as well might hold the residuum of a great race. On the east and south and a large part of the west the Danube is the safe boundary—that Danube which in the closing epoch of the Roman republic was established as the frontier line against barbarism.

The student of history need not be told that the country here referred to is the Dacia of the Roman empire. With the extension of the imperial power the Eagles were moved to the north and east, and established as far as the river Tyras, the modern Dniester. Between that stream and the Danube the province of Dacia was organized and administered from the time of the early Cæsars

until after the downfall of the empire of the West.

The reader will also bear in mind that the Dacians were a Gothic race, and that of all the barbarian peoples with whom Rome came in contact on the frontier, they were the most assimilated by her agency and influence. It was out of this region that the Visigoths were transplanted to the right bank of the Danube; and from the same source the migration of the Gothic race began, and in the fifth century carried a new ethnic current into Italy and Spain.

Relations of the
Dacians with
the Roman
power.

Meanwhile, however, the sons of Constantine had divided the Roman empire, establishing a new capital at Constantinople. It happened that while the Gothic nations were pressing to the West, the Eastern empire may be said to have made a counterinvasion of Gothland. The people of Dacia had long since been Christianized by the agency of their great evangel Ulfilas, first translator of the Scriptures into a German tongue. Other influences radiated from the East and joined those of the West in Latinizing the tribes on the left banks of the Danube. These accepted the language and institutions of the conquerors, as did the Celts in

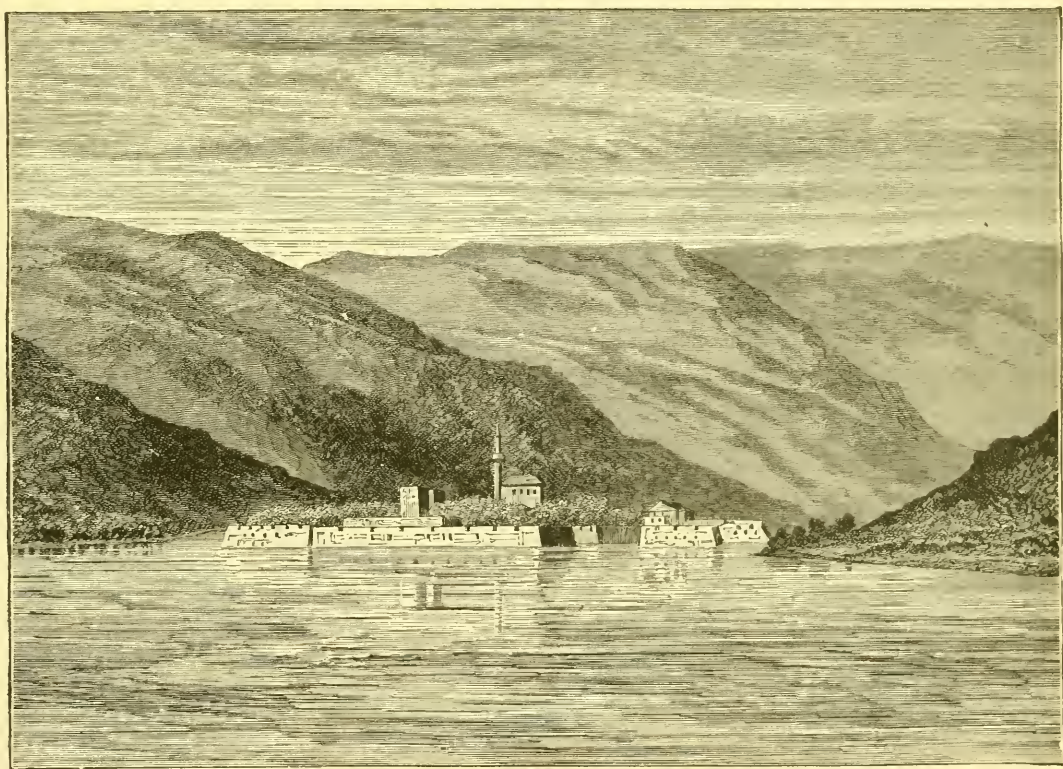
Geographical
situation of Wal-
lachia.

Gaul and the Iberians in Spain. Here were laid the foundations of a Latin race in this region so far removed from Italy.

But let us look back for a moment at the ethnic *origines* of this region. Dacia was one of the most interesting countries lying along the borders of the Roman empire. It was inhabited originally by

Place and relationships of the ancient Getæ.

inally a province in the Persian empire. Philip of Macedon courted and dreaded this people, and in order to make himself strong in that direction sought and obtained the daughter of the Dacian king, Cothelas, in marriage. But the Getæ were not safe allies. They again joined the Scythian tribes when Alexander invaded this region. Lysimachus, King of Thrace, at one time sought to



VIEW IN WALLACHIA.—FORTRESS OF ORSOVA.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

the Getæ, an Indo-European tribe, thought to have been out of Illyria or Thrace, and therefore allied, perhaps, ultimately with the Æolic Greeks. The Getæ held the country in the bowl of the Danube at the time when Rome first put out her standards to the frontiers of Europe. The Getæ were warlike. Of old, they had joined the Scythians in their resistance to Darius the Great when that monarch invaded Europe. For a short time Dacia was nom-

subdue them, but was himself routed and obliged to give his daughter to their king in marriage. Finally he fell prisoner in their hands, and was saved alive and restored to liberty by his Getian son-in-law.

The Gauls in their great reflex movement across Europe passed over Dacia and defeated the Getæ in battle. They sold them in large numbers as slaves to the Athenians and other Greeks. Dur-

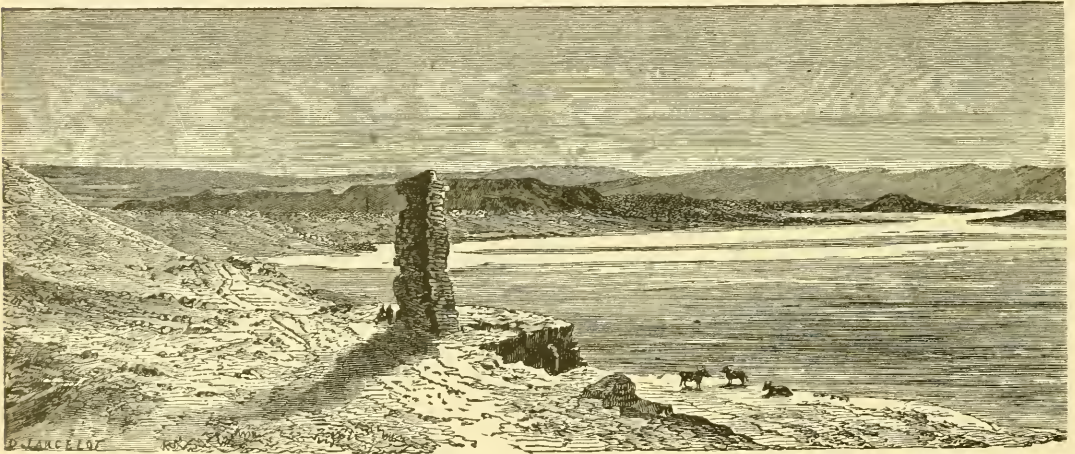
The Daci conquer the Getæ and amalgamate with them.

ing the first half of the first century B. C., the Daci, thought to have been kinsmen of the Getæ, came in out of Thrace. They were emigrants from the vicinity of Rhodope in that country, and succeeded in the year 57 B. C. in effecting a permanent settlement in Dacia, which henceforth took their name. For a considerable length of time they and the Getæ were co-countrymen, but the Daci were the stronger, and the name of the other people disappears at the close of the first century of our era.

At this time the Dacians were among

carried by the conquerors into the conquered country. Trajan's bridge was reckoned among the greatest structures of the kind in the ancient world, and the site is still pointed out by travelers.

It was in honor of the triumph of the Roman arms and of the successful campaigns of the emperor that the Column of Trajan, at Rome, was reared. Most of the figures on the exterior of that superb monument were those of Dacian captives. It was a barbarian warrior of the same race who was taken as a model for the *Dying Gladiator*, at



RUINS OF TRAJAN'S BRIDGE OVER THE DANUBE.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

the most formidable races with whom the Romans had to contend on the frontiers of the empire. It was in 101 A. D. that Trajan went against them in person, and meeting them at a place afterwards called *Pratum Trajani*, or Trajan's Crossroads, overthrew them in battle. Three years later he made another campaign, and at the capital, Varhely, the Dacian king, Vecebulas, committed suicide, and the country became a Roman province. The usual plan was adopted of securing future good order. A bridge was constructed across the Danube, and three great military roads, built after the Roman manner, were

Dacia becomes a dependency of Rome; Trajan's victories.

Rome. Lord Byron has not failed to catch the reference to the nationality of the expiring soldier who "leans upon his hand," and

"Consents to death, but conquers agony,

The arena swims around him—he is gone,
Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the wretch who won.

He heard it, but he heeded not—his eyes
Were with his heart, and that was far away;
He reck'd not of the life he lost nor prize,
But where his rude hut by the Danube lay
There were his young barbarians all at play,
There was their Dacian mother—he, their sire,
Butchered to make a Roman holiday."

But it was not only by military roads and bridges, not only by the transfer-

ence of masses of captives to Italy, to be kept there in slavery or made a sport for the populace, that Rome sought to establish her dominion in conquered provinces. It was chiefly by colonizing them with Roman subjects that she trusted to maintain her authority and hold the scepter of good order in all parts of the empire. Thus did she in Dacia. Colonies were gathered from other provinces and transferred to the country beyond the Danube. It is not known how many of these Roman settlements were planted in the country, but their number was sufficient. Dacia was Romanized, and the subject people—Dacians, descendants of the Getæ, scattered companies of Goths, all more or less amalgamated—found themselves in the presence and under the surveillance of a stronger than they. It was the same situation which we have already seen in Gaul, in Spain, in Portugal, and which we shall hereafter see in nearly all the countries of Western Europe.

Thus it was that the people of Dacia as early as the second

The Goths press the Danubian frontier.

century of our era became Latinized. This was before the days of the Goths.

The reader of history will recall how in the times of Domitian Rome had quailed before the Dacian people, and had agreed to pay a tribute for the maintenance of peace. The Trajanian wars had ended this humiliation; but the Dacians continued warlike until the close of the third century, when Aurelian deemed it prudent to withdraw from beyond the Danube, and

to constitute that river the frontier line of the empire. Thereafter the Roman legions had their station on the right bank of the Danube, and Dacia lay open to a Gothic conquest. As early as 248 A. D. the latter race was sufficiently strong in Dacia to make an inroad upon the empire. The Emperor Claudius defeated them in battle at Naisus, in Dardania, in the year 269. Aurelian had



TRAJAN—IMPERIAL TYPE.

battles with them. But it was their growing power north of the Danube that led that emperor to withdraw from Dacia, and constitute the river the boundary between Rome and barbarism.

It may be said that the Gothic race passed *through* Dacia on its way to the southwest. There was a considerable period when the Goths were predominant in the country, but it is doubtful whether they ever constituted a majority of the population. In the districts that lay

Ethnic constitution of the Wallachians.

back from the river the probability is that the old Dacian tribes still continued to preponderate in numbers and extent. In fact, *that* Dacia to which history has been so much disposed to point as the seat of the earliest Teutonic civilization, the center of the Mæso-Gothic culture to which Ulfilas's translation of the Scriptures contributed so powerfully, lay on the right bank of the river, within the limits of the empire proper. We may thus consider the Wallachian race to have been constituted ethnically of a substratum of Aryanism composed of two ancient Thracian races, the Getæ and the Dacians. The latter were Romanized at the beginning of the second century. A large Roman population was directly imported, and from this the subsequent language and manners and tendencies of the race were chiefly derived. Then came the Goths, the second, or Germanic, stratum in the composition of the people; then a long administration extending from the Eastern capital of the empire and bringing with it many elements of Latin and even of Greek derivation; finally, the subjugation of the country by the Turks.

The history of the Wallachian race from the time of the overthrow of the Western empire of the Romans to the subversion of the Eastern empire by the Turcomans is exceedingly obscure. We may assume that the race elements which we have already described continued in fusion and growth without much disturbance until the sixth century, when the Slavs came in from the north and greatly modified the population. We know from the testimony of language that this invasion amounted to a conquest; for the largest single element of words in the Vlach, or Wallachian, language, after the Ro-

man element, is Slavic. There must have been a very considerable infusion of a northern stock to have produced so great a change in the speech of the people.

After this event the country continued as it had been, a province of the Eastern empire, for several centuries. In the year 1290 a Transylvania leader called Radul Negru, who bore the title of *waywode* of the Roumans, came down with large forces and established his capital at Argish. After this time the nominal dependence on the Greek empire of Constantinople was broken and the country was what was called a waywodate, under the suzerainty of the King of Hungary. But at length Wallachia became independent, and remained so until the beginning of those Mohammedan conquests which presently ended in the capture of Constantinople.

After this event the Turcoman sultans were wont to appoint a ruler for Wallachia and Moldavia, and to a certain extent the population was again modified

The Wallachians at bottom a Roman people.

by Turkish influences. In the bottom, however, and essentially, it continued to be a Roman people, with a Latin language; and it is from this point of view that the modern Roumanians are to be considered in ethnography and general history. They constitute the easternmost branch of the Latin race, and have derived the greater part of their language and institutions from the Latin and from precedents which were established under the Roman empire.

The language is known as *Vlach*. The word is the old Gothic Voloch, which has in the Slavic tongue been modified into Vlach. The people, however, called themselves *Rumeni*, *Romeni*, or *Romani*. The first syllable, however, is pro-

The Vlach language; philosophy of the "line."

Outline of the vicissitudes of the race.

nounced *rou*—the whole being another example of a people of one name speaking a language of another name. As



RICH WALLACHIAN PEASANT—TYPE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

we have said, there is every evidence that this Vlach, or Rouman, race belongs ethnically in the Latin stem. In general,



TRADESMAN OF BUCHAREST—TYPE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

countries of Wallachia and Moldavia. But here again the student must be on his guard against limiting ethnic facts with lines. No race of men is or has ever been circumscribed with a geographical line. The latter is an artifice adopted by men for *political* convenience. The youth in his nonage passing from one country to another expects to find a line on the earth; but finds none. He is surprised to see the houses on the two sides of the "line" built after the same pattern and inhabited by the same kind of people. He must search long before he will find the people on one side of



JEW OF BUCHAREST—TYPE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

the "line" speaking a language different from that spoken by those on the other side. Manners and customs are confluent along all such selvages; and in the flowing together and intermingling of all currents the expected "line" becomes a myth.

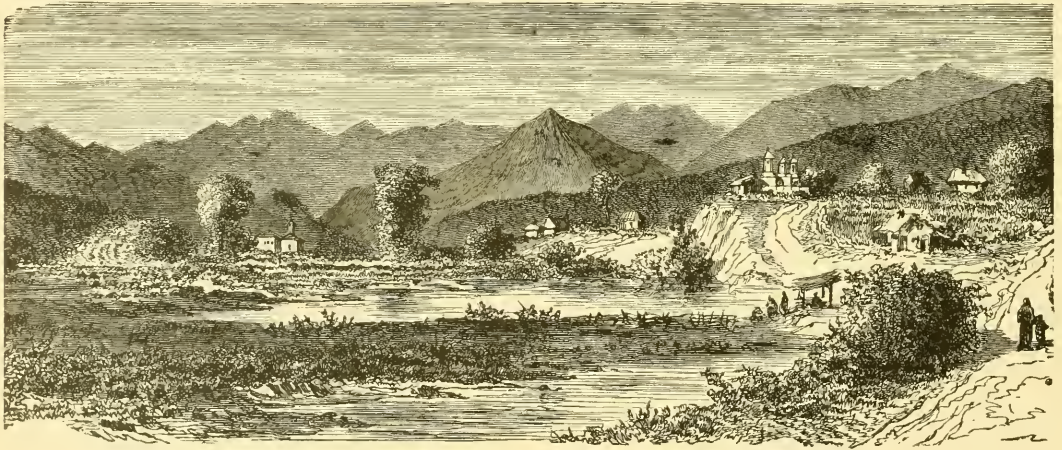
We should not expect to bound the Rouman race by the limits of Roumania. In fact, it has spread over the boundaries of the kingdom in every direction. It has even on the south flowed across

Outspread of
Wallachian
stock into sur-
rounding states.

the distribution of the people so called is throughout the modern kingdom of Roumania, embracing the two mediæval

the Danube. The central valleys of the Pindus mountains are inhabited by Roumanians; that is, people speaking the Vlach language and descended originally from the Latin stirps. There is a colony of them in Epirus and others in Ætolia and Acarnania, and in different districts of Albania, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Bulgaria. Northward of the kingdom of Roumania the race has extended into Bessarabia and into the countries of South Russia. Transylvania has received the Roumanians in several regions, and Hungary, particularly Banat, is partly populated by the same family.

country was overrun by the Goths, the Huns, the Gepidæ, the Avars, the Slavs, and the Bulgarians—to the virtual extinction of the Roman stock. The fact is also cited that we have a particular account of a Roumanian colony planted in the country in the year 1222, as though that were the origin of the modern people. But if we admit all this, the facts remain as they were before—that a Latin-speaking people have given tone and character and ethnic constitution to the whole race occupying the great bowl on the left of the Lower Danube.



ARGIS.

It has even spread to the shores of the Adriatic. In Servia the Roumanian element is preponderant, and in Istria the same stock is represented by the people called Cici, who are classified as Romani. Centrally, however, the race has its locus in ancient Dacia as that province was constituted in the times of Trajan.

A recent school of writers, headed by Roesler, have controverted the original Roman derivation of the Wallachians. It has been urged by them that the old Latin colonists were withdrawn in the times of the Emperor Aurelian, and particularly that in subsequent ages the

It should not be forgotten that the Latin colonists who planted themselves—or were planted rather by the republic and empire—in foreign parts were the dominant people, ruling the provincials as they would. If in the course of one or two centuries afterwards these colonials were formally withdrawn, their blood could not be withdrawn, nor could the institutions, the language, which they had left behind with their blood be again transplanted from the place in which they had taken permanent root. It is a matter of history that the colonists sent out from Rome and established in con-

In ethnic formation the strongest part prevails

Roman elements predominant in Wallachian character.

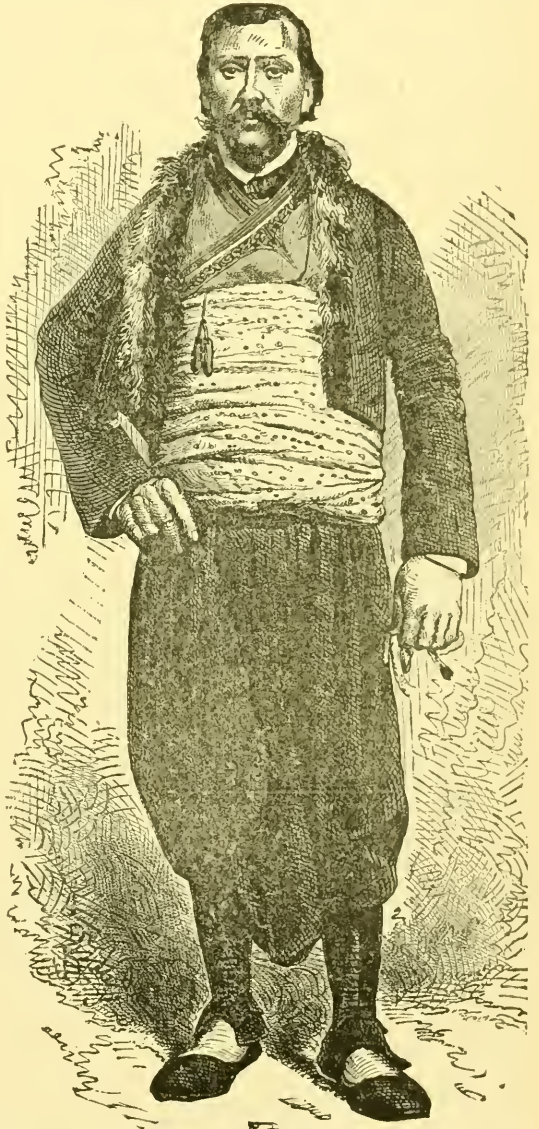
quered provinces rapidly drew to themselves the better elements of the native society. We must consider that such a relation was one of license, that the formalities of marriage would be little regarded, and that a Latin colony would in the course of one or two generations so diffuse itself among the subject people as to be henceforth ineradicable. It was thus, if we mistake not, that the ethnic constitution of the Wallachian race was given its Roman cast, and the subsequent inroads of migrating barbarian tribes could not displace the stronger race which had established itself in the country.

It may be said with truth that the Wallachian race, considered as a member of the Latin family, is lacking definition; that is, that the division between this people and the surrounding nations is not clear enough to constitute an ethnic demarkation. On the north there is a fading out of race characteristics and an interfusion of the Moldavians and Wallachians with the people of Bessarabia and Southern Russia. On the side of Greece there is the same merging, in the Pindus region, with the Albanians, and on the west it is difficult to say at what point the Wallachian element ceases to predominate over the Hungarian. On all sides there is a certain fading out of the distinct ethnography which we are able to trace in the case of the Italians and the other members of the great Roman family.

The Wallachian stock spreads into surrounding regions.

Lack of geographical definition around the race. er will perceive at a glance how greatly the ethnic solidarity of the Italians, the Spaniards, and the Portuguese have been maintained by the great walls of the Alps and the Pyrenees and the circum-

jacent oceans. In Wallachia there has been no such natural protection to the integrity of the race; and for this reason the Roumanian blood has diffused itself, as we have seen, across the bor-



BULGARIAN OF SOPHIA—TYPE.

Drawn by Emile Bayard, from a photograph.

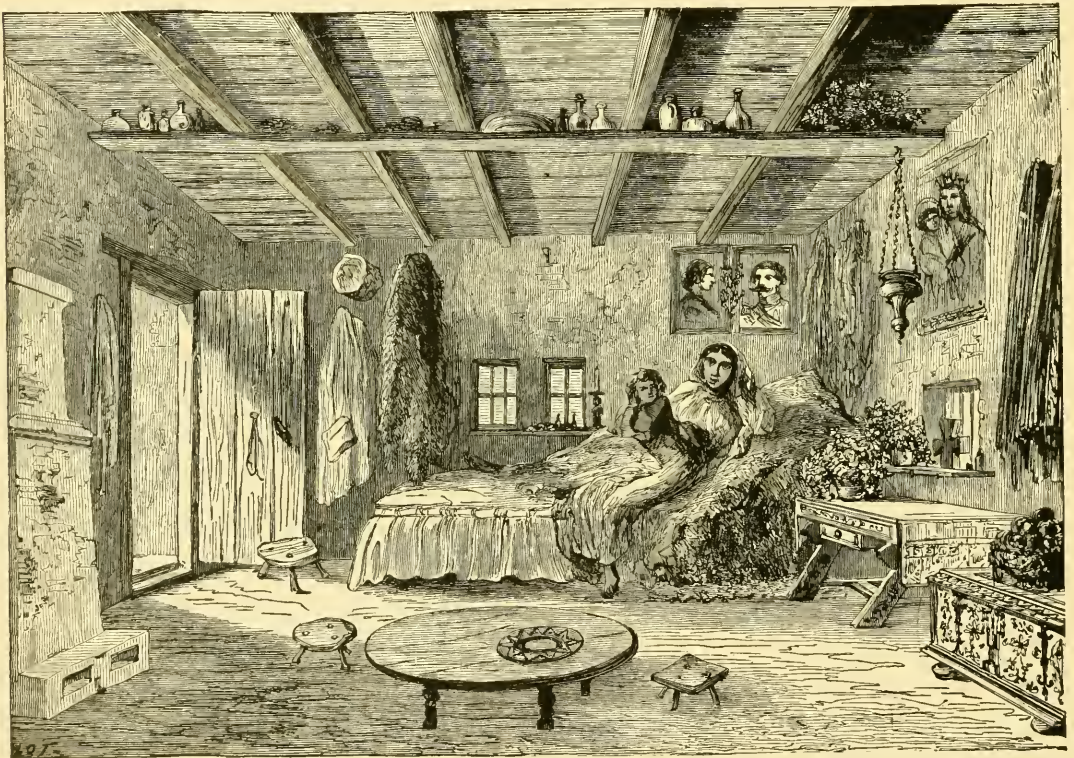
Lack of geographical definition around the race.

ers, spreading among many kindreds on all sides. It may also be remembered that few countries have been so many times violently agitated by barbarian invasions and counter-conquests of foreign nations as has Wallachia. The

bowl of the Danube in which the country lies was a sort of flat-bottomed funnel, into which all the barbarism of Northeastern Europe was wont to pour itself, in the attempt to find open sluices into the West. Nevertheless, if we take our stand in what was ancient Dacia, the Dacia of Trajan and Aurelian, we shall find around us the descendants of a race as truly Latin in its original derivation as the French or the Spaniards.

pressure from the side of Asia. South-western Asia has borne hard on North-eastern Europe. Certain cosmic forces have worked constantly as a draft upon Asiatic barbarism; or to speak more correctly, those forces are compulsive, urging forward the peoples of Asia from behind, driving them upon Europe with a violence as though they had been discharged from a volcanic mortar.

The uncivilized, or at most half-civ-



HOME OF A PEASANT PROPRIETOR.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

For historical reasons which the reader will readily apprehend, the Wal-lachians have been of later development as a people than the other members of the Latin family. The causes for this tardiness in race evolution are not far to seek. The general condition of Eastern Europe for much more than a thousand years—we might say for fifteen hundred years—has been one of

Conditions in Eastern Europe retard development.

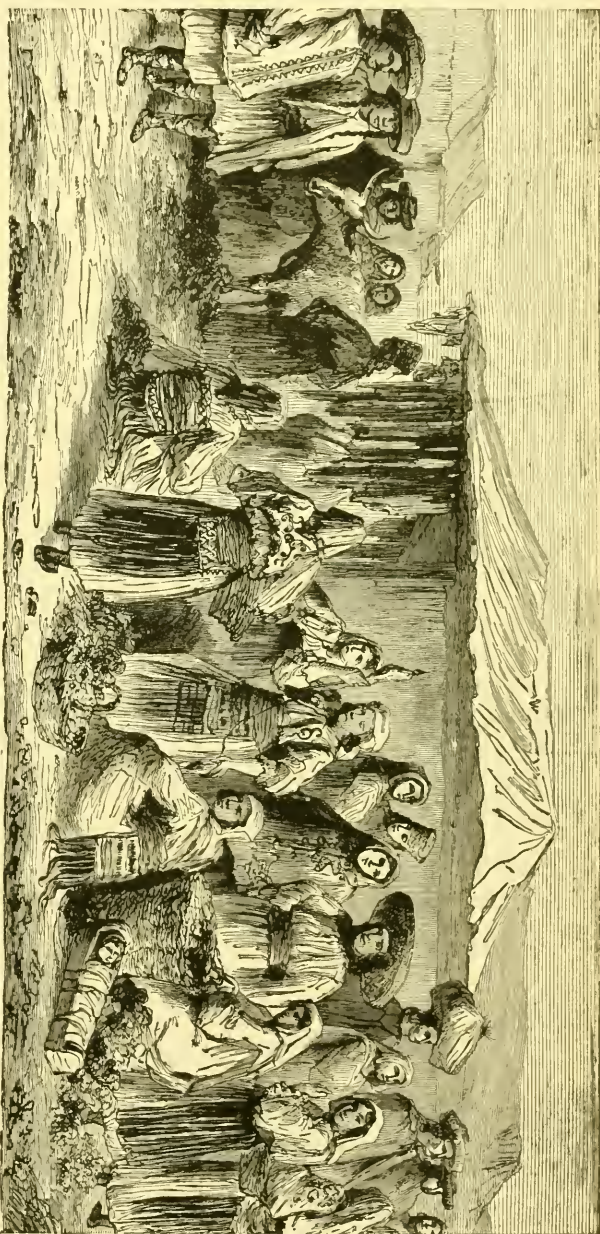
ilized, condition of the region from which the Asiatics have been thus constantly vomited into Europe has made it impossible for the countries this side of the Ural mountains and the Caspian to civilize with energy and rapidity. The spectacle has been that of the constant displacement of more refined and settled populations by those less refined and less settled in their habits. Hardly to

Asiatic barbarism disturbs the civilizing forces.

the present day has this barbarian pressure ceased. Russia at the present time bears hard on all the countries to the west and south. She presses them with a force that she does not herself understand, with a passion which she could not herself interpret. Several of the Danubian countries have suffered seriously from this ethnic and cosmic condition. Trees do not grow well in a situation where the landslide prevails. They require permanence of footing. So also does man. If his native place seems to slip from its foundation, or if some violence which he can not control presses him from his habitat, he becomes angry with the disturbed order of nature, and is more disposed to take the barbarian mood of the force which has provoked him than he is to create a civilization for his descendants.

The peoples inhabiting the modern kingdom of Roumania have been peculiarly distressed by the action of these general laws, and have hardly yet assured themselves of that permanency which is requisite for the creation of the higher forms of the civilized life. Fully three fourths of the whole population are still in the agricultural stage. True, the country is specially adapted to the production of wheat, barley, and corn; but the methods of cultivation are primitive and imperfect, and such improvements as have been introduced in the ancient methods have resulted from the importation of foreign capital.

To the present day the Wallachian peasants may be seen scratching the earth with that ancient form of plow the share of which, resembling a lancehead, enters the ground horizontally, and is



ROUMANIANS OF TEMESVAR-TYPES.—Drawn by D. Lancelotti.

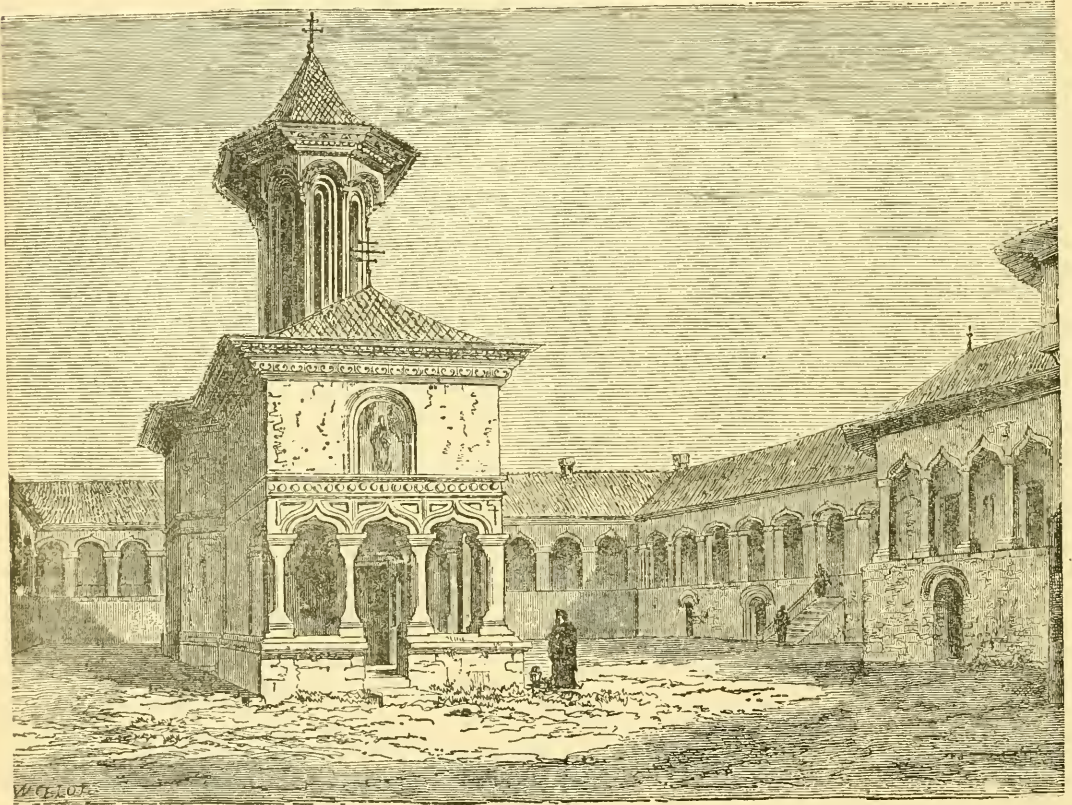
little more than a drag. One sixth of the whole country is still covered with the original forest. One acre out of every hundred and twenty-five is planted with the vine. The principal annual

production is in the great cereals, the abundance of which has within recent times made Wallachia, as well as some other of the Danubian provinces, a rival of the United States in the wheat markets of the world.

It is only in recent times that the railroad and the telegraph have made

Methods of pro-
duction; princi-
pal resources.

towed up and down the Danube according to the exigencies of the crop. Forty per cent of the foreign trade of Roumania is carried on with Austria, thirty per cent with Great Britain, and ten per cent with France. The interior trade of the country is almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews, of whom there are about four hundred thousand in



COURT OF THE CONVENT OF SURPATELE.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

their way into Wallachia. The first railway was laid in 1869. In 1884 the lines had extended to about a thousand miles, and the telegraph to nearly three thousand miles. As yet the manufacturing industries of Roumania are scarcely sufficient to require enumeration. The principal of these are petroleum refineries, refineries for sugar, steam flouring mills, and peculiar floating grist mills for grinding corn, that are

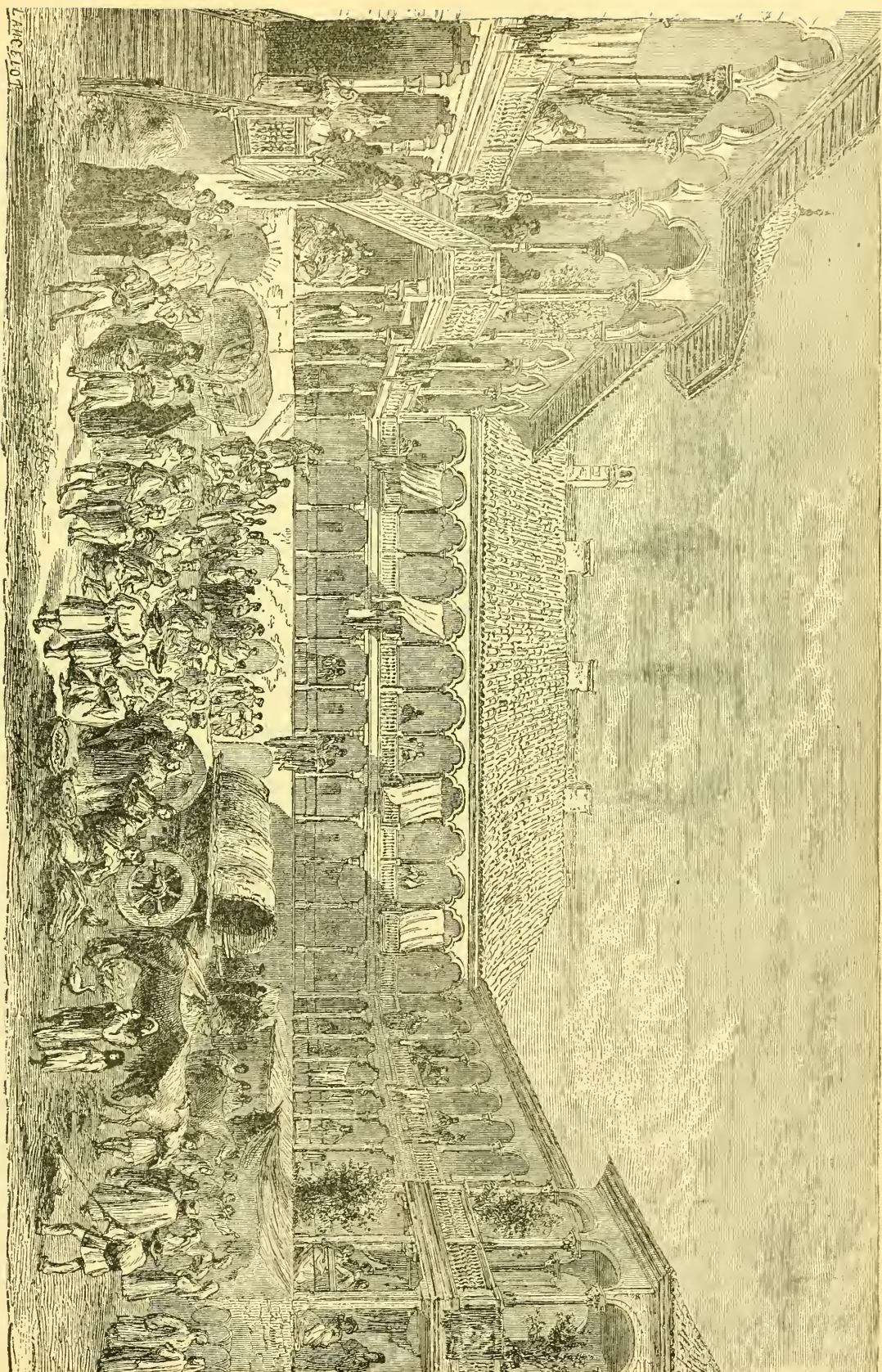
Physical im-
provements and
progress; trade
and the octroi.

Roumania. The cities of the country have generally adopted the *Octroi*, or internal tariff system of trade, greatly to the detriment of commercial interests.

Bucharest is as yet the only Roumanian city of the first class, though Yassy and Galatz are both approaching the line of a hundred thousand inhabitants each.

Distribution of
the Roumanian
population.

Out of a population of over eight million there were, in 1883, only a hundred and twenty-four thousand pupils in



OLD PUBLIC SQUARE IN BUCHAREST.—Drawn by D. Lancetot.

the primary schools. Bucharest and Yassy have each its university, with an aggregate of nearly a hundred professors and lecturers and over seven hundred students. Most of the young Roumanians of promise who desire a university education go abroad to obtain it, the greater number of them to Paris. The Roumania academy has furnished in recent years the beginnings of scientific culture, and its reputation is rapidly extending.

vestigations, we may begin with Portugal as unity. Counting the Portuguese as one, the Roumanians will be represented by two, the Spaniards by three, the Italians by seven, and the French by ten. This proportion does not include the Brazilian Portuguese or the Mexican and South American Spaniards, but does include the Provençals with the French. Neither ethnography nor history any longer keeps up the distinction between the Provençal race and the



ITALIAN IDEALS.—THE BORGHESSE VENUS.—Drawn by Paquier, from a photograph.

We have now reached a stage of the present inquiry from which some general views may be obtained of the Latin races in their distribution and character. Of those peoples who have their ethnic origin in the Roman stem, the French have the first place. This may be said of every element of civilization with the exception of art. In artistic development, the first place must be accorded to the Italians. As to population, which is the great starting point of all such in-

dominant people with which it has been merged. Such distinction must be preserved when we are considering the ethnic antecedents of the peoples in the north and the south of France, but since the revolution of 1789, the merging of the one with the other has been effected to the extent of nationalizing both branches of the Gallo-Roman race under the common name of French.

If we consider the relative extent of the departure of the several Latin races from the ancient Roman type, we shall

be surprised to find that the home people, that is, the Italians, have perhaps gone as far from the original standard as any of the other five branches of the family. If we bring together groups of the average representatives of the Italian, the Wallachian, the French, the Provençal, the Spanish, and the Portuguese families, and a group of ancient Romans as a standard of comparison, we shall find the Italians as widely deflected from the originals as any other division of the race with the possible exception of

Italians and
Wallachians
most strongly
deflected from
Roman type.

even his cloak, flung toga-wise around his person, and particularly the cruelty of disposition to which he can be easily provoked, all tell unmistakably of a Roman original.

Among these groups, the French have gone farthest in the direction of modern sympathies—farthest from the stateliness, hauteur, and autocracy of the original stock. Indeed the French, as we have seen, have themselves become in large measure the standards by which all the sympathetic and sociable qualities

French have the
leadership of the
Latin family.



ITALIAN IDEALS.—THE AURORA OF GUIDO RENI.—Drawn by Paquier, from an antique engraving.

the Wallachians. This is true even in language. Linguistically considered, the greatest departure from Latin is the Wallachian, and that which has best preserved the original is Portuguese. Next to Wallachian, French has been most deflected from the Latin standard; then Italian, and then Spanish.

Perhaps in personal bearing, in manners, and certainly in such details as costume, the Spanish group would be nearest to the Roman. The Spaniard lacks much of the vehemence and strength, the aggressive energy, of his prototype, but his haughtiness, his cold, severe countenance, his high manners,

Spaniards in
some particulars
preserve the Ro-
man original.

of modern life are measured. After the French, it may be said that the Italians are, especially in the last quarter of the century, most nearly assimilated to the social, political, and ethnic standards of the present age; next after these, the Portuguese, and finally the Spaniards. In learning and intellectual acumen the French are again far in advance of the other Latin races. The Italians are, however, in an intellectual evolution which may soon make them the rivals of their neighbors across the mountains. In sculpture and painting Italy still holds the palm, but the achievements of the French are in close rivalry to their southern kinsmen. The artistic devel-

opment of mediæval Spain, particularly in painting, promised magnificent results, but the promise was blasted at the close of the sixteenth century.

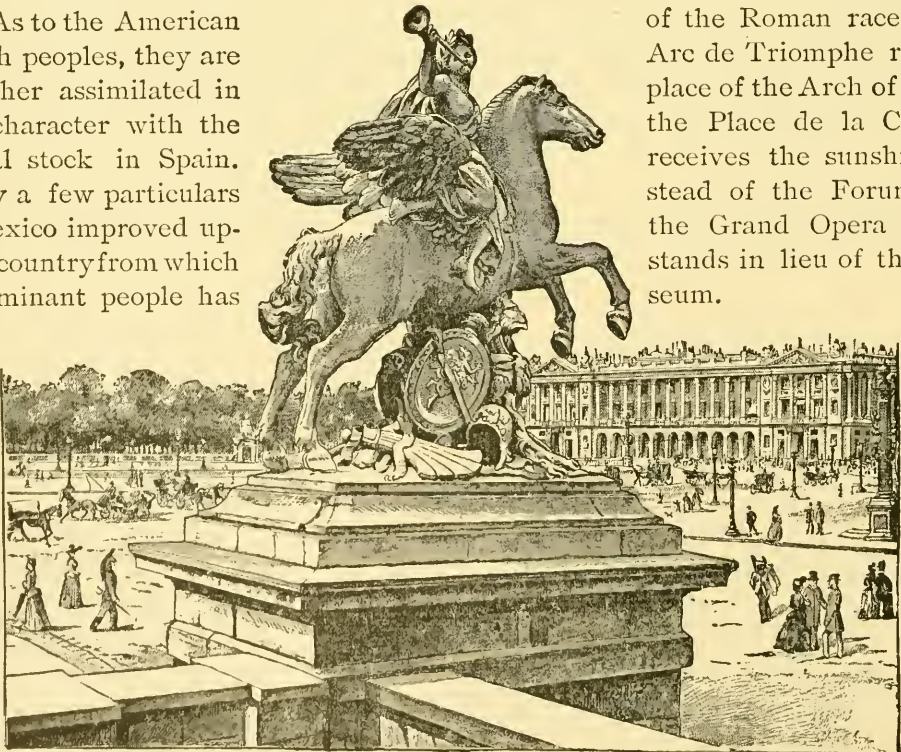
In scientific achievement the palm belongs to the French and Italians, in the order named. Neither the Spanish nor Portuguese have at any time distinguished themselves by investigating the laws of nature. No great astronomer, geologist, or physicist has arisen south of the Pyrenees. Of the Portuguese branch of the Latin family we have already had occasion to speak, especially of the promise exhibited in the Brazilian division. Of all the states of the two Americas, Brazil is most in sympathy with the progressive ideas of the United States and Canada. Nor does it appear that the pall and paralysis which have fallen upon the home peoples of the Iberian peninsula have affected the Brazilian branch of the race. As to the American Spanish peoples, they are altogether assimilated in their character with the original stock in Spain. In only a few particulars has Mexico improved upon the country from which her dominant people has

been derived. The same may be said of the Hispanio-South American states.

The Latin race in its entirety numbers at the present day just about one hundred million of people. Of these, four tenths are French and three tenths Italians. These two constitute the bulk of the race. They also furnish its momentum.

France furnishes the momentum of the Latin races.

It is in France that we must take our stand if we would find ourselves in the heart of the energies of the Latin race. Here it displays itself in all its efflorescence and grandeur. Here it has become emancipated, and has taken on its own leafage and blossom and fruit. It is a great distance from Alba Longa, from Lavinium, from Roma Quadrata, to the streets of Paris; from the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus to the Invalides; from the Palace of the Cæsars to the Tuileries; from the Circus to the Louvre; but it requires so great a span to reach from the origin to the culmination of the Roman race. The Arc de Triomphe rises in place of the Arch of Titus; the Place de la Concord receives the sunshine instead of the Forum, and the Grand Opera House stands in lieu of the Coliseum.





BOOK X.—THE CELTS.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—THE GAULS PROPER.



BEGINNING with the Ruddy races of mankind and with the Aryan division of those races, we have now considered the Eastern branches of that

great family, and also the Græco-Italic branch in the West. We have followed the race in its distribution eastward, across the plateaus of Iran, through the gaps of the Hindu-Kush, into the valleys of India, as far to the east as the Malay peninsula, which may be regarded as the limits of the sunrise

excursion of the Aryans; and we have followed the same family from the same

Summary of the subjects thus far considered.

original nidus westward by one of its divisions through Asia Minor, across the Ægean, pausing to note its marvelous historical developments in Greece and Italy, tracing the transformation of the Græco-Italic peoples, in the Middle Ages, into their recent developments, and bounding at last the Western excursion with the limits of Brazil. The spectacle of a race of men thus distribut-

ing itself, under its own laws, without compulsory historical processes, in obedience to natural instincts, and under no restraints except that of environment as far in one direction as the foot-hills of Burmah and in the other direction as far as the head-waters of the Rio Amazonas, is sufficiently striking and picturesque.

But the Western excursion of the Aryans was by no means limited to the Græco-Italians. The stream that bore them away contained much of the historical potency of the ancient world, but

Græco-Italians not destined to possess the New World.

there was another world yet to come, that modern world which we have inherited from the past; and it was the destiny of things that the impulse which carried the Greeks and Romans to their tremendous pitch of power and grandeur in antiquity should sink into the earth before reaching the world which we inhabit. Meanwhile, however, there were in preparation in the north of Europe other races of men to whom was assigned in a large measure the destiny of building the great structure of modern times.



CIRCUS OF AMATS.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, from a photograph by Trutat.

These northern races also, like their kinsmen in the eastern and central peninsulas of Southern Europe, were Aryans. Like them, they came into Europe from the East; like them, they were distributed to their respective localities by their own migrations and conflicts; like them, in course of time they fixed themselves in permanent residence in various European countries; and like them, they have now risen to grandeur, renown, and power. Whether the civilization which they have builded will outlast that of Greece and Italy, or whether in course of time it also will sink into the dust, leaving the Western world for other races to dominate, remains for the veiled future to reveal.

We come, then, in the present chapter to the consideration of the races of Northern and Western Europe. We have at this part of the inquiry less light from the historic page than was furnished from the records of the Græco-Italic races. The late literary development of the peoples of Northern Europe, of the Celts, of the Teutonic families, has left their primitive history in great obscurity. But ingenious inquiry, patient archæological research, the faithful comparison of data, have enabled the modern scholar to extract even from the barbarism of Northern Europe at least the rudiments of a rational ethnography.

Let us, then, in the next place, beginning with the Celtic peoples, take our stand at the point of their departure from the north-western stream of Aryanism and trace out to their ultimate forms and manifestations the various branches of the race. The reader will not have forgotten that in prehistoric times the westbound Aryans parted in Armenia,

Celtic and Teutonic races next claim attention.

eastward from the Black sea, in the country between that stormy water and the still more stormy Caspian, and that they proceeded thenceforth by a direct western and a northwestern departure into Europe.

It is the northwestern course which we are now to pursue. In this line we find the potency of all the races of Europe, with the exception of the Greeks and Romans, and with the still more remote exception of the Pelasgi, the Etruscans, the Iberians, and the Basques. These latter races were amalgamated with the Græco-Italic family, constituting what may in general be called the South Europeans, as contradistinguished from the North Europeans. The latter flowed in a northwesterly direction, maintaining a tolerable solidarity until they reached a latitude above that of the upper extremities of the Black sea. Here they again parted and spread. Hitherto the common migratory stream had contained the potency of the Celtic, the Slavonic, the Teutonic, and the Lettic families of men.

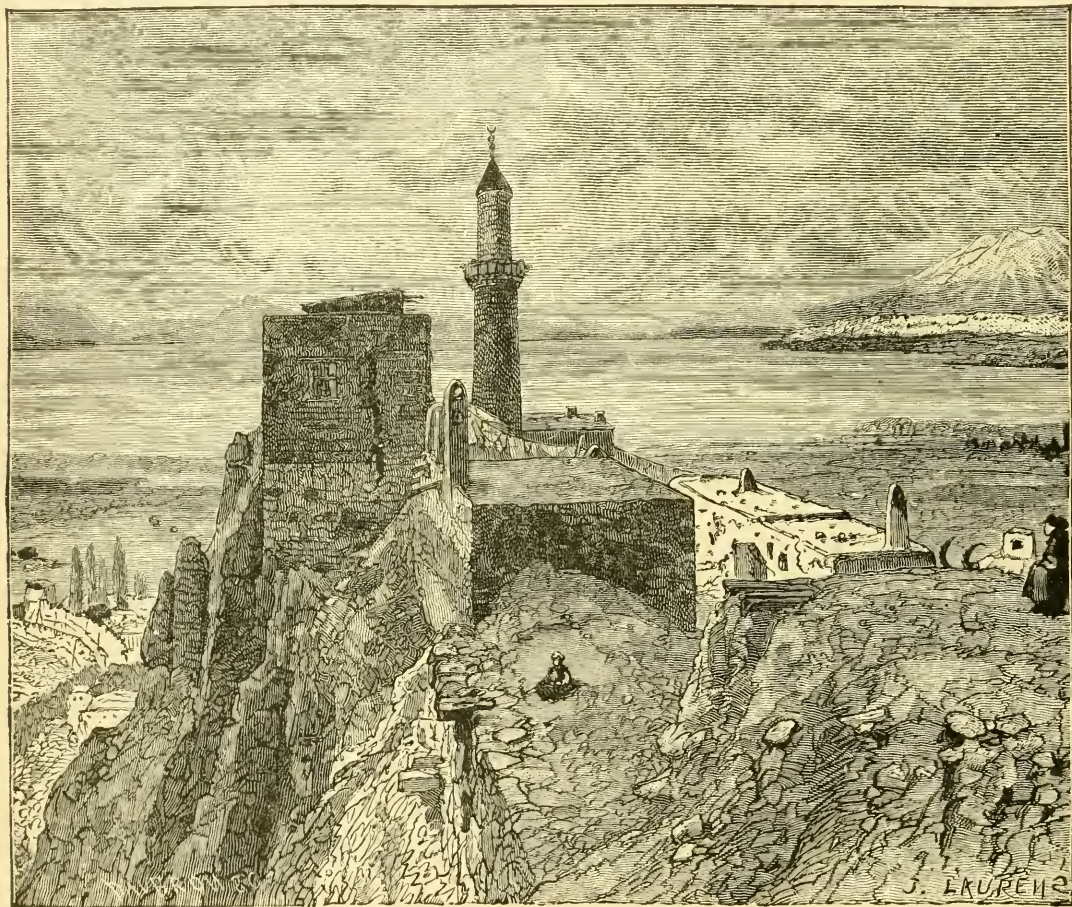
Of course, we must not suppose that the movement to the northwest and into Europe of these various primitive families was co-incident for the different tribes. It is because they were *not* co-incident that we are able to take them up in something resembling a historical sequence and consider them one by one. It is safe to assume that the vanguard in this case was the Celts. Just as the rough Romans and the Æolic Greeks, or rather the tribes out of which these peoples were destined to spring, were in the van of the Græco-Italic races, so the Celts may be said to have led the way into Western Europe by the northern route. It is here insisted that the reader must be famil-

Race movements into Europe not coincident.

Determining the point of the Celtic race departure.

iar with the map of the eastern hemisphere; and if he will understand the true nature of the ethnic movements which we are here delineating, he must keep before his mind the position of the Black sea in the bifurcation of the Aryan race in its progress to the West.

course of the other North European tribes. As we have said in another part, the direction of the migration of the race was thence almost due west through a large part of Europe. Whether the Celtic nations were pressed from behind by other migrating tribes, or whether they



SOURCE OF CELTIC MIGRATIONS.—LAKE VAN AND FORTRESS.—Drawn by J. Laurens, from nature.

Ethnographers are tolerably well agreed in regard to the general course and progress of the Celtic race through Europe. It was, perhaps, in what we would call Central Russia, about the headwaters of the Don, in the country between the Volga and the Dnieper, that the Celtic race first began its departure and excursion from the common migratory

were carried still further and further by forces of instinct which they could not themselves understand, the results of which they could not themselves anticipate, we may leave to conjecture. Nor is it certainly known to what extent the countries through which these Celtic nations made their way were at that time inhabited by other races which may have resisted or accelerated their progress.

At any rate, they pressed their way westward until they crossed the river Rhine. There, with the wide realm of Teutonic barbarism behind them—at least the realm where such barbarism was to display its powers—they took possession of Gaul, and fixed themselves, in course of time, with some degree of firmness to the soil.

Minor. Their discernment in this particular was verified by subsequent investigations, and ethnographers of the present time are agreed that the Galatians were an Eastern branch of the Western Celtic family. As to the general distribution of the race in Gaul we have the authority of Cæsar. His three-fold division of the people according to



IN CÆSAR'S PROVINCE, FOOT OF THE ALPS.—Drawn by C. Saglio, from a photograph by De Braun.

The country which they thus occupied extended from the river Rhine to the Pyrenees. In the earliest European vocabulary it is called Celtice (Greek, *κελτικῇ*), and its inhabitants were *Keltoi*, or *Celtæ*. The Greeks at a very early period recognized the identity between the race which spread over Gaul and the people who gave their name to Galatia in Asia

Boundaries of the Celtic family; the Aquitanians.

nationality is recognized and accepted wherever the Latin literature has left even a trace of its influence. It is now, however, better known than in the days of Cæsar that one division of the Gauls, namely, the Aquitanian, had an ethnic basis derived from the south. The Aquitani, whose country extended from the Pyrenees to the river Garonne, are now regarded as descendants of the

ancient Iberians and Basques, who occupied both slopes of the mountain range dividing Gaul from the Spanish peninsula. But these Aquitanians had been Celticized before Cæsar's day, and though differing much from the Belgic and Gallic Celts, they should nevertheless be regarded as belonging to the same general family.

Those Celts whom Cæsar calls Galli, or Gauls, had in his day the whole territory extending from the river Garonne to the ancient Sequana, the modern Seine, and its chief tributary, the Marne. This last named river, together with the Seine and the Rhine, constituted the territorial limits of the Belgæ, or third division of the Celtic race, in Gaul. Just as the Aquitanian branch of the people had been ethnically modified by their interfusion with the Iberians and Basques, so on the Germanic side the Belgæ had been considerably assimilated to the Teutonic type. The man of antiquity in judging of tribal and national differences generally used language as the criterion. In doing so the ear was the critical organ. A tribe speaking a dialect that sounded different from the dialect of some other tribe was quickly, and many times fallaciously, judged to be of different descent. In an age when philology had no existence, men of the most acute minds were unable to discover those analogies of sound and structure by which in modern times the affinities of language are so easily determined. It was for this reason that Cæsar in his military excursions through Gaul, coming in contact with the Gauls proper, the Belgians, and the Aquitanians, in turn, did not hesitate to say that these races "differed much among themselves in languages, institutions, and laws."

Geographical
position of the
Galli and Belgæ.

There was still another diverse aspect of ancient Gaulish life such as it was at the beginning of our era. That country called by the Romans *Provincia*, extending from the foot of the maritime Alps around the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Rhone, had a population of its own, and to this province the Greek writers gave the name of *Liguria*. The fact that as early as 600 B. C. the colony of Massilia, the modern Marseilles, had been planted by the Greeks, furnished ground for that race to claim an ethnic interest in the people of the southern coast of Gaul. There was intercourse between Hellas and this country. Cæsar himself tacitly admits the different ethnic character of the people of *Provincia*. But since these people, the Ligurians—or whoever they were—were well known to the Romans, and were virtually one with the people bearing their name in the peninsula, the Roman general offers no comments upon their character. But in what manner soever some original settlements in this maritime part of Southern Gaul may have been made, the Gauls here also prevailed over the original colonists and gradually absorbed and transformed them into their own likeness. In fact, that broad country which the Roman historian distinguishes as *Omnis Gallia*, or All Gaul, was before the beginning of our era inhabited through its whole extent by peoples of the Celtic race, modified around the borders east, south, and southwest by the frontier tribes that lay in those directions.

Who the Ligurians were;
Cæsar's *Omnis Gallia*.

The primitive Celts were not by any means limited to Gaul in their excursions westward. They beat down against the Pyrenees. They found the pass-
es. They made their way through

Evolution of the
Spanish Celti-
berians.

into the Spanish peninsula. It is not agreed whether the Iberians from beyond the Mediterranean were there before them. Niebuhr has contended that the Celtic occupation of Central Spain was anterior to the coming of the Iberians; but the general belief has been that the latter people were found there when the Celts first invaded the country. Both peoples remained. They may have fought. There is tradition to that effect. But they finally settled and became amalgamated into that race which has preserved both of the ethnic names, namely, the Celtiberians.

In the extreme west of Gaul the tribes came to the sea. They made their way across the Channel into Britain. They occupied the British Isles, and contributed thereto the first historical population. The events to which we here refer lie far back in antiquity. Rome had not yet been founded when the Celtic race diffused itself over the greater part of Western Europe. When the Greek adventurers, about 600 B. C., came to the southern coast of Gaul, they found it occupied by the Celtic race. Such was the dispersion of the people whose race evolution we are now to consider. We may well glance briefly at some of the vicissitudes through which they passed.

Gaul became thickly populated, as that phrase would be applied to a barbarian region. The race grew powerful. It ascended the slopes of the Alps on the north and bore down toward the German ocean. There were Celtic tribes on both sides of the Upper Rhine. Gaulish emigrations took place, whole nations moving in this direction or in that. We have already seen how Italy was troubled by them before the Ro-

man ascendancy. We have also seen how a Gaulish people made their way to the East, pressed upon the Greek race in its course, crossed the Ægean, and founded a great state in Asia Minor. In Northern Italy, Gallia Cisalpina was established, as if to indicate the preponderance of the Celtic race in that region. In after times, when this province was Romanized, it received the name of Gallia Togata, or Gaul of the Toga, to distinguish it from Gallia Braccata, or Gaul of the Trousers, which lay beyond the mountains.

At the time of which we speak—a long period, to be roughly defined as extending from the fifth century B. C. to the Christian era—Western Europe was a sort of Celtic empire. In the use of such an expression we must be on our guard against the transference of modern ideas to ancient conditions. It is not meant that any great government such as the epithet imperial would imply in modern times existed in the broad countries west of the Rhine and north of the Alps. But a common condition was present throughout this extended region; a common people, or at least a common race, held the territories and peopled them, establishing what may be called a common order of life and intercourse.

Nor was this order characterized by weakness, or even instability. True, the Celtic society of this period lay low and level along the earth; but it was vast, fecund, strong. The Celtic race at this time dominated a portion of the European continent almost as great as was afterwards held by the Western empire of the Romans. The Celts made war and concluded peace, inspiring respect and even dread among their more civilized contemporaries, the Græco-Italics

Diffusion into Britain; the Greeks find Celtic.

General conditions in the empire of the Celts.

The Celtic ascendancy in Western Europe.

Power and development of the race; contact with Rome.

on the south. Both Greece and Rome had relations of war and peace with these people. Long before Cæsar's day Gaul had suffered foreign invasions. Her northern and eastern frontiers had been broken in by the Germans. The Greeks had founded on the southern coast a city that was for a long time the rival of Carthage, and might have been at length the menace of Rome. In 122 B. C., Caius Sextius founded in Provincia a town to which in honor of himself he gave the name of Aquæ Sextiæ, the Sextian Waters, afterwards called Aix, famous through all the Middle Ages as the capital of Provence.

At this place the Roman occupation of Gaul had its center. Only four years later Narbonne was founded, which was the first municipium within the limits of Gaul. The story of the Cæsarian invasions is known in all the world. But it is perhaps not known that the peculiar tribal, or clannish, organization of Celtic society was the one great circumstance of which the invincible general availed himself in carrying forward his works of subjugation. After his death Gaul was for a brief season neglected by the conquerors. But the work had been so effectually accomplished that no great disturbances occurred, and Augustus found an inviting field in which to carry forward his famous project of Romanizing all the great peoples beyond the Alps.

Then it was that the first emperor took in hand the problem of remodeling the Gaul which his great uncle had taken with the sword. On the basis of the threefold division of the race, which the addition of Provincia made into a fourfold division, Augustus created four Gallic provinces, to the first of which, the old Provincia, he gave the name Gallia Nar-

bonensis, using the name of the capital city Narbo for the whole state. Aquitania was reorganized with an extension of territory to the Liger. To Gaul Proper—Cæsar's Gaul—was given the name of Gallia Lugdunensis, the name of the capital Lugdunum being, as in the case of Narbonensis, given to the whole region. Lugdunum became Lyons, which might thenceforth be regarded as the capital of all the Gallic states. The northern territory was called Gallia Belgica, after the Belgæ, the half-German Gaulish race by which it was inhabited. On this half-barbarian and half-civilized tetrarchy the Roman power was established a short time before the beginning of our era; and the organization was but little changed during the four centuries that ensued.

The student of history need not be reminded of the very important part which these Gallic states played in the imperial history from the times of Augustus the

Importance of the Gallic states under the empire.

Great to Romulus the Little. He will readily recall the constant pressure, not to say interference, of Gallic affairs with those of the empire. He will not forget that in the contests which were waged for the imperial crown Gaul was frequently a competitor. Nor may the circumstance be overlooked that in one of these struggles Claudius Civillis, a Gaul by birth and education, made a heroic effort to recover the ancient liberty and independence of the Celtic race.

Taking our station, then, on the Frankward slope of the maritime Alps and looking out far to the north and west, we shall find before us outspread that great Celtic people who, by admixture of blood at least, have effected the ethnic constitution of all Western Europe. What was the condition of this

Barbarian estate of the Celtic races.

people in the time of the Roman republic? its social state? its potency and promise? In the first place, we may

prevalent manners and customs, the rudimentary learning by which the tribes are governed, the means of inter-



LANDING OF CÆSAR IN BRITAIN.

note the applicability of the term *barbarian* to all that we see before us. The industries and enterprises of the race, the

course, the method of obtaining and dispensing food, and indeed every element of life lies on the level of barbarism.

But what is barbarism? This term, following the vocabulary of the age, we have frequently employed as descriptive of the condition of various races. We are now face to face with the fact on a large scale. Through many preceding chapters we have been journeying with the Græco-Italians, by whom the epithet barbarian was invented and first applied to the peoples of the north. But what is the difference between the barbarous

Essential nature
of barbarism;
the stage of un-
consciousness.

barbarism; but the mental state, the intellectual horizon, will furnish the proper criteria. Perhaps the first element in discriminating the barbarian from the civilized condition is the unconsciousness of the former and the consciousness—we might say the self-consciousness—of the latter. The barbarians are under the dominion intellectually of instincts rather than of conscious reason.

An analogy may be found in the life of childhood. At the first the child is absolutely unconscious; that is, it is not conscious of itself. In its first mental state it has drawn—can draw

Analogy of child-
life and the life
of the tribe.

—no line of difference between itself and the rest of nature. It recognizes no distinction between itself and the other members of the household or the world outside. But there comes a time when, with the evolution of its powers, the child *discovers itself*. It is the greatest discovery in the history of the human mind. From that time forth the living agent is distinctly self-conscious, not perfectly so at first, but becoming more and more so with the expansion of the faculties. Races move in precisely an analogous manner. So long as they are under the dominion of the unconscious



BRITISH CELTS WATCHING THE APPROACH OF ROMAN SHIPS.

and the civilized state? Where shall the line be drawn by which the one is discriminated from the other? How low must man descend in order to be defined as barbarian? and how high must he rise in order to be defined as civilized?

In answering these questions we must look at the mental state of man rather than at his physical condition. The physical condition is, indeed, but an imperfect criterion of civilization. Under certain circumstances the bodily comfort of a civilized race might be much less than the actual comfort of a people in

forces of instinct rather than conscious reason their activities and the whole expression of their life may be called barbarian; but as they emerge into the conscious state they become civilized. It can not be too strongly insisted that such emergence is not sudden, but gradual. It is a *becoming*; and the time of it can never be defined in days or years of the calendar.

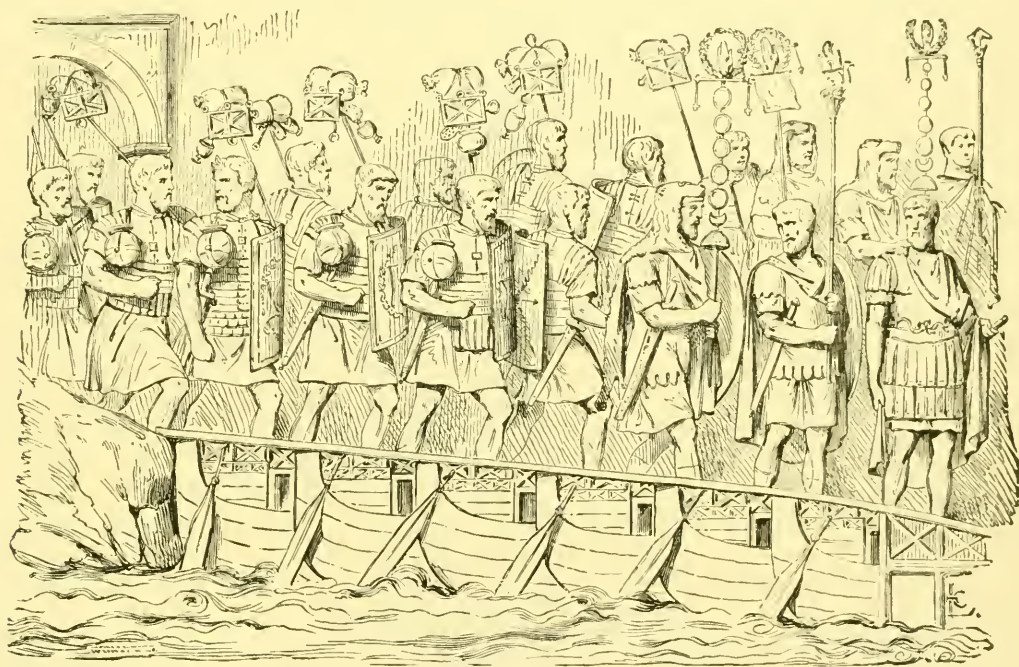
This process is marked by several circumstances which are the unmistakable signs of the passing away of the old and the incoming of the new condition.

The first of these, and most prominent of all, is the putting of speech into literary form, and the use of the newly discovered vehicle to record and preserve passing events. It is the substitution of history for tradition. The moment that the race becomes concerned to know its past it enters the dawn of civilization. This disposition to learn what has gone before, and to put such knowledge into permanent form, is a symptom

Literary records mark the beginnings of civilization.

seeking thus at first to record the story of its own past, to delineate its concept of itself, soon passes into a legal phase. The mind begins to examine the usages and customs which have prevailed among the people in the unconscious state. It is as though the beaver should suddenly become a critic of his own dam-building, and should write in a book the *method* by which such important work may be best accomplished. It is

Law, also, a concomitant of the civilized life.



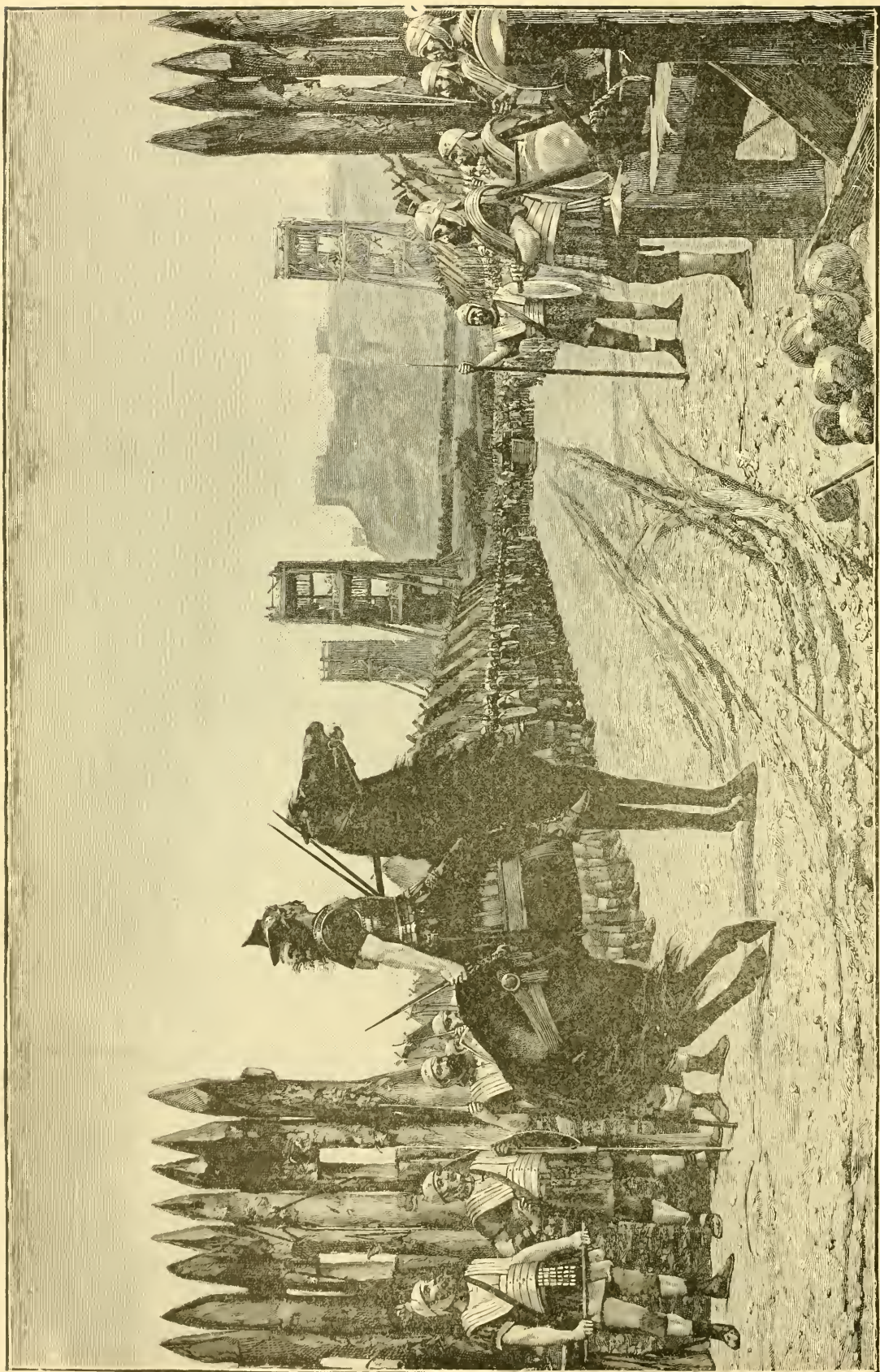
ROMAN LEGIONARIES CROSSING OVER A BRIDGE.

which distinguishes the self-conscious peoples from those who are still under the dominion of barbarian instincts. The effort to record the past appears at first in poetical guise. The rhapsodist, the epic poet, the wandering bard, compose out of tradition—with much help from their own imaginations—the first story of the race. It is under the recital of primitive history that the general consciousness of a barbarian people is first aroused into action, to sleep no more.

The self-consciousness of a people

as though the chamois should formulate the rules by which places of safety may be found and defended against the barbarism of the carnivora. It is as though the hunters of the chamois should formulate a code by which the wary and active animals which they pursue may best be taken and yet the race preserved for the hereafter. It is self-consciousness.

The appearance of written language—used to record a people's knowledge of the past and the transformation of instinctive customs and usages into set-



THE CELTS AT THEIR BEST ESTATE,—VERGINETORIX BEFORE CÆSAR.—After Speman.

tled forms of law—has mostly discriminated barbarism from civilization. So long as a race remains under the dominion of merely human instincts, so long as it remains in preliterate, which is to say prehistoric, darkness, so long as it subsists by the employment of such empirical customs as have their foundation in savage experience rather than right reason, they may be defined as barbarous; but when they emerge from these conditions, become self-conscious, employ language to record the past, and begin by reason to improve on the blind customs and forms which they have hitherto employed, they may be said to enter at least the morning of the civilized state.

At the time of which we speak the Gauls were still barbarian by the criteria here suggested. They were under the dominion of the native forces which had carried them or their ancestors out of Asia into the West. Their social usages were merely instinctive. It is not meant that there was no greatness in the Gallic race, not meant that distinguished chieftains were wanting, that heroes and heroism had no name in the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees. The Celtic languages at the time of which we speak had perhaps been sufficiently developed to have borne the rudiments of literature; and it is not impossible that rude bards may have recited their concepts of the past in the ages preceding the Christian era; but no literature existed. There was, therefore, no common spirit, no common interest among the Gaulish nations.

The case was similar to that which we have seen among the Red men of North America. The enterprise of one tribe was not the enterprise of another.

In order to awaken the interest of several nations the chieftains must journey from one to the other and harangue the councils. Intercourse was personal rather than civil, and the means employed were tribal rather than national. We have already noted the fact that in Cæsar's time there was never a concerted action of the whole Gallic race in the defense of its interests against the aggressions of the Romans.

The general condition of the Gaulish peoples even at the time of their ascendancy in the countries north of the Alps and the Pyrenees was one of universal segregation. It were almost vain to conjecture into how many tribes the Gauls proper were divided; and the same may be said of the Belgæ and the Aquitanians. It was a condition of chieftaincy. Every clan had its chiefs. The word *clan* suggests the actual civil condition of the people better than the word *tribe*. There were leading men who commanded their followers in war and had an ascendancy over them in peace. About these were gathered a caste of priests and a group of prominent warriors with their families; and around these or beneath them the mass of the clan, in a very degraded condition.

The chieftains were supported by the tribe. The common condition was little above the level of slavery. The general estate was one of exceeding hardship. At this time only a small part of the country had been cleared of its forests. The Gauls had pursuits of hunting and foray similar to that of the Germans beyond the Rhine. They were not earnestly devoted to any agricultural or industrial pursuit. Rude manufactures were known and practiced in the towns.

General conditions of race-life at the time of emergence.

Lack of a general interest among the Gallic races.

Barbarism of the tramontane Gauls at the Christian era.

Universal segregation and clan-life of the Gauls.

Stage of Gaulish agriculture and manufactures.

To these seats of industries the warriors repaired for the purchase of their armor. But for the most part each tribe and each family produced its own commodities. In this respect again the manner of life was not greatly different from that of the better class of North American aborigines. Doubtless the Iroquois nations of Northern New York, such as they were a century and a half ago, approximated the condition of the common Gauls in the days of Cæsar.

At this time, and indeed for many centuries previously, the common cereals, to which we will give the general name of *corn*, were produced in the open fields. In those tribes where the set-

Products of
Gallia; com-
merce and the
village life.



RUINS OF CELTIC HUTS AT CHYISOISTER.
After Borlase.

tled estate had been tolerably established, the cultivation was regular and the yield sufficient for ordinary wants. There were the beginnings of rude commerce in provisions between the tribes. Within the territories of every tribe were a capital town and many villages. The character and population depended on the extent and fertility of the surrounding territory. The Gaulish towns were never conspicuous for elegance, variety, or wealth. They were to be regarded rather as centers of population and of defense in times of war. The simple villages were open and exposed, as a rule, to the incursions of the enemy, but the capital town was generally defensible—fortified to a certain extent by both nature and art. The situation was either the summit of

a hill, easily defended against attack, or what was more common, the depth of some great wood or dark morass, through which the approaching enemy must make his way before he could assail the stronghold.

The inclosure was an earthwork. Perhaps there was a close analogy between the vallum with which the Celts were wont to surround their towns and the similar constructions of the mound builders in America. As to the houses

Character of the
capital towns
and defenses.

or huts of the people—the villagers and mere tribesmen resident at a distance from the towns—they were of a circular form, and the structure was called wattle work. This variety of housebuilding may be said to have been peculiar to the Celtic race; and as a style of abode, the wattle hut has survived to the present day in some parts of Ireland. The wattle was the interweaving of the branches of trees. The native forest furnished an abundant

supply of material which the wild Celts lopped away and worked into the circular walls of their huts. The walls were chinked and daubed with clay. In each hut a single family resided. The family was on the monogamic basis—another evidence of the ultimate kinship of the Celts with the Roman race of which they presently became the subjects.

One usage, at least, the Celts had in their civil procedure which was common to them and the more advanced races of the south—

Usage of elec-
tion; the Gaul-
ish aristocracy.

a usage, indeed, which has survived to the present time, and is the law of action among most of the more progressive modern nations. This was the principle and practice of *election*. The chief of each clan was elected, also

the subordinate chieftains. The Druid priests, whose importance in the affairs of state we shall presently notice, were chosen in like manner. That peculiarly important element of Gaulish society, the squad of horsemen belonging to each clan, was also constituted by election. These three classes, the Chiefs, the Druids, and the Horsemen, were the officers, the public men of the clan, and were supported by the labor and contributions of the serf, or peasant, class. We may easily with the historical vision discern in these conditions the rudiments of that society which in course of time was to bring forth the clansmen of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands.

The essential vice in the clan system of the Celts was its want of unity and

Difficulty of race
rally; want of
organization.

cohesion. In times of danger the horsemen and warriors of several tribes might

be rallied to battle with the foe; but it required peculiar emergencies to evoke even thus much of common action. The general effect of the presence of danger was the recession of each clan into its own fastness. It contracted itself out of sound of danger, and its local unity became, for the time being, intense in the highest degree. But as the local unity was thus attained in each tribe, the general unity was completely destroyed. Even in times of war, when the fighting men had congregated into a general army, the body of the clansmen, the peasants, sought the depth of the forest or the hilltops where they had their fortifications. Into these they threw themselves, and sought each to maintain its local existence until the storm should pass. One of the great generic differences between the Celtic

and the Roman race was the political organizing capacity of the latter displayed from the very first—an instinct that led to combination and structure in society—and the clannish, segregating instinct in the former, predominant over every other impulse and consideration of the ethnic life.

One of the bottom facts of Gaulish society was the recognition of a nobility and a people. What is said above about the election of chieftains, Druids, and

Nobility and
commonalty of
the Gauls.

horsemen, or knights, would indicate upon what line the nobility were discriminated from the mass of the Celtic population. That sentiment which recognizes superiority was very strong. We have had occasion to note the exactly opposite sentiment and practice of the Greeks, and, indeed, of the Romans. In these nations the democratic, or at least the republican or aristocratic, feeling was peculiarly strong. Among the Hellenes, from the heroic ages, when warrior Achilles obeyed Agamemnon, king of men, only to a certain extent and under certain restrictions, to the present time, when the modern Greek or the Albanian brigand accepts the restraint of authority as a temporary evil to be abrogated as soon as opportunity shall offer, the Greek race has had the passion of equality as one of the principal motives of its course and conduct. But among the Celts there has always been a preference for classification. The Gaulish chieftains regarded themselves as a superior order, and the common people of the tribes cheerfully accepted and recognized the nobility of their chiefs, their priests, and military leaders.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—THE DRUIDICAL CULT.



HERE can be no general understanding of the character of the usages and manner of life of the Celtic people without a knowledge of the druidical

religion, its theory, its priesthood, and its ceremonial. Perhaps it was the most

Prevalence of the druidical cult; origin of the system.

conspicuous and constant fact in the visible life of the race. Probably Druidism never made its way into Spain.

It is possible that some facts in the

But in all the other widely extended territories of Gallia and to the remotest borders of the British Isles, indeed wherever the Western Celts distributed themselves, the druidical religion was prevalent as a form of philosophy and worship.

As to the ultimate origin of Druidism we are left somewhat to conjecture. It has been generally agreed that the word Druid is from the Greek *δρῦς* (pronounced *droos*), meaning an oak. The Druids mean the Oak Men, the Priests of the Oak.

Some modern scholars have doubted the

correctness of this derivation, but none better has been offered.

We may therefore conclude that there was an original element in this system which allied it with the oak forest—that the mythology in its ultimate analysis related to the voices and spirits of the oak tree. We have already seen at least one ancient race whose religious cult was of this sort. The old Jovian Greeks of Dodona heard in the great scraggy oaks of that region the voice of Zeus. It was not wholly an irrational or unaccountable superstition. He who in the great woods, whether oak or other, with the tremendous canopy overhead, has listened to the far voices of the solitude has come as near to an actual com-



HAUNT OF THE DRUIDS—OWEN GLENDOWER'S OAK, NEAR SHREWSBURY.

physical world, in the forest, in the seasons, and other natural phenomena may have stayed the progress of the system with the passes of the Pyrenees.¹

¹ In Spain the oak tree is found only in the northern maritime provinces.

munion with the powers of the world as he will ever come, unless it should be when he falls into solitary communion with the sea.

If we look profoundly into the origin and nature of Druidism, more particu-

larly at its association with the oak tree and the mistletoe, we shall find several

Reasons for as-
sociation of
Druidism with
the oak.

circumstances which may
tend to account for so pe-
culiar a form of worship.

Doubtless the system had respect in the first place to Zeus and his adoration. This supreme deity may easily have been associated in the minds of the ancients with the oak. Zeus was the god of the upper air, the mountainland, the cloudland, the sky. The oak was peculiarly the monarch of the air. His head was in the clouds. His home was among the hills and mountains. At the time of the incoming of the Aryan races into Europe the oak was the prevalent forest tree. Those woods which afterwards became beech woods, and had in a former age been fir woods, were at that time oak woods. The order of succession—fir, oak, beech—is well known as a botanical fact, and archæologically it is known that the oak was the prevailing forest tree at the epoch of the Aryan immigration.

It was therefore under the branches of the oak that the first Aryans had their abode. There they built their huts, and their first associations of affectionate regard with the external world were with this tree. Its fruit, moreover, came in its season. We have had occasion in a former book to remark upon the large part which the acorn played in the food-supply of the original Europeans. It is quite likely that *phēgos* (*φηγός*), the Greek name of the oak, which is the original of the Latin *quercus*, designating the same tree, was derived from *phagein* (*φαγεῖν*) “to eat,” and that the name was given because of the acorn, which was called preëminently *the food*. The attachment and affectionate regard of the early tribes for the oak tree and

its product would therefore be similar to that feeling which the boys and young-folk in every frontier land have for the mast-bearing trees of the forest.

Again, the eagle was the bird of Jove. His broad circuit in the open heaven, his tremendous flight, his power and violence of conquest over the smaller

Why the oak
tree was the
throne of Jove.

creatures of the feathered race, made him peculiarly the symbol and favorite creature of Zeus. The eagle made his nest in the oak. There he reared his young. There his scream was heard, and there the boughs were shaken by his mighty wings as he came in with prey or went forth to conquest. Finally, as we have said, the oak tree was full of voices. The wind moaned among the scraggy branches. The canopy had strange whispers, even when the woods were still. The wild people who abode under the protecting arms of this monarch of the natural world must needs feel an awe and reverence in his majestic presence.

The manner, moreover, in which the mistletoe was associated with the giant tree was likely to attract the strange interest of primeval man. Here was a growing plant, an evergreen parasite, which must cling to some other object for support. It had the power to ascend, to grow at a great height, and yet must do so by the support of another. The oak was able to bear it cloudward. It embraced his coarse bark. It grew fast upon the surface, and thus ascended to its proper height. Clinging thus at an elevation it produced its glutinous fruit. This might well be the visible expression of the love of Jove and Venus. At least the curiosity and superstition of the pagan must be excited at the phenomenon of a plant of this sort

Close attach-
ments of first
Aryans with the
oak woods.

their abode. There they
built their huts, and their
first associations of affec-

In what manner
the mistletoe be-
came an object
of adoration.

attaching itself without root to a tree of the forest.—Such are some of the rudiments of the druidical cult out of which

But in the first place it were better to consider the ideas which were prevalent



DRUIDS INCITING THE BRITONS TO OPPOSE THE LANDING OF THE ROMANS.

ments of the druidical cult out of which | in the minds of the Druids—their views
the perfected system may have sprung. | of nature and of man. The druidical

priests were the highest order of nobility among the Gauls. Men of rank and

Predominance of the Druids over Celtic society. dignity aspired to be enrolled in the priesthood. The latter were the reli-

gious guides and instructors of the people. They were also the custodians and expositors of the rude laws which were acknowledged. They had, moreover, the power to decide what was and what was not in accordance with the constitution of the Celtic race, and to inflict upon all violators the penalties due for crime. Their prerogative extended in this respect to the exile of the offenders from Gaulish society. The president of the Druids was the highest officer in the state. Though elective in the first place, his dignity was lifelong. All instruction was in the hands of the Druids. They were the depositaries of the lore of the Celtic people. They aspired to interpret nature and man. Some of them had the skill of writing, and in so doing employed an alphabet which was said to be the Greek.

But writing was not used as a preservative of knowledge. All teaching was given forth orally. The highest ambi-

Aspiration of young Gauls to reach the druidical rank. tion of the young Celt, whether in Gaul or Britain, was to attain membership

and rank among the Druids. The youth who enrolled himself as a neophyte might expect to spend *twenty years* in discipline before entering upon the office and rank which he sought. He must learn the druidical traditions and mysteries by heart, and be in turn prepared to repeat them in their integrity to others who might come to him for instruction. One of the fundamental beliefs was that of the immortality of the soul. It was said that the system was theoretically an approximation to the doctrines of Pythagoras. At any rate the Druids believed

in metempsychosis, and many of their rites and practices were touched with this doctrine. The belief in the efficacy of offerings to the gods was prevalent, and reached even to the sacrifice of human life. It was only in extreme cases, however, that human beings were offered up, and even in such instances they who were sacrificed were generally criminals, whose lives had been forfeited. Perhaps the druidical theory stands alone in regard to this custom of sacrificing to the gods the lives of those who by crime had already fallen under the ban of law.

Non multo, or "not by much," is the language of Cæsar when speaking of the difference of the customs between the Gaulish and British Celts. He con- Capital of the druidical system established in Gaul. tends that they were virtually alike. And this testimony is borne out in the writings of Cicero and Pliny. Britain has generally been regarded as the seat of the druidical faith, and no doubt the vast oak woods, heavy, dark, and ominous, furnished a better vantage ground for the native growth of this peculiar faith than might be found in Gaul. But the system was one in both countries, as the race was one; and the capital of the druidical cult was in Gaul, in the territories of the Carnutes, near the modern city of Dreux. This place was regarded as the religious center of the Gaulish race. From this all decisive edicts and interpretations were issued, and the place continued to be of much interest under the Roman sway in Gaul, and even down to the time when it was taken by the Northmen.

The druidical schools were occupied with the discussion of such learning as the northern barbarians might possess. Everything was done orally. Superstition was rampant, and tradition was ac-

cepted even as against the most palpable facts of nature. The priests were versed in astrology. The visible movements of the planets were not studied as a means to scientific knowledge, but with a view to gain therefrom such astrological lessons as men might apply to the conduct of life. Perhaps no race of men have passed into the sublime knowledge which the modern world possesses of the planets and stars without having been in certain stages of the evolution under the dominion of astrology. The geographical knowledge possessed by the Druids was imperfect and theoretical, and the same may be said of physical science in general. Their knowledge of phenomena was empirical. A belief in the uniformity of nature and the universality of causation had not yet appeared. Perhaps natural theology was the favorite study among the druidical priests. In this realm they might speculate to their heart's content, and other pagan philosophies of Western Europe and the East might beat upon the conclusions of the Gaulish priests without much advantage of fact or reason.

The druidical religion was a compound of mythology and natural philosophy. It was the opinion of Cæsar that their favorite deity was Mercury. In the sixth book of the *Commentaries* he says that they worship this god especially, and that there are many effigies of him. From the attributes which the Roman historian assigns to Mercury, we may think him correct in his estimate of the god and of his place in the Gaulish pantheon. Cæsar says that he was regarded as the inventor of all arts and the leader on all highways and of all excursions—that he had the

guardianship of money and merchandise, and had great power. After this deity the Gauls adored Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Cæsar adds that concerning the latter group the Celts had about the same notion as other peoples. This would imply that although the worship of Mercury was especially popular, he was not himself regarded as the great god of the race, but rather Zeus.

Whatever the relative rank of the divinities, it can not be doubted that the Gauls were as much, or perhaps more, given up to their superstitions than were any other of the Aryan races. Cæsar says that they were “wholly devoted to their religion.” It was, moreover, a religion of advantage and protection. Cæsar declares that those who were for any reason afflicted with severe diseases and who were exposed in battles and other perils were wont to sacrifice men as votive offerings to the gods, and that they many times immolated themselves, using the druidical priests as their sacrificers. It was the theory of the race that it was not possible to placate the immortals unless for the life of man the life of man should be given in turn.

Devotion of
Gauls to super-
stition: human
sacrifice.

Cæsar gives also a description of the method of human sacrifice. An immense image, or simulacrum, was built up of the interwoven branches of trees. The effigy was in the likeness of a man, but perhaps represented the god to whom the offering was made. The simulacrum was hollow within. When everything was in readiness the human victims were put into the image, which was otherwise filled with combustibles. Then the whole was set on fire and the victims perished in the flames.

In the days of the Roman conquest of Gaul it was a common occurrence to

Schools of the
Druids; limita-
tions of their
knowledge.

Mercury the fa-
vorite deity of
the Gaulish pan-
theon.

come upon what Cæsar calls the *exstructi tumuli*; that is, the “heaped-up mounds”

The *exstructi tumuli* of Cæsar; severe punishments.

which the sacrificial ceremonies had left behind in the consecrated place where the Gallic tribes assembled to offer their victims. The religious dogma and the exactions under it were exceedingly severe, insomuch that no Gaul might set himself up in opposition to the common views and accepted superstitions of his people. The Roman historian remarks that the punishment of any such heretic was “exceedingly severe.”

upon this belief. Light was regarded as the secondary, and darkness as the primary, phenomenon of nature. Light was the opposite of darkness. The night was the first thing. The day followed the night. The calendar was arranged by the night. An event had not occupied so many days, but so many nights, in its accomplishment. All time was reckoned in such manner. Birthdays and the beginnings of months and years and other critical and noted periods were all dated from the night. It is possible that the safety which the night afforded



CELTIC TUMULI AT BARTLOW, PARISH OF ASHDON, ESSEX.

It is not practicable to enter into a review of all that the observant Roman

Usages, customs, and philosophy of the Druids.

writers were wont to say about the religious ceremonial of the Gallic race.

The original authorities from the side of Latin literature are Cæsar in his *Gallic War*, Cicero in his *Dialogues*, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny. In general, these writers are agreed among themselves as to the leading features, and even the details, of the ceremonials and superstitions of the peoples north of the Alps. Everything was in the hands of the Druids. They transmitted the tradition of the past. They regarded themselves as the descendants of old Dis, the Celtic Pluto, god of the underworld.

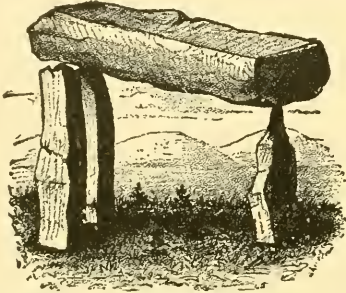
Several curious customs were based

to the northern nations, the quiet and secure gloom of the silent forest where they had their abodes, may have produced a sympathy for darkness and the disposition to regard Dis as the benevolent ancestor and patron god of the Gallic race.

The mistletoe plant, about which one of the principal superstitions of the Celts clung with so much tenacity, probably attained its place in the mythology of the Druids by the double circumstance that it was a parasite of the oak, or sacred tree, and that it was, or was thought to be, a plant of the night, like the nightshade and a few other growths, that are even yet regarded by the common people with a kind of

The mistletoe the plant of darkness and mystery.

awe. The name of the mistletoe in Greek is *idzia*, or *idzos*; the Latin, *viscum*. In Anglo-Saxon the word is *misteltan*; and in Icelandic, *misteltein*. The syllable *tan*, or *teinn*, means a twig or vine; and the *mistel* is mist, fog, or darkness. It was the plant of darkness



DRUIDICAL DOLMEN, CASTLE-WELLAN, IRELAND.

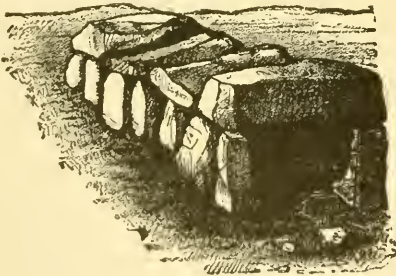
as well as a parasite of the sacred oak. In this way it got, in the estimation of the Celtic hierarchy, its place of reverence, and became finally one of the central ideas in the whole cult.

We are indebted to Pliny for an elaborate account of the druidical ceremony

Belief of the Gauls in the virtues of the mistletoe.

with respect to the mistletoe. In the first place, he notes the medicinal effects

of the plant, and repeats the common belief of antiquity that it aided in conception, removing sterility in cases



DRUIDICAL PASSAGEWAY OF MEGALITHS, FRANCE.

where the same existed. It may be said in general, that everything in the ancient pharmacopœia which tended to the fertility of females was regarded with superstitious veneration. The mistletoe did not, according to general be-

lief, grow abundantly in connection with the oak tree. On the contrary, it was found only rarely in that situation. It was the occasional association with the sacred oak, combined with the other circumstances which we have named, that gave to the mistletoe its place in the national religion. Whenever it was found on the oak it was regarded as a mark of the particular favor of heaven; and a ceremonial had existed immemorially relative to the taking and use of the plant.

Among the Celts the sixth day, or rather the sixth night, of every moon was the beginning of the month, and also the beginning of the year. The principle was carried out to what was called an *age*; that is, thirty years, each

Ceremonial of the cutting and the feast.

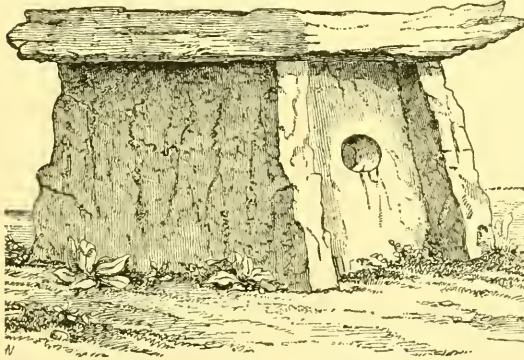


GROUND PLAN OF DRUIDICAL STRUCTURE, DENMARK.

period of that duration beginning with the sixth night after the new moon. It was on the sixth day of the first new moon after the beginning of the year that the mistletoe cutting and ceremonial were celebrated. It was one of the most conspicuous public acts of the druidical worship. First, the mistletoe must be found on the oak. This done, a sacrifice and festival were provided at that place. Then the Druids, all clad in white, marched forth, accompanied by the people, to the tree where the mistletoe grew. The officiating priest had a golden sickle, or knife with a curved blade, and with this, having ascended the oak, he cut the sacred plant from its place. It was allowed to fall. A white mantle was held under the falling plant, to pre-

vent it from touching the earth. This done, with care and according to the rules of the ceremony, the mistletoe was divided among all who participated. It was called in Latin the *Omnia Sanans*, that is, the All-Heal.

Meanwhile, two white bulls or white heifers had been brought under the tree and were offered by the priests. They were slain when the plant fell from its fastening on high. Prayers were offered by the priests that unusual healing virtues might be given forth from the leaves and twigs and fruit of the sacred plant. It was divided up among the worshippers. Some made of it a decoction



SUPPOSED DRUIDICAL MONUMENT.

tion and *drank it* as a cure for sterility. Others used the same remedy for poisons and various diseases. Other parts of the plant were taken away by the people and preserved with superstitious veneration, under the belief that it was the veritable All-Heal of the household. The ceremony of the cutting was concluded with the sacrifice of the bulls and with a feast.

Second only in importance and interest to the taking of the mistletoe from the oak was another spectacular superstition which the old Latin authors called *Ovum Anguineum*, or the Snake's Egg. It was the belief among the Druids that numbers of serpents were wont to get into a tangled mass, en-

gaged in some struggle peculiar to their race. While thus rolling and tossing together an egg was produced from the saliva and froth of the intertwined and contending serpents. As soon as the egg was formed it was thrown into the air and held up by the blowing; and it was believed that for a Druid to succeed in catching this ovum anguineum in his white apron before it could reach the earth was the most skillful, providential, and auspicious event in his whole life! He must, moreover, ride away at full speed on a horse which had been in waiting for him, for the superstition made it that the serpents would pursue him at full speed, and would only stop when he had ridden across running water. The serpent's egg thus taken was regarded as the greatest of charms and talismans. It had many remarkable properties. One of these was that thrown into running water, it would of itself ascend the current. Even though it were incased in gold or other heavy metal which might well sink it to the bottom, it would nevertheless ascend the stream. Pliny had himself seen one! He describes it as follows: "It is about the size of a moderately large round apple, and has a cartilaginous rind studded with cavities like those on the arms of a polypus."

There were at least two other sacred plants associated with the mysticism of the Druids. The first of these was the *Samolus*, or marshwort. The second was the hedge hyssop, called the *Helago*. The finding of either was regarded as a piece of good fortune, and the method of taking and preserving the plant was carefully prescribed. The marshwort must be cut with the left hand, after a fast, and without looking at it. Before taking the hedge hyssop, the person de-

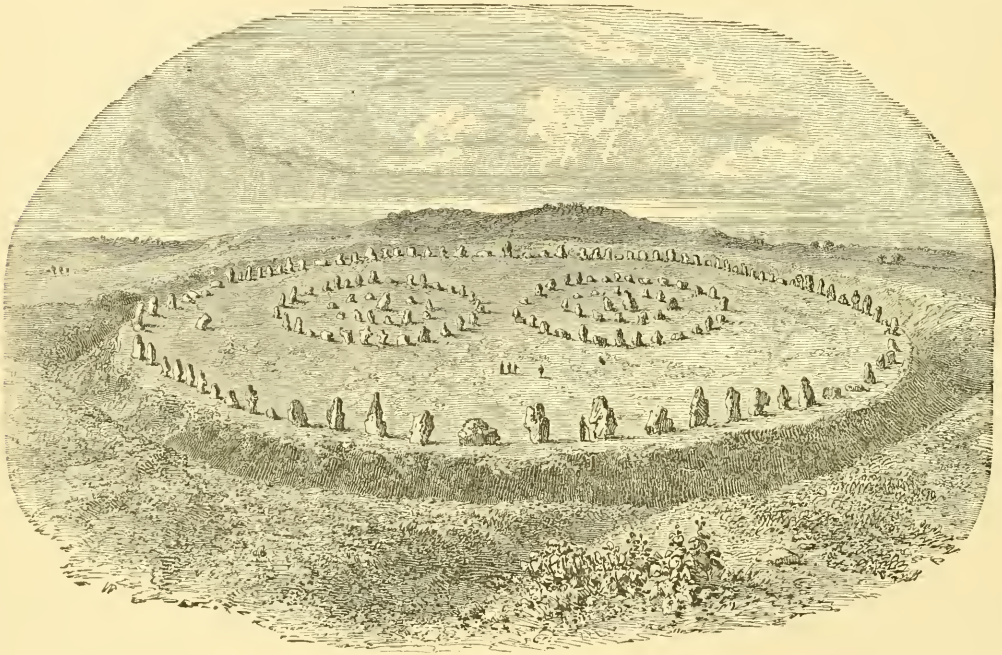
the finding and taking of the ovum anguineum.

the old Latin authors

Superstition of the marshwort and the hedge hyssop.

siring it must pass through ablutions. He must make offerings of bread and wine, be barefooted, and recover the plant without any knife at all. It is said that *Iervain*, or verberna, was also sacred to the Druids, and must be taken in accordance with the rules of a ceremony. Bits of such plants were worn by the Celts as charms. It was reckoned that the prophylactic influence of these sacred things was good for the wearer

bottom ideas upon which the system was founded. Divination was a part of it. The Druids were prophets, foretellers, soothsayers. After the manner of the Romans, they were wont to cultivate the auguries. For this purpose the flight of birds and the peculiarities of the entrails of sacrificial animals were studied. The profounder ceremonies, the true mysteries, were celebrated in the depths of the forest or in secluded



RUINS OF A DRUIDICAL CIRCLE AT AVEBURY, WILTSHIRE.

not only against physical evils, such as disease and accident, but also against the moral and mental maladies to which human life is subject.

It was the policy of the Druids to keep their lore a secret. They permitted only so much of it to be divulged as the necessities of the ceremonial required.

Like the Egyptian priests, they kept the real cult among themselves. They were careful that it should not be recorded or given out to the vulgar. For this reason not much is known of the

caverns by the sea. As to temples, the Druids had none, but it is believed that the great megalithic monuments scattered over France and Britain were left by this people. The ruins of Stonehenge have been regarded as the cathedral of the Arch-Druid of Britain, and those of Avebury, with its circular avenue and its serpent, are thought to have been druidical symbols. The dolmens and cromlechs of Great Britain and Ireland are reckoned to belong to the same class of remains. Nearly all druidical structures were circular. It

Secretiveness of
the Druid seers;
ruins of the cult.

is believed that the great stone circle at Stonehenge included originally a sacred grove of oaks, where the supreme worship of the British Celts was performed.

The druidical society was carefully organized. The sacred officers were divided into three classes. The triad, indeed, was made the basis of nearly every feature of the system. The first class included the Druids proper, who were the priests of the race, using the term priest in its limited sense of an officer who offers prayer and makes sacrifices for others. The Vates, or prophets, were intimately associated with the Druids, but were not considered as true priests. It was their business to observe occult phenomena, such as the flight of birds,

Organization of the druidical order; Bards and Druidesses.

the entrails of victims, and other indicative signs, and to interpret such hidden things to the worshipers. They were to

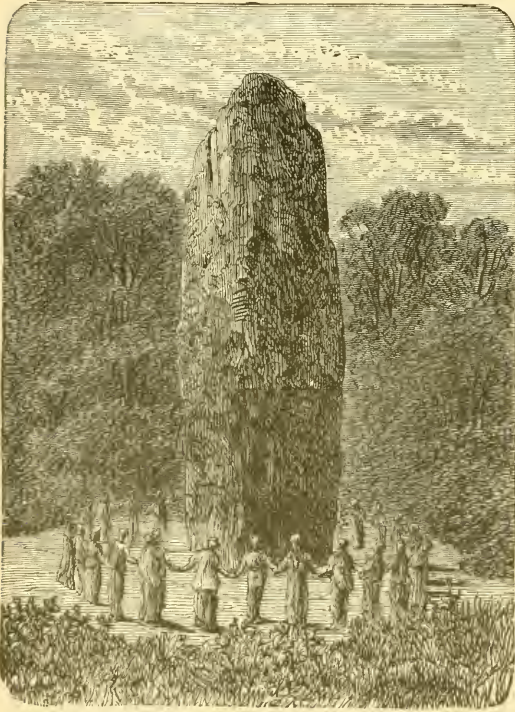
prophecy of events yet to come, and to indicate the policy of the race in war and peace.



DRUIDS, FRANKS, AND GAULS—RACE TYPES OF THE DARK AGES.

The third class included the Bards, or singers, who composed the sacred songs which were used in worship and by the people in general. It appears, however,

that the bards found that they increased their popularity by extending their themes to warlike adventure, to satire and invective. Most of the fragments of ancient literature having a druidical cast are warlike and satirical in their themes. Over against the druidical order were the Druidesses, or female prophets, who, while they did not share the prerogatives of the priests, did ex-



DRUIDESSES DANCING AROUND MEGALITHIC IDOL.

ercise a vast influence over the people. They inspired all the reverence and terror which are usually given to the prophetess, the sorceress, the witch. They, like the Druids, were divided into three classes on the basis of their reputation and sanctity, and it is said that the rules of their conduct were exceedingly capricious and contradictory.

We are here on the threshold of the dark and criminal mysteries belonging to Druidism. Perhaps for the want of sufficient data we shall never be able to

evoke and put in form the true story of the orgies and corruptions which the Druidesses were wont to celebrate. The first order was made up of those prophetesses who could reveal the future only to those who ^{Dark mysteries of the system; nocturnal rites.} had polluted their persons.

The second class was constituted on exactly the opposite principle. They were bound to perpetual virginity, being no doubt somewhat like the vestal virgins of Rome. The third class also had their distinction on the sexual relation. They were such as were bound to long periods of restraint. In general, they were allowed to visit their husbands but once a year. There were, moreover, certain nocturnal rites which these Celtic bacchantes were wont to celebrate. On such occasions their naked bodies were painted black, and, with their hair flying and every evidence of wild excitement, they gave themselves up to orgy and frenzy.

The island of Sena, off the coast of Britagne, where the Senes dwelt, was the seat and center of the ceremonies and college ^{Demolition and rebuilding of the temple in Sena.} of the Druidesses. Here

once in each year, between the setting and rising of the sun, they must pull down and rebuild their temple, being careful that no fragment of the sacred materials should be allowed to fall to the earth. The work was done under the greatest excitement and amid frantic dances and other evidences of transport. One may readily see in all this the evidence of the ultimate ethnic affinity of the Celtic race with the Greeks and the Hindus, among whom the celebration of such mysteries was a favorite form of religious expression.

At the time of the contact of the Romans with the Celtic race, the influence of the Druids, their absolutism over the people, had somewhat declined. A sec-

ularizing tendency had sprung up—as always happens when a race is advancing toward the light—and the Equites, or Horsemen, that third elective order of nobility of whom we have spoken, had checked by their rivalry the power and irresponsible prerogative of the Druids. At this time the Gaulish knights were in the ascendant, and the Romans had much more cause to fear them than they had to be in dread of the druidical order, with its superstitions and ceremonies.

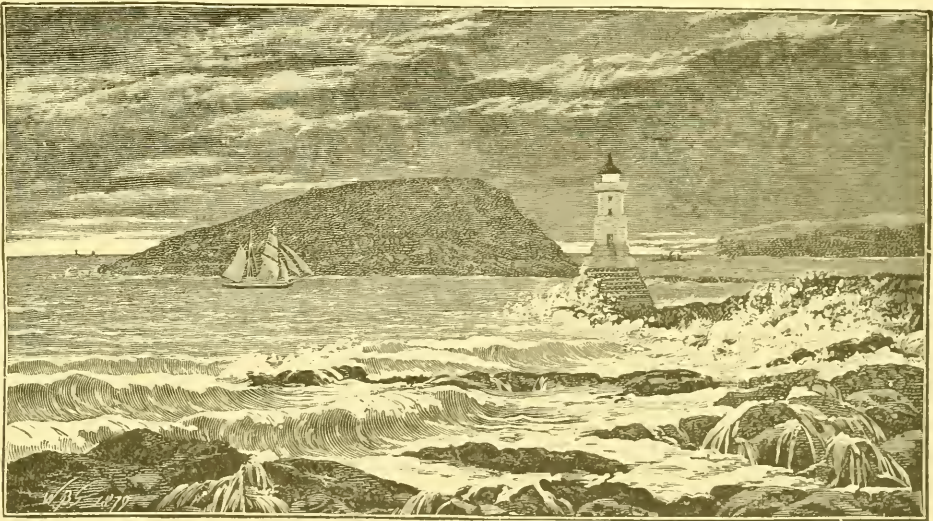
The Druids reduced by the secular power of the Equites.

and their mysteries. They consequently encouraged the Gauls to stand against the Romans, to fight them to the last.

Druidism receded before the Roman arms. From Central Gallia it fell back to the west into Armorica, and then into Britain.

The ancient cult makes its last stand in Anglesea.

The expiring energies of the ancient cult here flamed up with animosity and great heat. The island of Mona, or Anglesea, may be regarded as the *ultima thule* of the druidical superstition. It was the last headquarters of the old religion of the Celtic race as



PUFFIN ISLAND, OFF THE COAST OF MONA.

It was against the latter, however, that the Roman policy was chiefly directed. As a rule, the conquerors were very tolerant of the religions with which they came in contact; but Druidism was a sort of antagonistic force so stubborn in spirit and so dominant that its extermination seemed to be demanded. All the other parts of Celtic society yielded ready obedience and conformity to the Roman polity, but the Druids saw in the invaders from beyond the mountains the fatal enemies of themselves

Rome must contend with both Knights and Druids.

it receded before the conquering legions of Rome. It was the policy of the Romans to destroy the druidical groves and overturn their sacred stones wherever they were found. One after another of the oak woods which had been appropriated for ages to the dark mysteries and ceremonies of the druidical worship were cut down as the Roman conquest widened to the British channel.

In the times of Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman legionaries bore down on Anglesea, and were confronted at

their landing by an array of Druid priests, before whom at the first the soldiers of the south were struck with awe. It was with difficulty that they

heads of the advancing Romans, but it was all in vain. The soldiery of the empire was not to be impeded in its progress by a bulwark of superstition.



SAINT COLUMBA PREACHING IN MONA.

could be rallied to the attack of these strange and half-supernatural spirits of the woods. Fearful were the imprecations which the latter poured out on the

The British priests and their horde of warriors were attacked and put to flight. Then the groves of the island were invaded, and the altars where the bloody

sacrificial rites had been performed for centuries were broken down. The dark groves themselves were swept away, and the system which had prevailed over the destinies of the race for unknown ages was driven from its ancient seats, to become a reminiscence among the peasants.

Conquest and spoliation of the island by the Romans.

Christianity which went forth on the pleading tongues of men, could not conquer by violence, but only by persuasion. Such a hierarchy as that of the druidical priesthood was not likely to yield to the persuasion of missionaries. As well might we expect the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem to have listened with patience to an appeal which, if heeded, would have



FORTH BRIDGE FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

If history or ethnography were permitted to indulge in conjecture, it might be interesting to inquire what would have happened to the Christian monks and evangelists who made their way into Western Europe if the Druids had been left in possession of the influence and practices of the Celtic race. Rome was wont to cut down barriers with the sword. Christianity, at least that early

What might have been in a contest of Christianity with Druidism.

undone the whole priestly organization of Jewry, as to expect that the proud, bigoted, and overbearing Druids of Gaul and Britain would yield to the new doctrine of the Christian monks.

But long before this contingency arose, long before Christianity was accepted by Rome herself, the power of Druidism in all the West was broken by violence. Even in the oak woods of Britain, in the

Rome made a way with her sword for the Christian monks.

very island of Anglesea, which was its last stronghold, it had become a private superstition. As a public worship it had disappeared, not only on the Continent, not only in Britain, but even in Ireland, before the Christian monks, who in Saint Gregory's time came into England, brought thither the rudiments of the new religion. Imperial Rome was thus the forerunner of that great system of faith and practice which was destined to prevail in all the west of Europe and in the New World beyond the waters.

It thus happened that on the incoming of the Christian fathers into Western

Gaul and Britain the system of Druidism had already become a tradition. Only a

few allusions are found in the patristic writings to the Gaulish religion which had so long been dominant in this region of the world. The references to the Druids in the works of Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and others, show conclusively the limited acquaintance of the authors with the priesthood and the people to whom they refer. It was, however, the early dawn of Celtic poetry and romance before the recollection of the system vanished from the minds and imaginations of men. The first poems and tales of the Irish race are flecked here and there with allusions to the ancient white-robed priests, who might be well called the Magi of the Celtic race. At the time of which we speak the Druids had in tradition taken the character of sorcerers. They were believed by the first Christians in the far West to have been in league with the evil spirits of paganism, and to have been as much given to troubling their enemies as to benefiting their friends.

Such was the superstition of the people of Ireland when the first Christian missionaries made their way into the

country. The new teachers had to confront the old ethnic feelings of the race in favor of their own ancient priesthood.

One of the means adopted by them to accomplish this result was to spread abroad a belief in their own superiority over the ancient apostles of evil. They let it be known that they, the evangelists of the new faith, were able to triumph over the malice and demonism of the ancient sorcerers. It is said in one of the biographies of this epoch, the *Life of Saint Columba*, that he was miraculously victorious over the devilism of Broichan, chief Druid of the Pictish king, and that the success of the holy man was attributable to this circumstance.

The connection of the Druids and their system with the East has been a subject of much controversy. The coincidence of their beliefs and those of Pythagoras has already been pointed

The new faith flows in the channels of the old.

Connection of Druidism with Eastern mythologies.

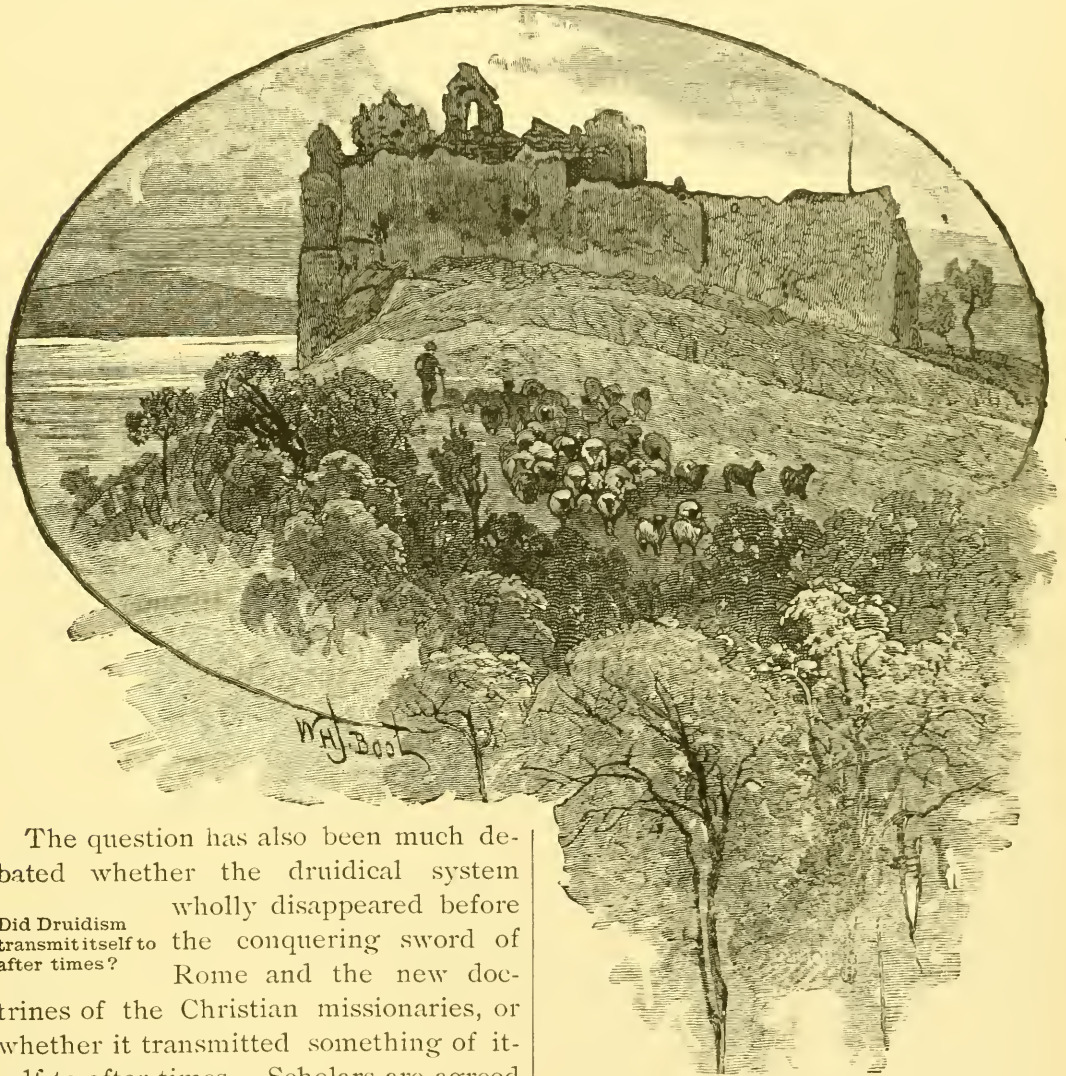
out. It can not be doubted that they accepted metempsychosis as a leading feature of their faith. The god Hesus whom, according to Lucan, they worshiped as the supreme deity, was perhaps identical with some one of the Syrian gods. Their worship of Apollo was under the name of Belinus, and scholars have identified this word with the Phœnician Baäl. Inquiries of this sort, however, are very likely to mislead. For when such identities are discovered, the question still remains whether the one is derived from the other or the other from that; or, still deeper is the question, whether both have not been deduced from the same common original, lost to history. It would appear on the whole that the doctrine and practices of the Druids were as nearly a native production of the

Celtic poetry arose with the fall of Druidism.

Celtic race, as little derived from other sources as the usages of any other branch of the human family. It might not be far wide of the truth to assert that Druidism was a native growth of Gaul and Britain, and that its entire destiny belonged to the evolution of Celtic nationality in those two countries.

been claimed in recent times that the Bards, or third division of the hierarchy, survived the shock of conquest and the still greater shock of Christian invasion.

An examination of the literature of the Welsh has given rise to the belief that a considerable figment of Druidism was cov-



OYSTERMOUTH CASTLE.
Drawn by W. H. Boot.

The question has also been much debated whether the druidical system wholly disappeared before the conquering sword of Rome and the new doctrines of the Christian missionaries, or whether it transmitted something of itself to after times. Scholars are agreed that the Druid priests were driven out of existence, that they receded from their strongholds, were scattered, forced into obscurity and extinction. The same may be said also of the public practices of the Vates, or prophets. But it has

ertly transmitted by the druidical bards from the pre-Christian to the post-Christian epoch. It is claimed that a system of belief was largely prevalent in the west of

Did Druidism transmit itself to after times?

Great Britain, in Wales, and in Ireland, to which scholars have given the name of **Post-Christian epoch and Neo-Druidism in Wales.** Neo-Druidism. The theory is that while the bards, or singers, of the Celtic race in the Dark Ages accepted nominally the doctrines and practices of Christianity, they secretly perpetuated the old druidical rites and ceremonies, mixing the same with the Christian form of belief, and thus preserving even to the later Middle Ages something of the spirit but little of the glory of the ancient religion.

Somewhere between the sixth and the twelfth century of our era, in the monasteries of Wales, a literary compilation was made which is known under the name of the *Black Book*, embracing the religious poems of the age in which it was composed. An examination of these poems has tended to foster the belief that while they are nominally Christian, they are really, in their spirit and a large part of their substance, druidical. There are certain political and civil facts also which tend to the conviction that the influence of the Druids outlasted the existence of their order. The old authority was felt and acknowledged by the Celts of Britain and Ireland and Armorica long after the white-robed priests had disappeared from the land. The old unexplained customs of the people, the superstitious usages, the rudiments of law and other social phenomena, are believed to have been druidical in their origin, and to have continued as active forces in society for centuries after the decadence and obliteration of Druidism. It may be accepted as historically true that during the whole of the Roman supremacy in the British Isles, the spirit of the druidical system, if not its tangible forces, resisted the foreign domina-

tion. The Emperor Claudius was constrained to issue rigorous orders for the suppression of the Druids. Many other public acts had for their bottom motive the same cause in these western confines of the empire. But the great lapse of years between the Roman conquest and the introduction of Christianity had so weakened the ancient religion, that by the time of the coming of Saint Gregory it was a force no longer to be feared.

Curious scholarship has found a double element in the system of druidical worship. It is at once a subjective, speculative form of religion, concerning itself with the nature and destiny of man; and an objective, realistic form of belief, concerning itself with the philosophy of the outer world. It is on the speculative side that it seems to be allied with the religious beliefs and practices of the East. Such a doctrine as the transmigration of souls, such a belief as that which proposes the immortality of man, can hardly be said to be native to the West. Beliefs of this kind have generally been found to have their origin among the dreams of the East. It is in the objective consideration of nature that Druidism is associated with the general doctrines and practices of the Aryan race. In so far as the system was a mythology, it had its Aryan kinships among the Greeks and the Romans; but in so far as it contemplated the immortality of the soul, and particularly the continuance of the human soul in bodily forms through which it is destined to pass, upward or downward, according to its moral tendencies, the druidical doctrine was probably brought with the Celts from some ancient connection in the Orient. It has been suggested, not without reason, that of the two branches of the Celtic race the

Philosophical sources of the druidical system considered.

Cymric, or British, was the elder and more Oriental in its cast; while the Gadhelic, or Gaelic, was of a latter migration to the West—that the former brought and disseminated in the West the speculative part of Druidism, while the Gaelic Celts carried the mythological and spectacular part of the system to the same destination. Possibly the unity and confluence of the two divisions of the Celtic family in Gaul and Britain might account for the presence of the double element in the national faith.

It appears that the doctrine of metempsychosis as taught by the Druids made a powerful impression upon the minds of the Roman writers. The Druids did not accept the belief in a nether world to which the spirits of the dead might be condemned, or of any intermediate state in which they must

Druidssubstitute metempsychosis for Tophet.

should be cleansed of earthly impurities. The system was purely Pythagorean.

It insisted that the souls of the dead were put into other bodies; that they returned to the earth in the guise of animals and

birds and men, not knowing their own origin in the past, not discerning their own destiny in the future. The poet Lucan, in his poem of *Pharsalia*, as translated by Rowe, gives a fair exposition of the teachings of the Druids. He says:



CELTIC MANNERS.—MARRIAGE OF EVA AND STRONGBOW.

"If dying mortals' dooms they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night;
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below;
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find.
Thus life forever runs its endless race,
And like a line Death but divides the space,

A stop which can but for a moment last,
A point between the future and the past.
Thrice happy they beneath their northern skies,
Who that worst fear, the fear of death, despise:
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
To spare that life which must so soon return."

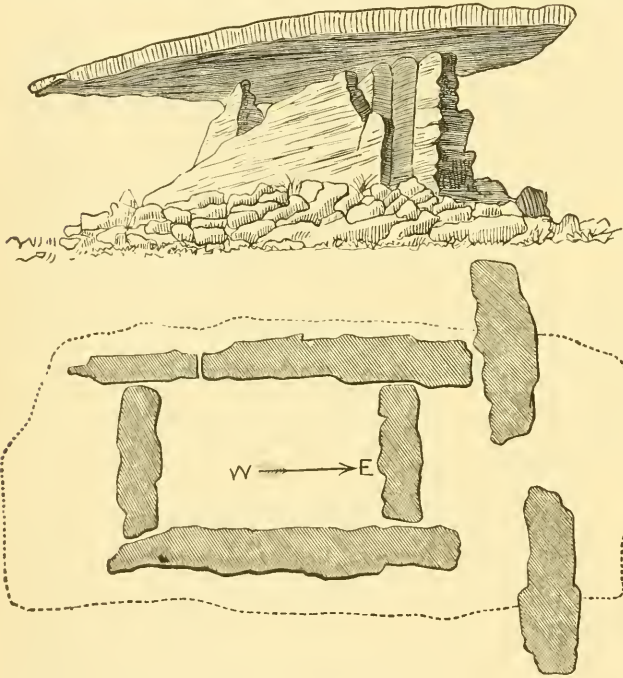
Owing to the fact that the Druids carefully avoided committing to writing the secrets of their annals, their traditions, and particularly their religion, trusting as they did everything to oral couplets—of which Cæsar said they had "a vast

Dependence on Roman authors for knowledge of Druidism.

modern times John Toland, a British author of the beginning of the eighteenth century, took up the subject as a study, and gave a more complete outline to Celtology than it had ever had before. This outline was followed up by Pelloutier in his *History of the Celts*. Into these writings and those which have followed on the same foundation much imaginary and conjectural material has been incorporated; but at the same time much that is authentic and philosophical has been preserved.

The preservation of Eastern opinions and practices by the Druids is still further illustrated in their symbolical use of fire. The Druids were the Parsees of Britain and Gaul. Fire was used in nearly all of their ceremonial; and it is in evidence that the element was regarded with superstitious veneration. The Celtic year was regulated by the moon cycle. It began on the tenth of March; and, as we have seen, the sixth day of each moon was a sacred day, on which festivals and other observances were to be held. There were four major ceremonies during the year. The first, that of the mistletoe, occurred on the sixth day of the moon succeeding the tenth of March; the second on the

Symbolical use of fire; the moon cycle.



DRUIDICAL RELICS—CROMLECH AT CHYWOONE. SIDE VIEW AND GROUND PLAN, AFTER BORLASE.

number"—the scholarship of after times has been greatly perplexed to make out for them, and if for them, for the Celtic race, a connected and authentic history. The old Romans knew them not. It is to Cæsar, to Cicero, to Lucan, to Pliny, to Tacitus that we are indebted for our scanty knowledge of the druidical system, and indeed for a large part of what we know concerning the Celtic race. In

sixth day of the moon after the first of May; the third was celebrated on Midsummer Eve, June 21; and the fourth on the last day of October.

On all of these occasions fire was kindled, either for sacrifice or adoration. On the eve of the May festival all of the domestic fires of the people were put out, and on the following day were lighted again,

The fire festivals perpetuate themselves to modern times.

with torches which had been kindled at the sacred altar kept by the Druids. It is said that down to the eighteenth century the Roman Catholics in Ireland were wont to kindle a sort of bonfires in all their fields on Midsummer Eve, and with flaming brands to make the circuit of their cornfields. This usage prevailed also in Gaul and in the Scottish Highlands. It was believed that by this means the blessing of heaven might be had on the ripening fruits and grains of the fields which were ready for the sickle. The fires of May Day eve were lighted for blessings on the newly planted crops, and those on the last day of October were for the conclusion of the gathering of fruits—the autumnal festival with which all nations have been wont to conclude the labors, anxieties, and risks of the summer. In Ireland and the north of Scotland the May and June fires are still known under the name of Beltane, or Beltein, which scholars render as Bell Fire, that is, Fire of Baäl. It can hardly be doubted that there is in all this some evidence of the Eastern origin of Druidism, and the still more certain evidence that the druidical system, incorporating itself popularly with Christianity along the extreme west of Europe, has transmitted some of its usages to modern times.

It is to be regretted that the Roman authors should not have given the words

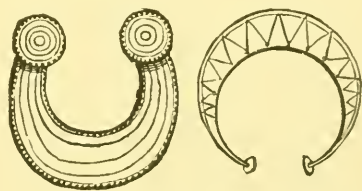
Loss or partial preservation of the Celtic names of the gods.

of the Celtic vocabulary in describing the religious system of Gaul and Britain.

This is particularly so with respect to the names of the deities whom the Gauls worshiped. With these names the affinities of the religious system under consideration might perhaps have been more accurately, at least more certainly, determined. But Cæsar and his scholarly countrymen were given to translat-

ing things into Latin. In enumerating the names of the Celtic deities they gave the Latin equivalents, and we are left somewhat to conjecture in determining what the vernacular names were.

It is said by Livy that the Spanish Celts called Mercury Teutates, which some have identified with the Egyptian Taut. It might be more in accordance with philological rules to identify the word with the Tuisco of the Scandinavians. We have already referred to the conjecture that the vernacular name of Apollo was Belinus, the Bel of the Assyrians. An old Celtic name of Jupiter is thought to have been Jow, which is said to mean "young," and if so, to have preserved the Aryan tradition that Jove was the youngest born of Saturn.



ORNAMENTS WORN BY DRUID PRIESTS.

There was, however, given to Jupiter another name, Taranis, which is believed to have meant "the thunderer."

In common with the usages of the north the Celts built no temples. Nor did they in the primitive stages of their development have any images of their gods. Celtic and Teutonic barbarians build no temples.

The oak was the emblem, and in some sense the visible presence, of Jupiter; and it is said that the cube was representative of Mercury. But these objects were not regarded as effigies. They were merely symbolical of the deities, and represented some of their attributes. In course of time, however, actual images of the deities were introduced. Such usage may have arisen after contact with the Romans and

acquaintance with the religious manners of that people.

Some of the Christian fathers have represented Gaul and Britain as particularly idolatrous in their

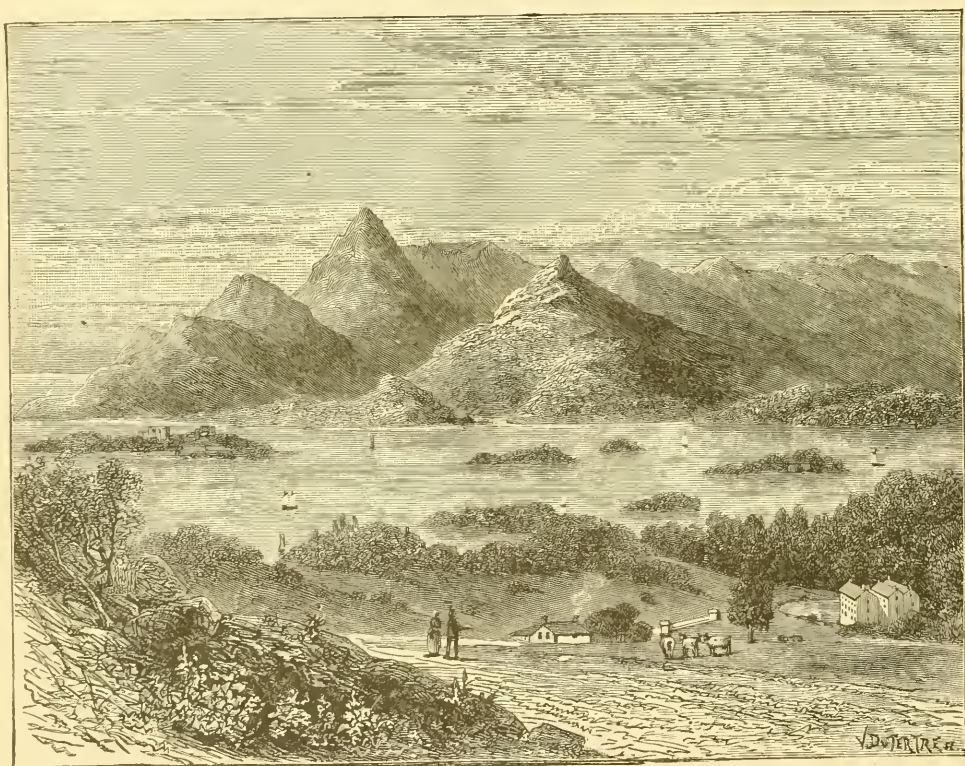
*Alleged idolatry
of the Gauls and
Britons.*

day. But such statements are usually exaggerations born of the zeal of the early missionaries, who were fond of depicting the low and idolatrous condition of the peoples

We may take a final survey of Druidism by noticing in a word its destinies after the Roman conquest.

*Destinies of
Druidism after
the Roman con-
quest.*

It was in 61 A. D. that Suetonius Paulinus overthrew the Druids in the Isle of Anglesea, thus virtually exterminating the order from Britain. It appears, however, that a remnant of priests and people escaped to the Isle of Man, and there



GLENGARIFF HARBOR AND BANTRY BAY.

among whom they wandered. It is certain, however, that the Celts in the post-Christian epoch had images of their gods, though they appear never to have fallen into temple building and spectacular display. In 1711, under the choir in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, two images of Celtic gods were found, both in relief. The first was of Hesus, and the other of a deity called Cernunnos. But to what Roman god the latter corresponded there is no certainty.

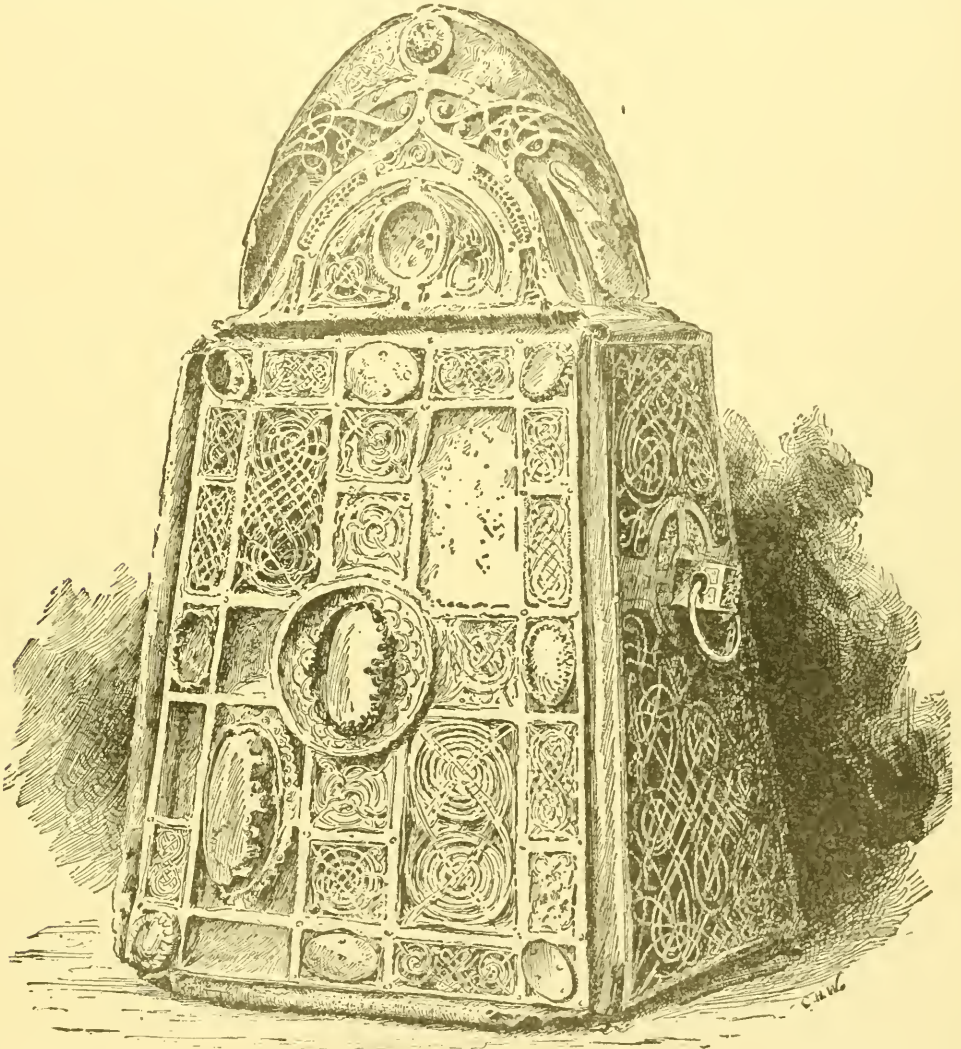
for a while attempted to set up a new headquarters for the ancient system. It has been thought by some authors that the Gaelic Celts of the Highlands and of Ireland had not been so distinctly druidical as they now became under the influence of the fugitives from the Cymric Celts of the south and east.

Subsequently the system sank gradually into the earth; but vestiges of its presence were plentifully distributed in all the outlying Celtic countries of West-

ern Europe. Many of the popular customs and superstitions of the peasants preserve to the present day a memory of the druidical ceremonies; and these, together with the quaint architectural remains in North Britain, are the prin-

evidences of Druidism disappeared in the countries where it had flourished. In Ireland it was still a living system as late as the middle of the fifth century. With what difficulty the Roman arms

Remaining vestiges of the system in Ireland.



SAINT PATRICK'S BELL.—From the original in the Royal Irish Academy.

cipal memorials of the peculiar religion of the Celts. In Scotland the principal seat of the ancient cult was in the parish of Kirkmichael, near the great range of the Grampian hills.

It was perhaps four hundred years before the visible, and we might say vital,

penetrated into this region is known to all students of history. But what the Roman legions could not accomplish, the zeal and enthusiasm of Saint Patrick effected among the Irish Celts. The old belief gave way before the preaching of the saint, and the Cross was set up in

the sacred groves of the Druids. In the annals of Great Britain as late as the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries the edicts of the Councils of the Church against the worship of the sun, the moon, the mountains, the rivers, the lakes, and *the trees* give evidence of the survival of the ancient beliefs and of the disposition of the British people to return to the religious usages of their ancestors. After the conquest of the country by the Danes, in the times of King Canute, a law was made and en-

forced against the old idolatries. Such practices, sports, and pastimes as All-hallowmas, the bonfires of May Day and Midsummer Eve, the virtues of the mistletoe, and many other village beliefs and usages are manifestly druidical in their origin. And the close observer may still see in the country ceremonies prevalent in the remote districts of England, Scotland, and Ireland an occasional grim shadow which has been cast thus far into the present by the opaque body of the druidical superstition.

CHAPTER LXXV.—GOVERNMENT, LANGUAGE, AND CULTURE.



THE civil organization of the Celtic race, their manner of government, their law-making, the administration of justice, are better known from the history of the British Celts than from those of Gaul. On the incoming of Cæsar there were no fewer than thirty-five tribes in possession of Britain. Here again in the use of the word *tribe* we must be on our guard against misrepresentation of facts. Perhaps the word *clan* comes nearer to the meaning. Each clan constituted a petty state. The territorial extent and place of these thirty-five barbarian principalities have been ascertained and recorded. Thus, for instance, the Brigantes had a territory extending from sea to sea, and including the modern counties of Durham, York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. The Cantii were the inhabitants of the little southeastern state of Cantium, the modern Kent. The Caledonii had their seats from Loch

Place and boundaries of the principal British clans.

Fyne, on the west coast, extending across the country to the Moray Firth, including a portion of Inverness, parts of Argyle, Perth, and Ross. So of the many other nations. Ptolemy and other geographers have worked out the location of each according to the data in their possession, and doubtless with a fair approximation to the facts.

So far as a governmental system was concerned, the Celtic states had at least the rudiments of monarchy. It may not be supposed that each of the tribes had a king, or that there was any fixed rule in regard to the number of clans that were under a single chief, or sovereign. There was no doubt much diversity in this respect. Sometimes a great chieftain would rule several clans, and sometimes the territories of a given nation were ruled by several chieftains. Cæsar has mentioned the fact that in his time Cantium had no fewer than four contemporary kings.

Rudimentary forms of monarchy among the Celts.

We are here again troubled with the modern signification of words. The term *king* does not by any means corre-



BOADICEA.

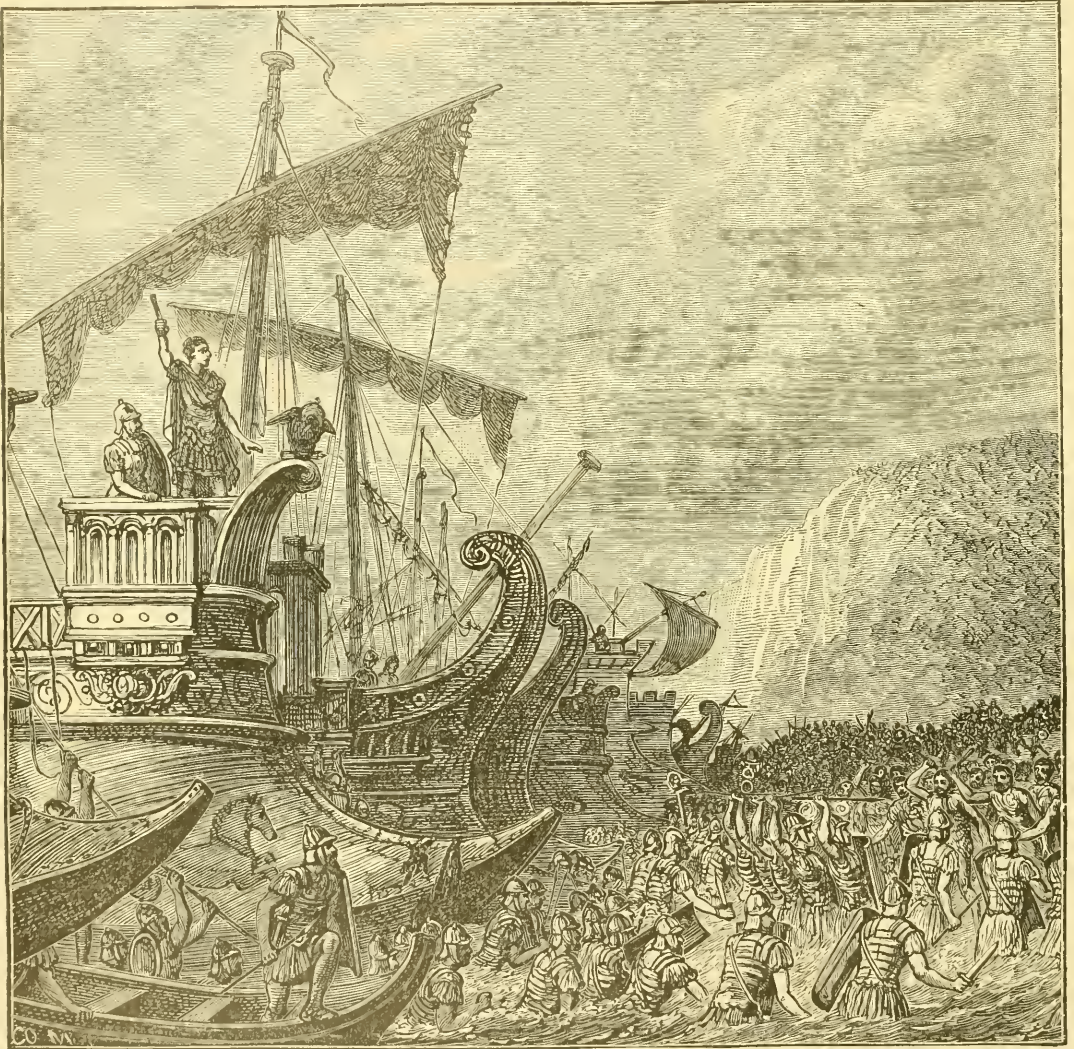
spond with the fact of royalty as it existed among the Celtic tribes. The king

Nature of the
royal office;
woman and he-
redity.

was the headman. In a certain sense he was the ruler, the sovereign. His

office, as we have seen, was elective. But it does not appear that he could be

heredity had much to do with the succession to the royal office. It appears that among the German races the principle of election held its own; but among the Celts there was a constant tendency to substitute royal birth for election. It is held that in so far as the



INVASION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS.

deposed except by revolution. There is some contradiction relative to the rights of women among the Celts. In course of time the hereditary principle encroached upon the elective principle—as it always does among barbarous peoples. Before the coming of the Romans

hereditary principal was recognized and followed in the choice of rulers, women were not disparaged, but had the same rights with men. It is certain that women were sometimes sovereigns among the British nations. The famous examples of Boadicea and Cartisman-

dua would be sufficient to attest the possibility of the female succession.

If, however, we should look for the full prerogatives of royalty among the

Royal prerogatives; check of the druidical order.

ancient Celts, we should look in vain. Nominally the kings had the right to command the nation in war; but the secular nobility—that is, the horsemen, or knights—greatly impeded the freedom of the sovereign in this respect. And the druidical check was even greater, as it interposed the edict of heaven against any campaign or policy that was distasteful to the priestly order. Besides, the old British Celts could not have been induced to fight against the warnings and imprecations of the Druids. Dio Chrysostom has declared that the Celtic kings were not allowed under the constitution of the race to do *anything* without the sanction of the Druids. Though the kings were permitted by the priests to keep a show of royalty, to have their palaces, their nobles, and ministers of state, they were nevertheless subjected to the galling bondage of the superstitions and willfulness of the druidical order.

It appears, moreover, that at the time of the Roman conquest a popular element

Influence of the Druids in the Roman wars.

had appeared in many Celtic states. Ambiorix, one of the Gallic kings whom Cæsar met beyond the mountains, insisted that a popular clamor had compelled him to assault the camp of Cæsar against his stipulation not to do so. Some British chieftains who had infringed the rule of good faith by imprisoning the Roman ambassadors gave a similar excuse to the general, namely, that they had been driven to the arrest of the *legati* by the clamor and violence of the people.

We should not think, however, that

the people were able to interfere regularly in the administration of affairs, the making and administration of law. It was rather that indefinite and intangible thing called influence that they were able to exert. The Druids were the real legislators of the people. But it was the peculiar and salutary virtue of this Western theocracy, as it became the virtue afterwards of the Christian Church, to choose its priests from the people, and that, too, by elective process. The druidical priesthood was thus constantly reinforced by material drawn from the bosom of the clan, the tribe, the nation. Laws made under these circumstances will doubtless be such as a theocracy will contrive for its own benefit; but at the same time they will be tinged with colors of the folks and permeated with sap which has been drawn up from the popular heart.

The Druids, then, were the lawmaking power among the Celtic peoples.

They were also the judges. This, added to the fact that they were the ministers of the national religion, made them especially powerful; and no doubt their tyranny was great. We are not informed as to what extent insurrection and the other weapons which native races, as well as civilized, are wont to use against their oppressors were employed by these ancient tribesmen to check the otherwise unlimited prerogative of the ruling order. It is thought by those who have looked attentively at the question that the great laws of the Celtic race were for the most part prepared, debated, enacted, promulgated at the annual assembly of the race at Dreux. This assembly might well stand for the Amphictyonic council of the Greeks. It was the Celtic congress. Whether the nobility—

The priestly order replenished with recruits from the people.

Power of the priesthood; Celtic congresses.

that is, the secular chieftains and the knights—had much active participation in the lawmaking and judicial proceedings of the assembly we are left to conjecture, but the Druids were the dominant order.

In Britain, the seat of the national tribunal was in the Isle of Anglesea. It

Rowland's account of the cirque of Anglesea.

is believed that traces of this ancient holy place of the British Celts are still discoverable. Rowland, in his account of *Ancient Mona* (Anglesea), has given us the following account of the place:

ular height. It is called Bryn-Gwyn, or Brein-Gwyn; that is, the supreme or royal tribunal."

We are not well acquainted with the actual method of making laws among the Celts, or of the style

of administering justice. Nature of punishment; the law for woman. Something is said in Cæsar

relative to the kind of punishments which were inflicted. These were various, according to the nature and degree of criminality. The husband had the power of life and death over his wife and children. It is in evidence that



VIEW IN THE HEBRIDES.—CORIUSK.

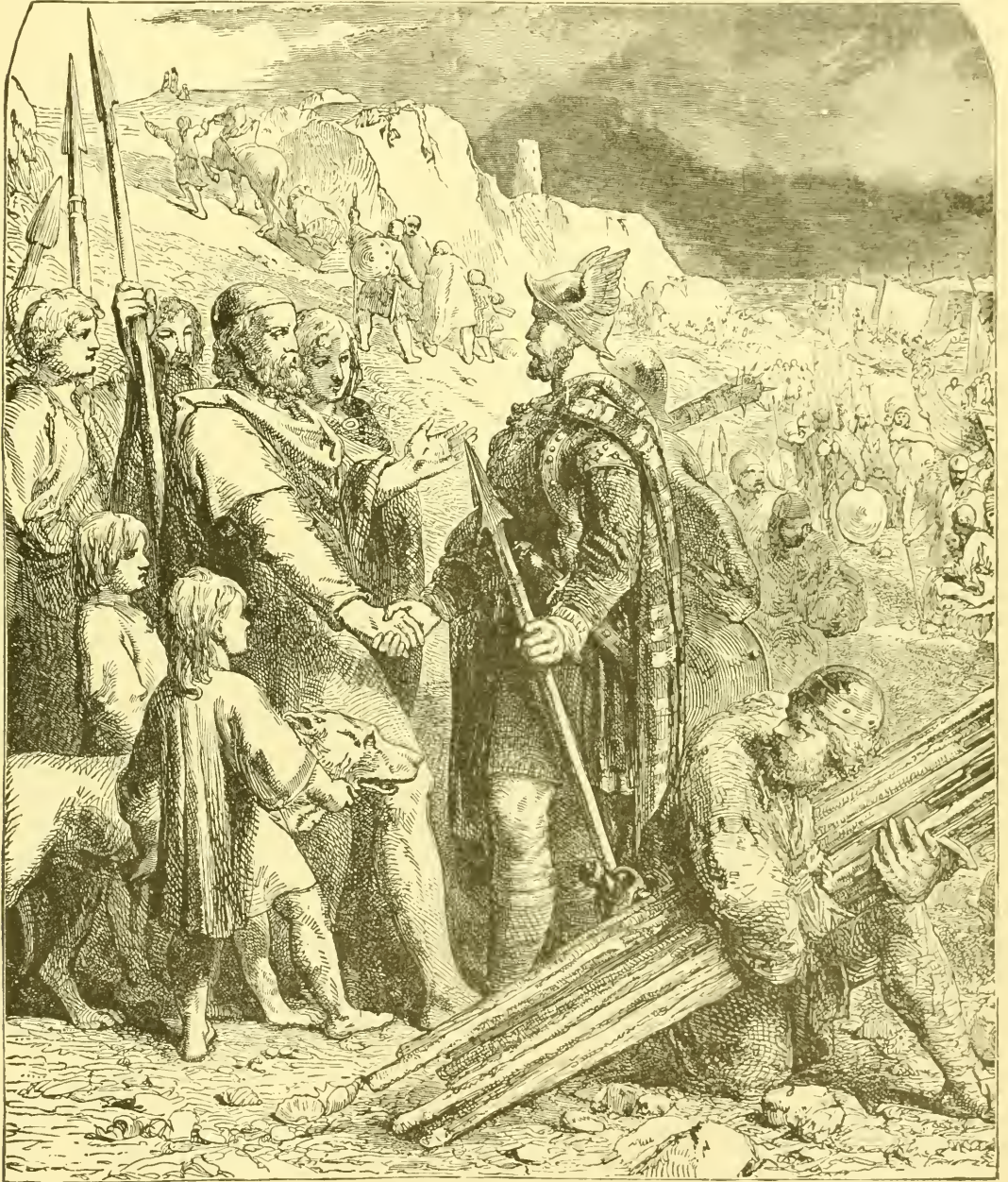
"In the other end of the township of Tre'r Dryw, wherein all these ruins already mentioned are, there first appears a large cirque or theater, raised up of earth and stones to a great height resembling a horseshoe, opening directly to the west, upon an even, fair spot of ground. This cirque or theater is made of earth and stones, carried and heaped there to form the bank. It is, within the circumvallation, about twenty paces over; and the banks, where whole and unbroken, about five yards perpendic-

torture was sometimes added to the death penalty, and that it was a part of the method of obtaining evidence. As usual among barbarians, the law bore heavily on the woman. She who was suspected of having conspired against the life of her husband was put to torture.

We have not thus far referred to the general concubinage and sexual license which seems to have prevailed among the British Celts. Nor is it known whether the druidical laws tolerated so

great laxity as appears to have been the usage of the people. The existence of such usages appears to strengthen the assumption that the druidical system had preserved in their Western develop-

ment. It is known, however, that marriage was an institution among the Celts, particularly the Gauls. The latter peo-



TREATY BETWEEN SAXONS AND THE BRITISH KING.

was an importation from the East, and that the domination of the man and the sexual slavery of the woman were relics of Oriental usages which the Cymric Celts

ple were more conformed to the principles of Roman society than were those of Britain and Ireland. Cæsar recites the principle of a Gallic law which re-

quired that the dowry brought by a wife to her husband should have added there-

Hints of the domestic estate of the Gauls and Britons.

to an equivalent sum by the husband. The combined amount of property was enjoyed by them in common during the life of both, and went entire to the survivor after the death of either. These facts show that marriage was at least an authorized form under the druidical constitution.

Solinus has recorded a singular theory of government which was in vogue in the

Restrictions laid by the Caledonians on their king.

Caledonian islands; that is, the Hebrides. It was to interdict the accumulation of property by the sovereign. He was not allowed to own anything in his own right. But as compensatory for this deprivation he was permitted to take freely whatever he required for his use from any of his subjects. It was held that the monarch thus having no right of personal ownership could not be tempted to act the part of an oppressor in the hope of gain. The principle was carried out to the social and family relation of the king. He was not permitted to have a wife of his own. But the wives of his subjects were his in the same sense that their property belonged to him. Since his children under these circumstances could not be known, no such thing as heredity could be recognized. The classical scholar will not fail to recognize in this an exact duplication of one of the principles which Plato devised for his government of the ideal republic. In the *Atlantis* the king, or ruler, was to be supported in the identical manner here described of the Caledonian monarch. It should be stated, however, that some historical critics have supposed that Solinus drew upon his imagination for his facts, and that the custom which he ascribes to the inhabitants of the

Hebrides had no existence except in his own imagination, or perhaps in his acquaintance with the *Atlantis* of Plato.

If we now take a general view of the destinies of the Celtic race in Europe, we shall find that it was pressed from behind by the constant aggressions of other peoples. To what extent its own

Pressure of the Celtic race to the west.

migrations were accelerated by ethnic annoyances on the eastern flank we may not know. Look at the broad countries between the Rhine and the western shores of Britain. They were all Celtic. This is said of the primeval condition, before the beginnings of history. But there was a constant tendency of the race to mass itself in the west, to recede toward the Atlantic, under the impact of the Romans and the Germans.

This pressure produced its greatest effect in Gaul. We have seen how this country was subdued at the beginning of our era, how it was Romanized and Latinized, how the population was gradually conformed to the Roman character. With the downfall of the empire of the West the Franks came in on the eastern borders, and the Burgundians. Meanwhile the Celtic race had slipped to the west. It had accumulated in Bretagne, all along the western parts of Gaul, in Britain, in Scotland, in Ireland, in the Isle of Man.

Then came the warrior Saxons. A conquest by *them* meant a very different thing from a conquest by the Romans. They were the hawks and eagles of the stormy sea. What they took they devoured. Their swords were worn out with slaughter, and their huge bodies were distended with the flesh of animals. Against them what could the Romanized British Celts, weakened by four centuries of subordination, do in battle?

The Saxons force the Celts into Wales and Cornwall.

They were even as flocks and herds before their pursuers. They were beaten into the earth. They fled to the west. They sought safety in the mountains of Wales and Cornwall. Never had the Celtic population been more completely

from its original seats of one of the principal Aryan families made room for the transplanting of other families in its stead. It thus happens that the Celtic country ceases to be a Celtic country.

The Gaulish empire yields to the Romans and Germans.



DEFEAT OF THE SAXONS BY KING ARTHUR.

displaced by conquest than were they of all Southeastern Britain. If in the sixth century we glance at the Celtic race, we shall find it already accumulated in the westernmost parts of the British Isles and in the Highlands of Scotland.

This disturbance and forcing away

First the Romans and then the Germans are poured into the Gallic territories until a new ethnic constitution is prepared. In England—that is, in a part of England—it is the Low Germanic stock that is planted in the place of the Celtic tree. The peoples of Celtic extraction become more and more limited

in their geographical area under the tremendous pressure from the East. The movement of the whole race of man into Europe had borne with ever-increasing weight upon the populations which had come into the continent in the prehistoric ages. These were crowded westward until all that remained of the unadulterated Celtic stock was found in the outlying islands along the north-western coast.



CELTIC CROSS AT MONASTERBOICE.

But before proceeding to consider the evolution of the Celts into the modern peoples who truly represent the ancient race, let us look for a moment at the character of the language which the people of this family have employed in their intercourse and for literary expression. Should we put ourselves into the Celtic stream of speech in the times when the race was still dominant in the

country west of the Rhine and north of the Alps, we should find the first branch to be the *Gaulish*, representing the tongues of those peoples whom the Romans conquered in Gaul. This division of the original language is not represented in any spoken dialect. It has contributed its influence to all varieties of French, just as the people who spoke the Gaulish dialects in Cæsar's time have contributed their blood and ethnic characteristics to the French race. But the language, the laws, the institutional forms, and the race character of the people south of the Alps were triumphant over the Gaulish nations and absorbed them.

The next branch from the principal stock is that of the *Celtiberian* stem, which carried into Central Spain one of the original peoples of that peninsula.

The Celtiberian and Cymric branches of Celtic.

But the speech of this branch of the Celtic family has also disappeared in the Spanish tongue, giving to it a slight modification in vocabulary and structure. Further on in the west we find the *Cymric* stem departing from the parent stock and contributing the primitive languages of Britain and the British Isles. Of this, that is of the old Cymric, there are three living representative dialects in the Cornish, the Armorican of Bretagne, and the Welsh. Branching from the Cymric is the Gadhelic stem, which has in like manner borne the threefold division of the Gael, or Highland Scotch; the Erse, or Irish; and the Manx. Such is a general sketch of the course and distribution of the Celtic languages in modern times. The Cymric stem and the Gadhelic are each represented by living tongues; but beyond this insular and precarious evolution the Celtic languages have sunk into the earth and disappeared.

Gaulish division of the Celtic languages.

If, then, we group together for linguistic review the six varieties of Celtic

The sixfold division of the Celtic tongues. speech which may still be regarded as living dialects—the Cornish, the Welsh, the Armorican, the Gaelic, the Erse, the Manx—we shall find them to be dialectical varieties of a common tongue, showing conclusively a derivation from a common origin. The departures among these speeches are wider between some than other of the dialects. Just as the six modern representatives of Latin have not been equally divergent from the parent stem, so the six varieties of Celtic are in various stages of evolution from the original Celtic stock.

What must in the first place strike the beholder is the restricted geographical

Restricted geographical area of the race. area to which the Celtic languages have been reduced.

The aggregate of all the countries where the living tongues of this family are spoken is not greater than seventy-two thousand five hundred square miles, and the total populations who yet speak, or possibly *can* speak, a living dialect of Celtic derivation reaches no more than seven million five hundred thousand. When we reflect that the modern Latin languages are spoken by fully a hundred million of people, including two or three of the most powerful nations of the globe, we can but be astonished at the disparity. Only a short time before the Christian era the Latin tongue was limited to the Italian peninsula, while the Celtic languages were spoken over the larger part of Western Europe. But the vicissitudes of history and of ethnic growth and decay have so completely reversed the proportions anciently existing that the Celtic race proper is now confined to an area less than that of the State of Kansas; and the whole number of the people included as Celts proper

hardly exceeds the present population of London!

The Celtic language is a member of the great Aryan family. It is by this means rather than by historical data that the ethnic place of the Celtic race has

Place of Celtic in the Aryan scheme of languages.

been determined. The discovery of the affinities of the Celtic with the Græco-Italic languages, or more remotely with Sanskrit and Persian, belongs to recent times. It came with the development of philology. No sooner, however, had the scientific study of language begun than the radical identity of the Celtic with the great classical tongues of Southern Europe was made known.

Even a half-critical glance at the Celtic vocabulary, to say nothing of grammatical structure, will establish its unity with Greek and Latin. The first ten

Evidences of the Aryan character of Celtic speech.

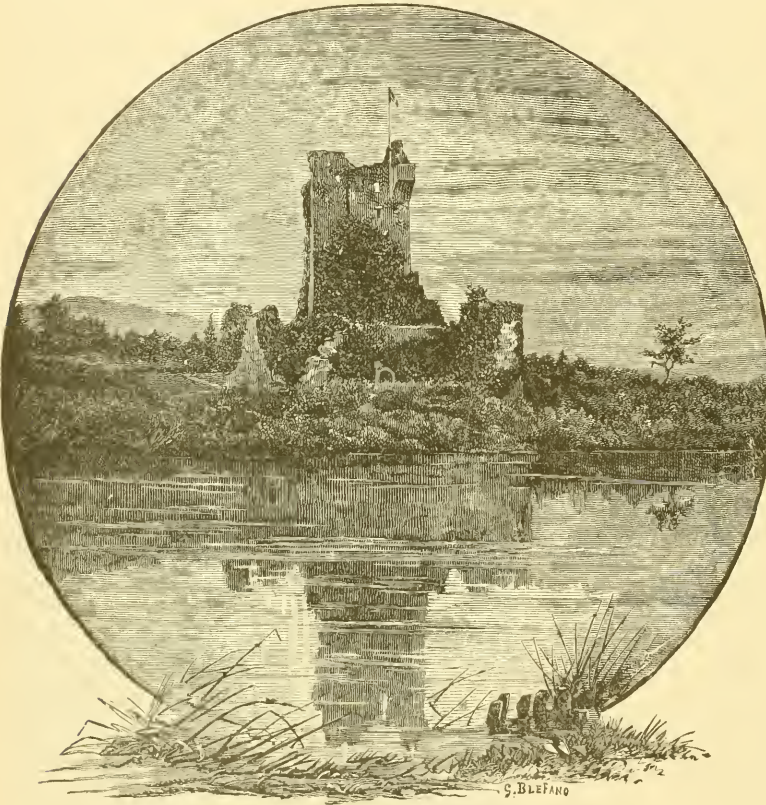
numerals in Celtic run as follows: *un*, *dwy*, *tri*, *pedwar*, *pump*, *chwech*, *saith*, *wyth*, *naw*, *deg*. It would be impossible to convince any one at all acquainted with the Latin and Greek numerals that those of the Celtic tongue have not a common origin with the others. The same identity is discoverable in the pronouns. I, thou, and he, are in Celtic *mi*, *ti*, and *ev*; she is *hi*; we, *ni*; you, *chwi*; they, *hwy*, etc. If we look into the structure of the language, we find the declension of nouns effected both by terminations and prepositions, after the Latin manner. Nouns have two genders, masculine and feminine, being in analogy with French. Adjectives are formed from substantives and verbs. There is a comparative degree and a superlative. The feminine adjective is formed from the masculine by a change in the initial letter. There are so many of these initial mutations as to constitute a distinguishing feature of the lan-

guage. A peculiarity of verbal conjugation is the absence of the present tense, the place of the same being taken by an infinitive with the verb *agyr* before it. The other tenses—imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and future—are formed in different moods after the analogies of Latin and Greek. Considered as a vehicle of expression, the language is

the conquest of the Celtic countries by the Romans and after the conversion of the people to Christianity that the language began to be used in literary production. We are able to see, though dimly, the transformation by which the old druidical orders of society were gradually changed to the new Christian order of learned men. By the close of

the sixth century the scholarly class of British and Irish Celts had been organized in three grades, the first of which was called *Gradh Ecna*, or School of Wisdom. A graduate from this department of learning was known as a *Sai*, or *Sagr*. The second department of learning was called the *Gradh Fene*. This was the professional learning, especially law. The third division was the *Gradh Fili*, which included polite learning—poetry.

It is now clearly perceived that the latter, or literary class of Celtic wisemen,



ROSS CASTLE, IN ROW ISLAND.

one of simplicity, precision, and strength. It has the capacity to express abstract ideas in a single word, and has a rich and varied vocabulary of concrete roots.¹

As we have said, the lore of the Druids was not reduced to writing.

The threefold organization of the learned Celts.

The Gaulish race of antiquity left no literature to excite the interest of men in the modern world. It was only after

were the lineal descendants of the Vates, who, it will be remembered, constituted

Origin and character of the Irish Fili.

one branch of the druidical order—the Bards. The Irish Fili of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries thus took up the office of the ancient Celtic bard; and it is to this class of composers that we are indebted for whatever there is of the so-called Neo-Druidism; that is, the Christian Druidism of the Middle Ages.

The first compositions of the Celtic

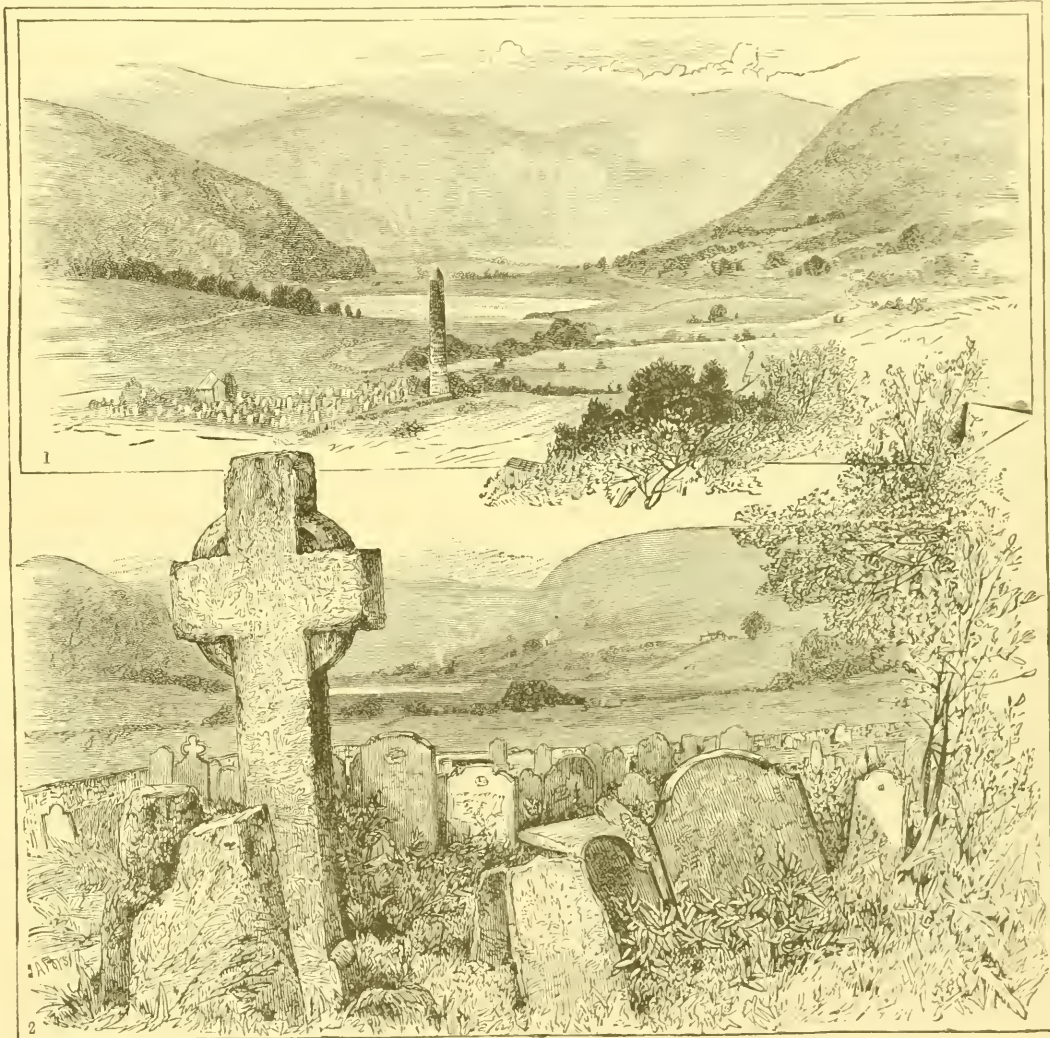
¹ The full Celtic vocabulary reaches over thirty thousand words.

race, viewed from a literary point of view, were the rhapsodies and incantations of

**How Druidism
was preserved
and transmitted.**

the Fíli. It can hardly be doubted that these old Irish poets preserved as much as they could of the spirit and sentiment of Druidism. Many were the backward

the faithful and the curses of the same heaven on the enemies of the holy faith. When Saint Patrick came, he was constrained—as all men are—to take things as he found them. He wisely admitted the hymns and incantations of the Fíli into the new Christian worship. But he



(1) VALLEY OF GLENDALOUGH; (2) IN GLENDALOUGH.

looks and sighs of regret which they cast toward the old oak groves and stone altars which might drip no more with the blood of human sacrifices, which might hear no more the solemn intonations of the Arch-Druid as he stood up to pronounce the blessings of heaven on

took care that those fatally infected with the spirit of paganism should be sung no more. As for the rest, the forms of prayer and praise which the ancient bards had used were retained, and became in the hands of the Irish singers the foundation of Celtic literature.

In these circumstances we may easily see the causes of the difficulties that ensued between the primitive Irish Church and the Church of Rome. The holy councils were quick to discover in the tone and manner of Irish Christian-

Causes at issue between the Irish Church and Rome.

is evident that Rome was many times startled by the reëppearance in the psalmody and ritual of the Church in the western islands of the evident heathenism which Saint Patrick and his followers had permitted by translation from the ancient system.



CRUCIFIXION.

From a Celtic bronze, in museum of Royal Irish Academy.

ity the ethnic qualities of the race, the vestiges of the paganism of the Celts. The Irish Church was much accused of heretical and irregular procedures. The tonsure of the priests was not that which was prescribed from Rome. It was said to be the tonsure of Simon Magus, whose name had become a synonym for all magic, necromancy, and vaticination. It

Of all the pagan society of Europe, that of Ireland and the neighboring Celtic countries was least transformed by the

The Irish race preserves the essential qualities of the Celtic.

agency of Rome and the Christian Church. A complete exposition of the social and religious movements of the Irish race after the introduction of Christianity might well astonish us by the plenitude of the things preserved from the past and the paucity of the things incorporated from the future. We are here at the threshold of an astonishing fact, and that is that the native tongue of the Irish Celts was the first barbarian vernacular of all Europe to be raised into the literary form. It is not meant that this work was successfully or completely done. But it was done to the extent of preserving in a vast mass of mediæval poems and stories the language and traditions of a race which was evidently tending to extinction.


In Ireland a whole cycle of educational and religious forms

was established at a time anterior to any similar work on the Continent. The general learning of the country

The three schools of Etna, Fíli-decht, and Fenechas.


was considered under three heads, namely, *Etna*, or Philosophy; *Fíli-decht*, or Polite Learning; and *Fenechas*, or Professional Learning—particularly the law. It was under the head of

(A) MS. in the "*Domhnach Airgid*," [R.I.A.] (temp. St Patrick, circa A.D. 430.)



 hnge iacob iacu hnge iiii
 Omnes ergo generationes
 ab abriuchum usq' ac dauic
 generationes xiiii et a dauic
 usq' uolans migratione babil
 n generationes xiiii & trans
 iiii cinie babilonis usq' ac
 iiii generationes

(B) MS. in the "*Cathach*," (6th century MS. attributed to St Colum Cill.)



 In nomine domini amen
 & mane uenit ad me
 & exaudiu me
 cum uenit ad me
 quomodo uenit in me
 & pater quia uenit ad me

Ecna that Christianity as a system was studied and taught by the early fathers of the Irish Church. Under the head of Filidecht the old Bardic literature of the Druids was revised and transformed and expanded into a course of study occupying no less than twelve years in its completion. It can but interest the reader to look back to the Ireland of the remote Middle Ages and consider for a moment the *Book of Ollaves*, in which the full curriculum of Filidecht was laid down. The first eight years of the period required for the accomplishment of the whole were devoted to the acquirement of the Irish language. It was expected that the pupil during this time should learn to read and write, should master the grammar of the Irish tongue, should study the laws of the privileged classes—another evidence of the prevalence of the principle of privilege in Celtic society.

The learner then took up poetry proper, which included not only the forms of metrical composition, but vaticination, and as much of natural science as was then possessed. Then came the elements of philosophical inquiry—historical topography, the learning of two hundred and seventy tales and a great number of poems, together with the secret language, the esoteric elements of the Bardic poesy. In the ninth and tenth years of the course the composition of poems was practiced. In the eleventh year one hundred original poetical compositions, fifty of the larger and fifty of the minor sort, must be produced as exercises; while in the twelfth year six orations must be composed, and at least four authors be practically studied in poetry and oratory.

The last two years of the course were regarded as professional. It was ex-

pected that they only would complete the full curriculum who were to become either literary men themselves or the teachers of literature to others. It was in this school of Filidecht that the Erse tongue was brought into a literary form before the same was done with any other vulgar language of Europe, with the possible exception of Mæso-Gothic.

The conditions which we here describe were all post-Christian. As to the ante-Christian achievement of the Celts in the west of Europe we are left in much doubt. It is even a disputed question whether the Celts were generally acquainted with the use of letters before the impact of Christianity. The testimony of Cæsar is that some of the Celts of Gaul knew writing, and that they employed a style of alphabet like the Greek. It may well be doubted whether in Western Gaul and Britain and Ireland writing was practiced at all until the introduction of the Latin orthography, brought by the Roman missionaries.

If we search for monumental evidence on this question we meet in Ireland and in parts of Wales certain rude stone monuments bearing inscriptions of the peculiar character called in the vernacular *Ogam*. It is known that this style of writing, if such it may be called, was practiced as late as the ninth and tenth centuries; that is, about five hundred years after Saint Patrick. The inscriptions consist of the combination of a number of long and short lines cut into the face of the stone. It is a style of record that was practiced only in a few localities, and the writings have furnished the subject-matter of much curious inquiry and controversy. It is sufficient to say that the use of the Latin alphabet soon supplanted the abo-

Curriculum of
the student in
Filidecht.

Little known of
the pre-Chris-
tian condition
of the Celts.

The Ogam style
of writing; Lat-
in alphabet sub-
stituted.

original style of writing, and that vellum was presently substituted for stone and tablets.

In this inquiry relative to the Celtic languages we are taking our station in Ireland because of the advantage which such a point of view gives of the linguistic and literary development of the whole race. Ancient Gaul, that is, the Gaul of the Celts, left nothing behind. It was only in the extreme west of

Celtice that linguistic and literary traces of this great race of men may be discovered. For this reason our present discussion has little to present outside of the limits of Ireland, Cornwall, and Wales. It is, therefore, perhaps more consistent with the nature of the subject to pass at once to the consideration of the ethnic development of those six modern peoples who represent in their national life and institutional forms the ancient Celtic race.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE WELSH AND CORNISH.



THE six existing Celtic peoples are: for the Cymric, or British branch of the Celtic family, the Welsh, the inhabitants of Cornwall, and the Bre-

tagnes, or people of Brittany; for the Gadhelic, or Gaelic, branch, the Highland Scotch, the Irish, and the people of the Isle of Man. We are here struck

Classification of the six existing Celtic races.

with the identity in number of the branches of the Celtic family with those of the Latin race, or, to rise higher, with the divisions of the Aryan family of men. It might well appear something fanciful that the Aryans should have divided into six families; that the Latin race in modern times should be represented by six ethnic divisions; and that the Celts in like manner should have six modern representatives. Such incidental coincidences, however, have no significance whatever.

The reader will already have apprehended the ethnic origin of the Welsh people. The country is known in the vernacular as Cumrie, meaning the Land

of the Cymri, the ancient Latin Cambria. Wales is a peninsula on the west side of Great Britain. It requires but a single glance at the map to see in what manner

Place and geographical relations of the Welsh.

the Celtic race was compressed by powerful ethnic forces into the insular and peninsular parts of Western Europe. Bretagne, which may be said to be the last continental foothold of the race, is the extreme peninsula of the Continent in this direction. Wales and Cornwall hold a like relation to England proper. The Highlands may be said to be the peninsula of North Britain, while Ireland, lying off to sea, interposes the barrier of water against the oppressors of the Celtic race.

We are indebted for our knowledge of the Welsh to two general sources of information. The first is through the classics. The Romans at the time of the invasion of Britain, and subsequently during their long occupation of the island, left many records from which some knowledge may be gained of the ancient inhabitants of Cambria. The other source is native; that is, from the

Poems of the Welsh a source of historical information.

Welsh themselves. Like the Irish and the Gael, the Cymri of West Britain had their bards and story-tellers, who preserved orally the traditions and lore of their race. About the beginning of the present century was published a work in

The first volume was made up of the ancient poems and songs of the Cambrian Celts; the second contained their chronicles and historical documents; and the third, the laws and moral treatises of the people. It is from these sources

that our information respecting the ancient Welsh has been for the most part gathered.

If we turn to the Latin authorities, we find that at the time of the Roman invasion all this part of Britain was occupied by people of Celtic origin, divided into three tribes. The first of these were called the Ordo-vices, who occupied the northern part of modern Wales, adjacent to the Isle of Man. The second tribe were the De-metæ, in the western part; and the Silures, the third tribe, were scattered through central and southern parts of the country. The latter were the representative Cambrians, being more numerous and powerful than the other tribes.



OLD CELTIC TYPE—KING BRIAN BOROHME.

three volumes, called the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, containing the original texts of a great number of Welsh poems and other compositions. These had in their turn been derived from old manuscripts, going back to the Middle Ages.

Like other people of the hills, these Western Celts were exceedingly patriotic. They fought the Romans with the greatest valor. Caractacus, who was king of the Silures, resisted the enemy

The three principal tribes of the race.

for nine years. At last, overcome by Ostorius, and betrayed by Cartimandua, he was taken, and, with his wife and children, sent to Rome in

posed to the rage, first of the Caledonian Piets, and presently to the still greater fury of the Angles and the Jutes, the Cambrians presented a bold front to the piratical invaders and maintained their independence. Perhaps the Saxons did not much care to continue their conquests in the western parts of the island. At all events, while they swept away the British race from those parts of the country which they invaded and conquered, the peoples of the mountain regions still preserved the Celtic stock. The conquests by the northern invaders in the fifth and sixth centuries were still another example of the driving ethnic force by which the Celts were compressed into the peninsular regions of the British islands.

The circumstance which ultimately laid the foundation for the political, and to a certain extent the social, union of the Welsh with the Anglo-Saxons, was the introduction of Christianity. We have seen how Druidism found a refuge in this country, and it may not be doubted that the remains of the druidical faith were the inspiration of the Welsh in their long contentions with the Saxons. The Christian monks at length made their way to the extreme west of the island, and the Welsh, like the people of the heptarchy, became converts to the new religion. The conversion of the Welsh was more thorough than that of the Irish. This is to say that fewer of the old superstitions of the Druids were incorporated in the Christian faith and worship in Wales than were transmitted, by the consent of Saint Patrick and his followers, to the ritual, and



OLD WELSH TYPE.—OWEN GLENDOWER.
From his seal, engraved in the *Archæologia*.

chains. His appearance before the Emperor Claudius has been described by Tacitus, who also records the manly rather than defiant speech which he made in the presence of the emperor.

The Roman occupation of Britain did not much affect the race character of the

Cambrian Celts
little affected by
the Roman con-
quest.

Cambrian Celts. The people were not greatly assimilated, as were those of Southeastern Britain, to the Roman customs and forms of society. To a certain degree the Welsh tribes were modified by the Roman domination, but the Latin language and learning made little progress in the West. It was for these reasons that when the Roman standards were finally withdrawn from Britain, and the effeminated peoples of the eastern parts of the island were ex-



ATHELSTAN'S RING.

posed to the rage, first of the Caledonian Piets, and presently to the still greater fury of the Angles and the Jutes, the Cambrians presented a bold front to the piratical invaders and maintained their independence. Perhaps the Saxons did not much care to continue their conquests in the western parts of the island. At all events, while they swept away the British race from those parts of the country which they invaded and conquered, the peoples of the mountain regions still preserved the Celtic stock. The conquests by the northern invaders in the fifth and sixth centuries were still another example of the driving ethnic force by which the Celts were compressed into the peninsular regions of the British islands.

especially the hymns, of the early Irish Church.

But though the island was Christianized, warfare continued to be the mood of the Welsh for several centuries. They were aggressive at times, and the central and eastern states often felt the impact

Contentions of
the two races;
union of Wales
with England.

of Wales was effected by William the Conqueror. Ever afterwards the country was claimed as a dependency of the English crown. Llewellyn ap Gryffyth obtained by treaty from Henry III the title of Prince of Wales, and by Edward I was summoned as a member of the Parliament of Westminster. But before



WELSH CEMETERY,—Drawn by E. Grandsire.

of Welsh invasion. In the latter part of the eighth century King Offa of Mercia was obliged to build a dike from the Dee to the Wye as a defense against the Welsh. In 930 Athelstan, King of England, waged a successful war in Wales, and exacted a temporary tribute. In the times of Harold Harefoot the country was again subjected to the English power. But the first actual conquest

he could serve in this capacity war broke out. Llewellyn and his brother David were slain. Wales was then united by an act of Edward I to England; but the title of Prince of Wales was conferred on Edward II, who had been born in Carnarvon Castle—a distinction which has ever since been borne by the heir apparent of the English crown.

Twice near the close of the thirteenth

century and once at the beginning of the fourteenth, rebellions broke out in Wales, all of which ended in disaster to the rebels and the execution of their leaders. The last of these movements occurred in 1400, when the famous Owen Glendower led his people in a hopeless struggle for independence. From this time forth for nearly a century and a half the Welsh remained in union with England, but under their own laws and usages. In the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII the Welsh constitution was abolished, or at least conformed to that of England, and henceforth the relations of the two countries were those of a county to a parent state. It was found as late as the reigns of George IV and William IV, in our own century, that certain constitutional usages in Wales were still repugnant to English law, and statutes of conformity were accordingly added, by which the last traces of the ancient sever-

Welsh rebellions and abolition of the constitution. ance of the two peoples were obliterated. Social and commercial forces have in like manner tended to unite and consolidate the two.

We deal here, however, with the de-
M.—Vol. 2—37

velopment of the people. Wales is a country immemorially favored in its natural resources. Almost all the great minerals—excepting the precious metals



MINERS OF PONTYPOOL—TYPES.
Drawn by Durand Brager.

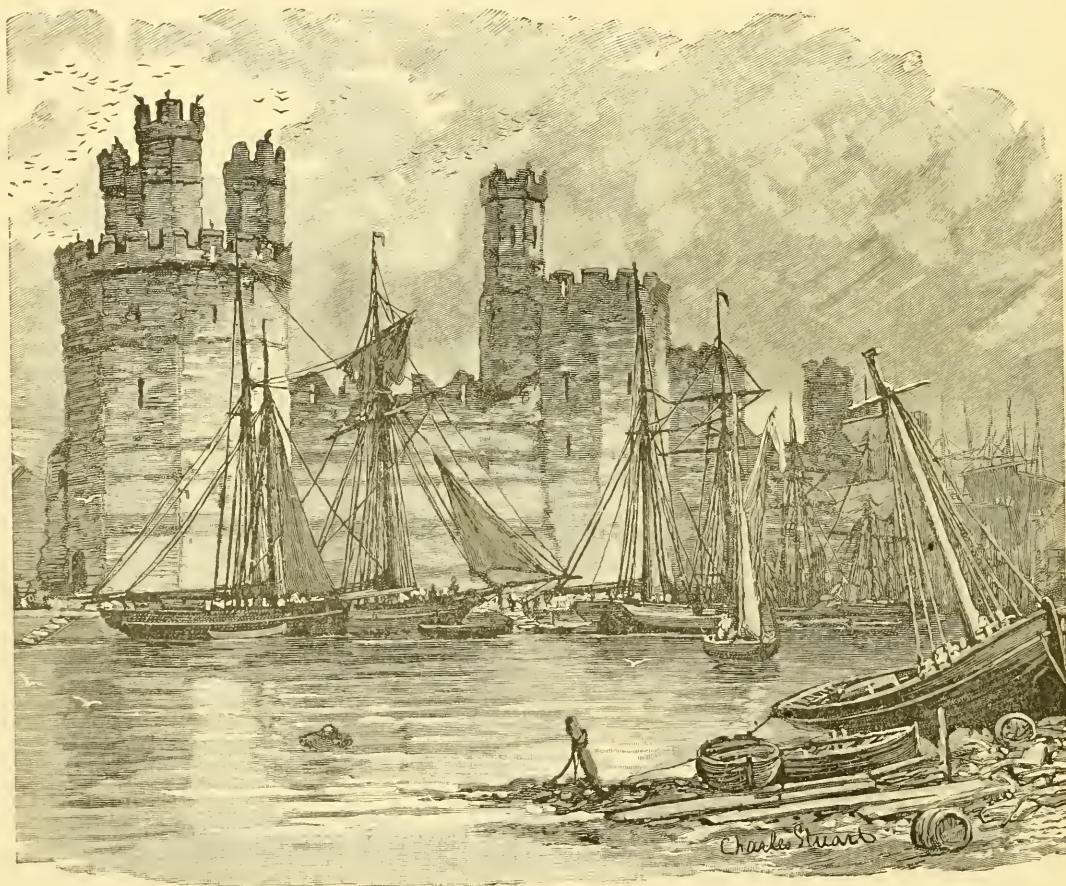
—are abundantly distributed. In copper ore, galena, tin, iron, zinc, manganese, gypsum, and firestone, few countries of like area can equal or surpass Wales. The concomitant circum-

Extraordinary wealth of Wales in mineral deposits.

stances also are such as to favor mining and manufacture. Water is abundant. The coal beds are so distributed as to favor the feeding of blast furnaces in proximity with the metallic ores. From the earliest ages the mines were opened and worked. Primitive man found in these regions many of the materials of

The characteristics of the Welsh people are sufficiently marked to distinguish them from the cognate races with which they are associated in the western and northern parts of the British islands. They have partaken in considerable degree of the physical characteristics of

Ethnic characteristics of the Welsh race.



CARNARVON CASTLE.—Drawn by Charles Stuart.

his rude beginnings. Some of the ancient gold mines in Merionethshire are still worked profitably. This region of Britain was one of the first occupied by the Celts on their western tour of Europe. Those ancient remains called cromlechs, which have been described in a former book, are abundant in this region, and many other signs of prehistoric occupation are seen in the country.

the Teutonic race which has been dominant in Great Britain for about fourteen centuries. The Welsh are strong, hardy, courageous, energetic in industry, and devoted to their country. They have much of the enthusiasm and fire for which the Gallie race is proverbial, and have common sentiments and dispositions with their kinsmen of the other branches of the Celts. They are

of superior physical strength, muscular, vehement in action and in appetite. It is likely that their vocation as miners and manufacturers has contributed to the roughness—we might say coarseness—of the Welsh character as it displays itself in modern times. The people are more dark complexioned, the Celtic type of countenance is less universal,

the English people in all parts of the island.

In touching upon the intellectual character and attainments of the Welsh—they being the first modern Celtic peoples of whom we have had occasion to speak—we come to a large ethnological problem, namely, the relative rank

Relative rank of the Celtic mind in modern society.



NATIVE COSTUMES OF THE WELSH.—Drawn by E. Grandire.

the head broader and rounder than among the Irish and the Gaelic Scotch. It can hardly be doubted that the British climate has had an influence in producing the present Welsh type. The country is exceedingly humid. The annual rainfall is more than forty-five inches, and the other elementary conditions are similar to those which have influenced the physical characteristics of

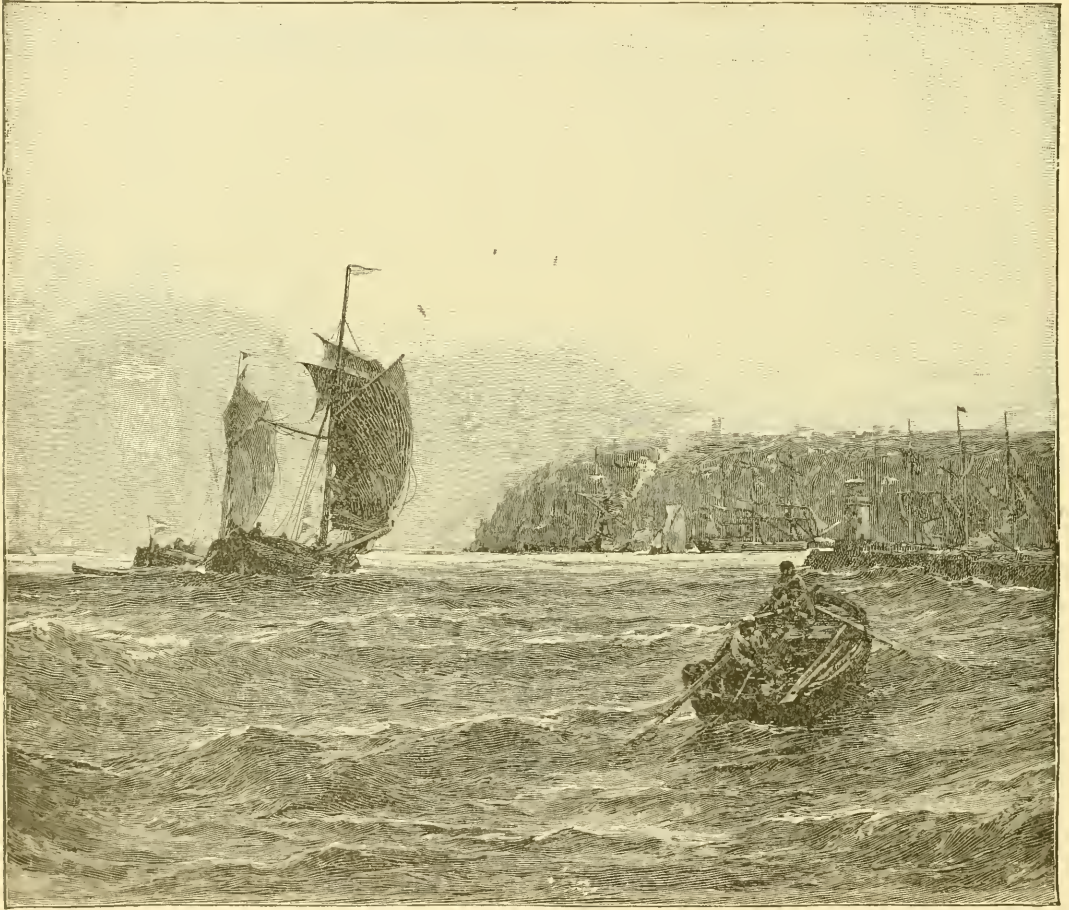
of the Celtic mind in the structure of modern society. Celtic blood has entered largely into the constitution of every considerable people in the western parts of Europe and in America. We have seen how in France and Spain a considerable substratum always remained of the ancient stock out of whose copious loins these countries had been peopled before the days of Cæsar. Great Britain

and Ireland were preëminently Celtic. By the conquests of other peoples, by the superposition of other races, the Celtic element was nearly everywhere subordinated, absorbed, amalgamated with the predominant nations. Celticism may be said thus to have come up after the manner of an undergrowth in the meadow through all the imported grasses

what may be called a native development, the result has been less favorable.

On the whole, the Celtic intellect in the west of Europe has not exhibited its powers in a degree comparable with the genius of the competitive races. In some particulars the intellect of the Celt has been coëqual, if not preëminent. Its

Comparisons of
the Celtic and
Teutonic intel-
lect.



PENARTH, FROM CARDIFF.—From *Magazine of Art*.

and grains that were sown in these regions. Sometimes the union of bloods was productive of great intellectual energy. This has been true in France. The Gallic touch in the French nature has given it that quick versatility for which it is proverbial. But in those regions where Celtic influence still remained predominant and grew into

quickness and wit can not be doubted. Its enthusiasm and zeal in a cause have always been conspicuous elements of mental character. We might say that those intellectual qualities which go to constitute the orator and the lyric poet have presented themselves in full force among the Celtic peoples. But the race has shown little political skill and still less

of that scientific disposition which has done so much to give form and fashion to the achievements of modern times. The Celtic mind has been wedded to the traditions of the past; has not shown the progressive and aggressive force of the Teutonic intellect in entering into new conditions and in laying the foundations

early age have been preserved. Of these, the most famous were Gildas and Nennius. Both of these sons of the morning understood Latin, and wrote in that language as well as in their vernacular. Gildas was the son of the British king of Dumbarton, anciently

Welsh authors
and literature
of the Middle
Ages.



WELSH FISHWOMEN—TYPES.—Drawn by Durand Brager.

of new social and civil structures. It is from this point of view that the Welsh mind must be judged and estimated. It has kept pace, perhaps, in a general way with the Irish intellect, but not with the intellect of England and the Continent.

In the Middle Ages a considerable body of literature was produced by the Celtic bards of Wales. Several names of literary heroes belonging to a very

called Ailelyd. He flourished from the first to the third quarter of the sixth century. He was the primitive Welsh historian, and was much referred to and quoted by subsequent British authors from Bede the Venerable to Hall and Fabian. Nennius was also a historian, producing what is known as the *Historia Britonum*, full of legends, stories of the colonization of Britain and Ireland, the

exploits of Arthur, and the birth and prophecies of Merlin. It was out of the works of Gildas and Nennius that Geoffrey of Monmouth composed his *History of Britain*. Much also of the material of the *Myvyrian Archaeology*, to which we have already referred, was deduced from the same source.



WELSH BUILDING—HOUSE OF IOLO MORGANWG.

Drawn by E. Grandsire.

If we turn to the primitive poems of the Welsh, we find perhaps the original form of those peculiar compositions called the *Triad*. It is probable that this form of poetry so far as it appears in Irish is an imitation of the Welsh. The triad was a metrical arrangement of similar thoughts, events, or topics which might be easily memorized from their association. It may hardly be doubted that the style was invented by the Druids as a method of preserving orally their lore and ritual. It is worth while to illustrate the form of the triad, exhibiting the primitive aspect of poetical activity among the Welsh. These

songs were arranged in series of three, thus:

Three are the ornaments of a hamlet:
A book;
A teacher versed in song;
A smith in his smithy.

Three are the punishments for theft:
The first is the prison;
The second is cutting off a limb;
The third is the gallows.

Ever and anon the student in ethnology may catch a glimpse of the remote kinship of men in the ancient world. The triad verse of the Welsh can but bring to mind the styles of composition which were prevalent in the Orient. Shem and Ham have both seen this style. There was much of it in the Hebrew Psalms, and some in Al Koran. It will be remembered that this Eastern kinship, as we have already pointed out, held more strongly in the countries of the Cymric Celts of Wales and Cornwall than of the Gallic Celts of the Continent.

Ethnic hints in the Welsh poetry; its subject-matter.

If we look at the subject-matter of the Welsh poems, we shall find it to have been derived from many sources. Events of the Roman supremacy in Britain, of the Mercian and Cumbrian wars, of the alleged Irish invasion and conquest of Wales and Cornwall, of the Norsemen, and other matters of the heroic epoch are the themes of the Bardic literature. There was also a style of poetry in proverbs, certain religious poems, and a few efforts at the epic. All of this, however, stopped short of a complete development. The political and social domination of the English throughout the island absorbed the larger part of Welsh genius, and overshadowed the rest. Doubtless the language is in process of extinction, as the Celtic race itself seems to be, not only in the British islands, but as an ethnologic fact in the world.

Cornwall is more distinctly peninsular than Wales. Like the latter country, it

Situation of Cornwall; the Cornish fisheries.

is one of the last seats of the Celtic race. It shares with all the western parts of

England the wealth of mineral deposit and other natural

advantages as a primitive home of mankind. The

fisheries of these coasts are as old as

the human race in the west of Eu-

rope. Along the Cornish banks the

pilchards have thronged from

ages immemorial. There is, perhaps,

no richer fishery in the world, at

least in its single product. Twelve

million pilchards have here been

taken in a single day. The yield

has sometimes reached forty

thousand hogs-heads in one sea-

son. No doubt the old Cymric Celts

who thronged these banks before

the ascendancy of the Roman race in

Italy derived a large part of their

subsistence from the shoals of fish

which darkened the waters along the coast.

One of the principal traditions that hovered along the dawn of history in Western

Europe was that of the Tin islands, or Cassiterides. There can be little doubt that the reference is to Cornwall

and Devonshire. Here it was that the Phœnicians

Myth and tradition of the Cassiterides.

and Carthaginian traders came by water



CORNISH MINERS OF WHEAL MARGEN—TYPES.

Drawn by Durand Brager.

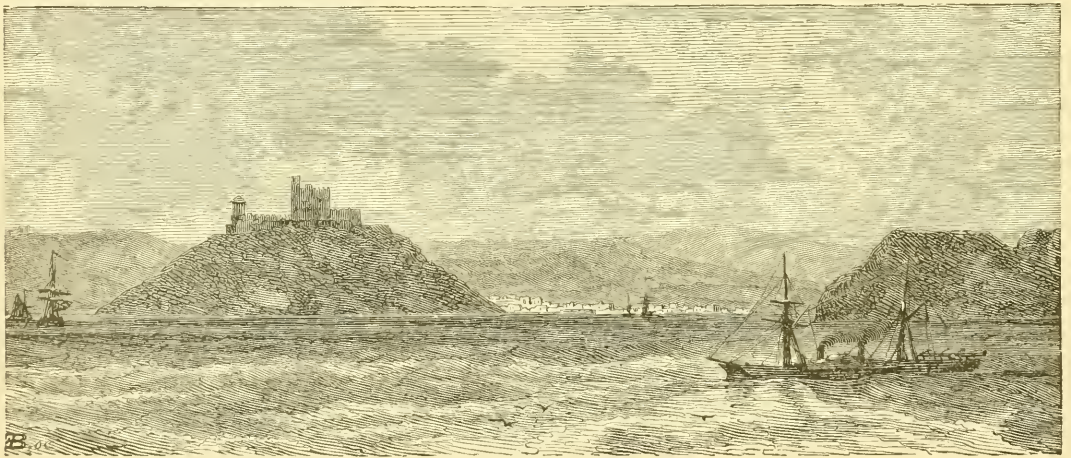
at a very early date, and procured their supply of tin for the commerce of the Mediterranean. It has been conjectured that there was also an overland route of

trade across Gaul, by which the product of the Cornish tin mines was carried to the south. The existence of this fine tin ore was one of the circumstances which drew the Roman legions in the direction of Britain; and after the conquest of the island, the mines were extended and worked by the Romans.

At this time the country was in possession of two Celtic tribes called the *Cymri* and the *Damnonii*. But the peninsula had already been occupied for ages. No other part of England, or perhaps of all the western coast of

Tribal divisions;
antiquarian re-
mains in Corn-
wall.

stone, like those at Dartmoor. The most remarkable remains of this sort are those of St. Columba, known as the Nine Maidens. Nine monolithic pillars are set up in a line, while a short distance away is a still greater, called the Old Man. There are also certain subterranean structures, chiefly in caverns, similar to the underground abodes in Scotland and Ireland. Near Falmouth there are certain cliff castles on the coast; and in the interior of the country hill castles, or camps, are numerous. In every kind of Western antiquity the country abounds to an



ENTRANCE TO FALMOUTH.

Europe, so abounds in memorials of the prehistoric times. The cromlechs, which in Cornwall are called *quoits*,¹ are scattered through all parts of the country. Many of them are still standing, with little disturbance, in the position which they occupied before the invasion of the Romans. There are also many uninscribed monoliths in the country, and what are called "Circles" are found here and there. But the latter are not of great size, like the similar remains at Stonehenge and Carnac. In some parts of Cornwall are avenues of

unusual degree. It has been observed, however, that the evidences of the Roman occupation, away from the mines, are but indistinct.

Scholars in language have been permitted within the present century to stand by the deathbed of a human speech, to watch its expiring after the manner which has no doubt been hundreds of times repeated in other quarters of the world. A century ago *Cornish* was still a spoken language, being a variety of Cymric, and having for its cognate dialects Welsh and Armorican. But it was observed near the close of

Decadence and
extinction of the
Cornish lan-
guage.

¹ From the quoit-like shape of the great stones lying on top of the cromlech pillars.

the last century that fewer and fewer of the natives of the country, however pure in lineal descent and family relationships, could speak the vernacular. The process was precisely analogous to that which we now see going on in Ireland and even in Wales. The schools of the country were in English, and all civil, social, and political advantage lay in the direction of acquiring that language. At the end of the century only a few persons remained who could speak Cornish. There is a half-apochryphal story to the effect that an old woman was found in the early years of the present century who still knew the vernacular, and that she was the last solitary possessor of the old speech of the race to which she belonged. In the fishing regions a considerable portion of the vocabulary of Cornish has been retained in the folk speech of the fishermen; but the language as such has perished. English has taken its place throughout the peninsula, and the Cornish tongue is as much a thing of the past as the cromlechs and dolmens of the druidical ages.

The immense mineral wealth of Cornwall and Wales laid the foundation for the industries of those countries. From the earliest times mining and those forms of manufacture which lie near thereto have occupied and exercised the talents of the people. As the result of long practice, skill has been acquired in an extraordinary degree. Within the present century, however, the deposits have diminished both in quantity and quality, under the incessant draft made upon them through so many ages. This fact has left in the markets of the world an overplus of Cornish and Welsh mining labor, and other nations have drawn largely upon this source of sup-

ply. The miners of Cornwall are noted for their intelligence and independence. It is alleged by those curious in such researches that almost every discovery and new application of skill to the work of mining and associated branches of industry has been made by natives of Cornwall. Emigration has carried this peculiar talent into strange regions, and



WORKMEN OF PROVIDENCE MIXES, CORNWALL.—TYPES.
Drawn by Durand Brager.

nearly all countries have become indebted, in the opening of their mines and associated manufactures, to the genius and industry of Cornish workmen.

From time immemorial tin has been a sort of beginning for all Cornish enterprise. For centuries together the earls and dukes of Cornwall were supported by a

revenue derived from a tin tax. All of the metal taken from the mines had to be carried to certain deposits and there stamped before the product might be marketed. Not until 1838 was this internal tariff removed by Act of Parliament. The ancient jurisprudence was nearly all associated with the production of tin. All cases in judicature, except those affecting land, life, and personal injury, were heard and decided in what were called *Stannary Courts*. These were organized as a special branch of

Cornish society established on the tin product of the country.

justice among tinnerns, and there was no other jurisdiction for offenses. The origin of the courts is lost in the mist of antiquity. The twenty-four judges were elected from the different parts of Cornwall. Their meeting was as much a parliament as it was a tribunal. They chose their own speaker. In ancient times the meeting of this Cornish high court was in the open air, on Hingston Down, a highland on the river Tamar. The court continued in its relation to the public administration of justice until 1752.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—THE BRETONS AND GAEL.



VER against the southern part of England is the continental peninsula of Bretagne. To this region the ancients gave the name of Armorica. It is believed that the word is made up of *ar*, meaning "near," and *mor* "the sea," and that it was first applied to the Armorici to designate them as a maritime people. In its monuments and inhabitants Bretagne is one of the most primitive regions in all Western Europe. It abounds in what are called megalithic, or great stone, ruins, and it is said that these to the present day exercise a strong influence over the minds of the people.

If we look back to the earliest times to which the word historical may be applied with any propriety, we find the Armorican peninsula inhabited by the same race with Britain. Cæsar, referring in general terms to these peoples, declared that they differed "not much" from the continental Gauls. Before the

Primitive conditions of the Armorican peninsula.

Christian era intercourse was already common between the Armoricans and the British Celts. They felt themselves to be kinsmen, spoke dialects of a common language. Only a narrow sea interposed between them. It is in evidence that as early as the fourth century fleets of ships passed back and forth in friendly intercourse between the two peoples. It was owing to this easy communication that when, in the fifth century, the northern barbarians made their great eruption into England, the British Celts adopted the plan of colonizing their fugitives in Armorica as a means of evading the fury of the Jutes. To this circumstance the name of *Bretagne*, which is now substituted for that of Armorica, is attributed. At all events the British race, the Cymri, became predominant, and their descendants still occupy, as in ancient times, this projecting part of Western France.

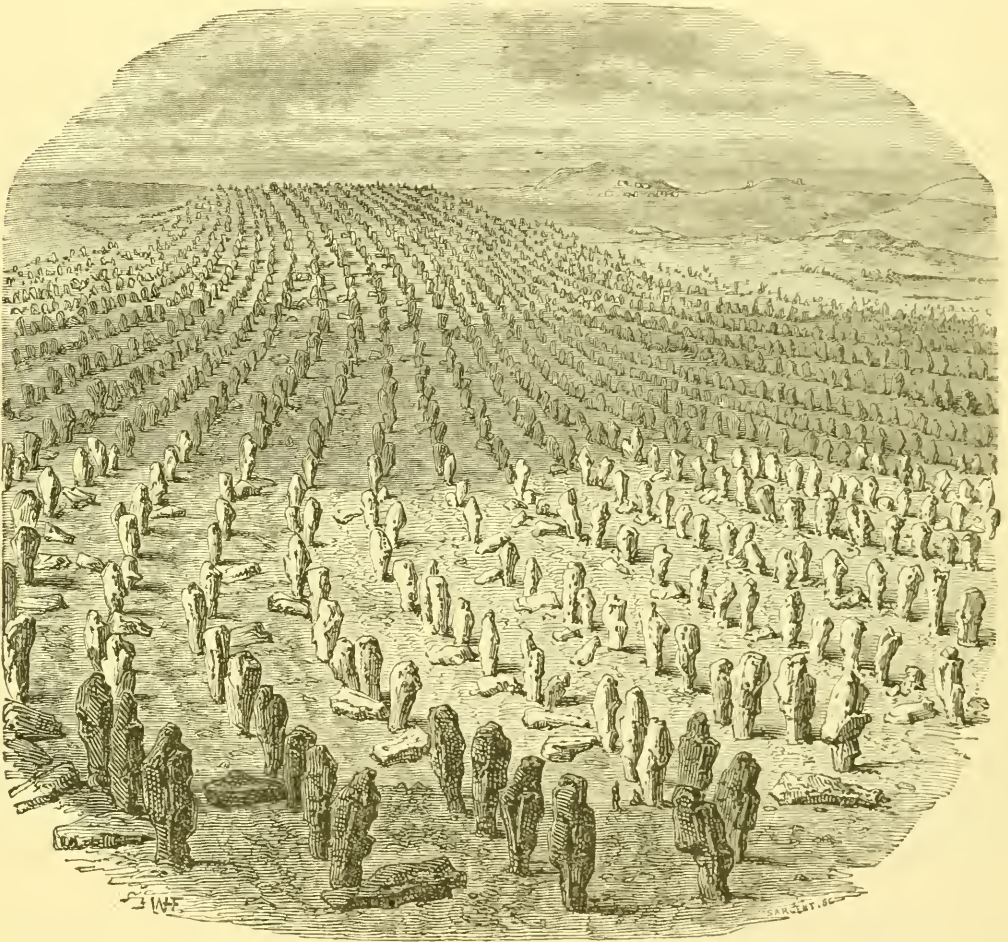
In these circumstances we may well discover the explanation of what has been regarded as a historical anomaly, namely, the segregation of the Bretons

from the common destinies of France. The people have been apart—dissociated from the French in almost every epoch of development. The modern Bretons are the most conservative as well as the most primitive of all the peoples of the continent of Europe. They have

Segregation of
the Bretons
from the French.

Bee culture is one of the favorite pursuits of the Bretons, and the dairy yields an important part of the food of the people. The industries have scarcely advanced beyond the simplest forms. The people are strong in their local attachments, and superstition is as prev-

Industries and
means of sub-
sistence.



RUINS OF MEGALITHIC AVENUES AT CARNAC, BRETAGNE.

retained their ancient maxims, their manners and customs, and their beliefs almost unimpaired since the first centuries of the Christian era. Even agriculture has never progressed into the new conditions upon which it is based in all the other parts of Europe and the New World.

alent as in the Dark Ages. Paganism was not abolished until the seventeenth century, and even then a large part of the old beliefs and practices of heathenism were incorporated with the popular Christianity, as it is to-day. Bretagne has been the native seat of witchcraft, delusions, and similar evils; and it is

currently believed by the peasants that fairies and sprites are abroad among the people.

All of this can be explained by following simply the ethnic lines along

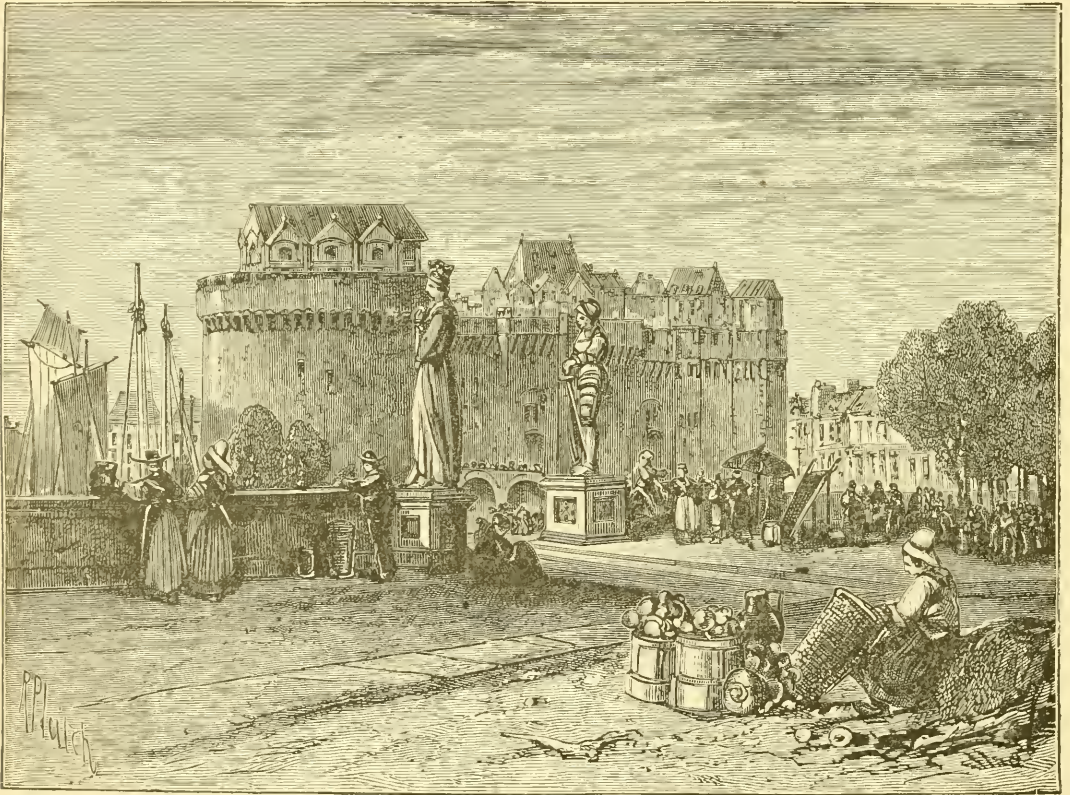
Reasons for the
isolation of the
Breton race.

which this strange race has
proceeded to its destination.

We have already seen how strenuously Druidism in Britain opposed itself to Roman rule; how it re-

ans and emigrate into Bretagne. They carried thither with them the pagan practices in all their vehement vigor, and the Celts of Armorica were thus revived in their old-time habits and beliefs.

In Bretagne, as well as in Cornwall and Wales, we find some additional evidences of an ethnic connection between these countries and the East. The habits



VIEW IN NANTES, ON THE LOIRE.—Drawn by R. Pleitch.

ceded into the forests and maintained itself until it finally gave way before the assaults of the Christian missionaries. At the time of the conquest of the island by the Angles and Jutes, the old superstition still held fast in large parts of the country. We may readily see that those who were most attached to the ancient system, defeated and driven from their homes, would be they who would most gladly escape from the northern barbari-

of the people in the interior are almost Oriental in their simplicity. The styles of dress suggest the East. The people are fond of high colors. Bright red, violet, and blue are sought after by both men and women. The styles of the garments also are foreign to those adopted by most of the peasant class of Europe. The slight discrimination between the garments of the men and

Touches of Oriental
character
among the
Bretons.

the women also shows a sympathy with the Eastern countries. The tradition of commercial intercourse between the Carthaginians, the Phœnecians, the Tyrians on the one side and the aboriginal Celtic nations in the maritime districts of Western Europe on the other, has many historical and ethnic evidences that may not be disregarded.

In no other fact is the local attachment—call it patriotism, if we will—of the

Local attach-
ments lead to
the preservation
of ethnic traits.

Celts as an ethnic instinct more clearly seen than in their dialects. Where the habits of a people are interfusive; where commercial and social relations draw constantly the population from side to side; where the avocations of travel and enterprise lead to the constant transplanting of family interests, a given people will be equalized in all its attributes; things common will prevail from boundary to boundary; customs, languages, laws, all forms, civil and political, will have a common type throughout the region. But where the spirit of locality is triumphant a different aspect will prevail. Each neighborhood will take on its local peculiarities. The manners and customs of one district soon begin to differ from those of another. We have had occasion, in speaking of the primitive Greeks, to note the growth of multifarious dialects throughout the peninsula. The same thing reappears among the Celts in the West.

Having been driven by ethnic forces into the extreme parts of Europe, and seeing even at an early age the impracticability of going further or of seeking any other seats than those which they now occupy, the Celtic tribes fixed themselves in their various localities with great tenacity. This is shown in the development of dialectical differences

Dialectical differences also indicate segregation of race.

which have prevailed to the present day. In Cornwall there were before the extinction of the language two or three dialects. In Wales the brogue of one neighborhood differs from that of another. Among the Bretons, whom we are now considering, there are at least four local dialects clearly marked. The language, moreover, considered as a whole, has preserved the peculiarities of



BRETON TYPES.

the original Celtic tongue such as it was in the times of the Roman conquest. It is a heavy, coarse, guttural speech; vehement, strong in consonants, rapid in utterance, totally unlike the urbanity and vocalic roundness of most of the great languages of Europe.

The Breton literature is similar in spirit and form to that of Wales. There can be but little doubt that in all the Celtic islands and peninsulas of Western Europe the growth of literary forms passed through the same stages and pre-

Breton literature appears in the Bardic triads.

sented the same phenomena. In connection with the Cymric of Wales, we have spoken of the half-Semitic characteristic of the *Triad* as a form of composition. The same thing reappears in the poetry of the Bretons. The style is a kind of threefold elaboration about a given idea. Even the form of verse is generally limited to three lines. It is an old Bardic type of composition, which is, perhaps, as ancient as the druidical ascendancy in the west of Europe. The

From the forest green a roe,
Or a woodcock from where, I trow,
The pond in the vale lies low?

For venison am I fain,
But would not give thee pain
For me the wood to gain."

Turning to the Gaelic division of the modern Celts, we next note the development of the Highland Scotch. Many interesting ethnological problems lie in the region north of the Forth and the Clyde.

Possible connection of the Gael with the Basques.



BRETON MANNERS AND COSTUMES.

following introductory stanzas, from a poem entitled *Lord Nann*, belong to the fifth century, and illustrate even in translation the characteristic form of the Breton poetry:

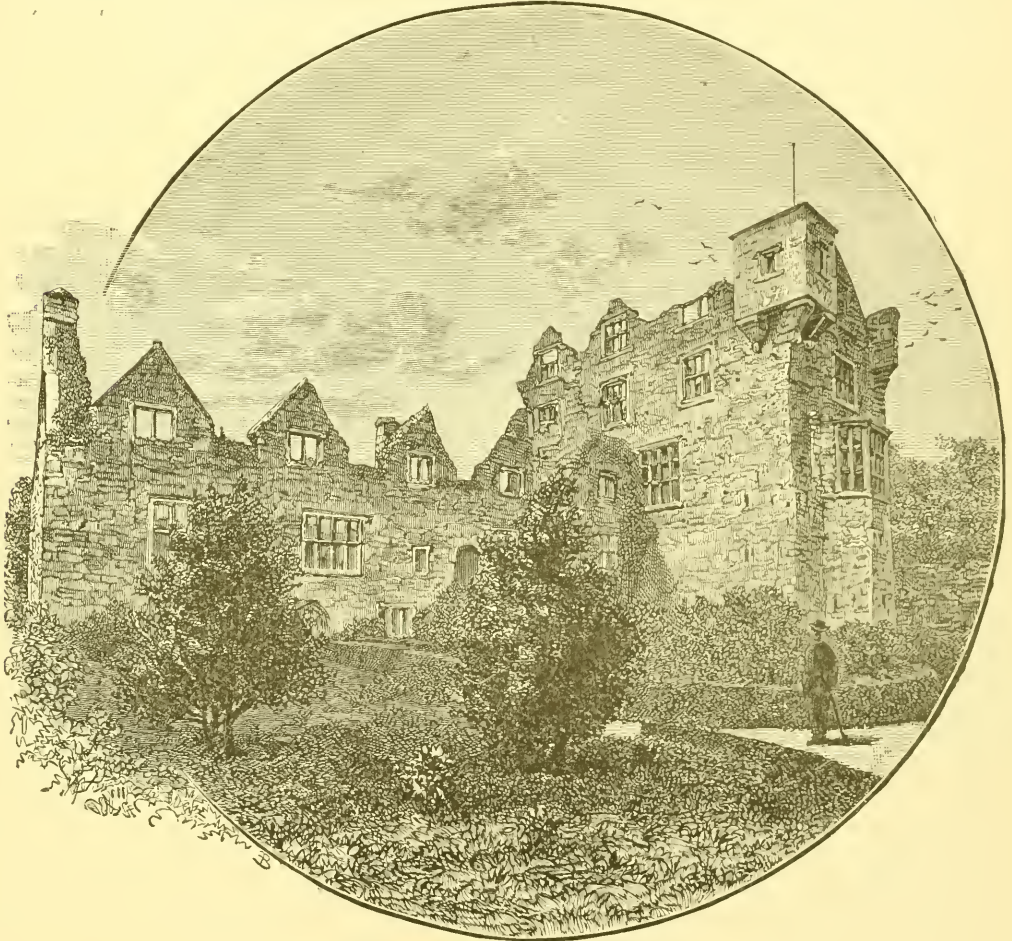
"Lord Nann and his bride, both plighted
In youthful days, soon blighted,
Were early disunited.
Of snow-white twins a pair
Yestreen the lady bare,
A son and daughter fair.
What cheer shall I get for thee,
Who givest a son to me?
Say, sweet, what shall it be?

It is in evidence that when the Celtic tribes passed over into this region from the Continent, they found the country already occupied by a people who are supposed to have been the kinsmen of those problematical Basques whom we have already noticed on the two sides of the Pyrenees. Conjecturally we may see in this hypothesis the bridge over which the Oriental elements in the Celtic race of Western Europe passed. If the Basques were out of Africa and ultimately from the East, and if the people

antedating the Celts in North Britain were an offshoot from the Basques, we may easily see how Oriental blood and traces of Eastern usages might appear in many districts of the West.

Another interesting subject is the suc-

the Cymric branches of the insular Celts. It is believed that they were very close in their ethnic affinities with the tribes of Wales and Cornwall, being, perhaps, almost as nearly allied with them as they were with the Irish. But there is no



DONEGAL CASTLE, IRELAND.

cession of Celtic nations in the northern parts of the British islands. It appears that the Picti were first, while the Scots came afterwards. The Roman writers always mentioned the races in this order. It is succinctly stated that the name Picti was given to these barbarians because they painted their bodies. Ethnologists have decided that the Picts were the intermediate link between the Gaelic and

doubt that the Picts, in whatever order they came, were a Celtic nation. So, also, were the Scots, who became in course of time the predominant people in the north, and ultimately gave the name of Gael to all the tribes of the Highlands.

It was this Gaelic race thus planted in the north of Britain that spread into Ireland. Their language, the Gadhelic, and the Erse are manifestly on the same

Place of the
Picti in the eth-
nic scheme of
the Celts.

stem. Tradition also has preserved the evidence of a community of race between the Gael and the Irish. At the time of the Roman invasion, the national division into Picts and Scots was still preserved. In the days of Bede the Venerable, as late as the beginning of the eighth century, the ethnic division of the people was fivefold, namely, Angles, Bretons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each preserving their own language and institutions. In the course of time, however, the Scots, or Gael proper, predominated over the other races of the north, and gave consistency and name to the whole.

Perhaps we should at this point stop to consider briefly the general fact of the conversion of the Celtic nations to Christianity. This work was accomplished by a number of saintly missionaries who went into these western parts from the Continent. Each of the Celtic countries—Scotland, Wales, Ireland—has its patron saint or saints who are to the present time venerated as the fathers of the Church. Those of Scotland were three in number, Ninian, Kentigern, and Columba. The first was the son of a British chief in Galway, who had been converted to Christianity and had transmitted the new faith to his son. After receiving an education at Rome he made his way among the Picts, and spread the new doctrine by preaching to the natives in the country south of the Grampian hills. Kentigern flourished at the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. He is more popularly known by his title of Saint Mungo, and is called the Apostle of Strathclyde. He was said to have been the son of a nun and of a pagan king. In his youth he made his way to

Glasgow. He became a convert to Christianity and then a missionary. He journeyed into South Wales, and founded there a monastery, afterwards known as Saint Asaph's. It is to his evangelical labors that the conversion of the Cumbrians is attributed.

Saint Columba was an Irishman by birth, and was, according to tradition, born in 521, in Donegal. His rank as a saint and evangelist is higher than that of Ninian and Kentigern. His descent was from the old princely families of Ireland. At an early age he embraced the monastic life in his native island, and when about forty years of age passed over with a company of disciples into Scotland. He became the evangel of the Scots, and then journeyed among the Picts, to whose conversion he gave his most strenuous endeavors. Great was his reputation for holiness and devotion to the cause. His fame as the founder of Christianity, not only among the Scots, but also among the Picts, increased to the end of his life, and afterwards he became preëminently the patron saint of the Gallic race. He was the founder of the monastery of Iona, on the island of Skye, which he received from the Scottish king. This institution was regarded as the mother of all the subsequent ecclesiastical establishments among the peoples of the north.

The conversion of the Scots and Picts was in the missionary manner; and the early Scotch Church was a missionary rather than a diocesan institution. The work was accomplished from the monasteries. The monkish life was in great fame among the Celtic barbarians. The model established by Columba was followed by his successors. Other mon-

Race conditions present in the north of Britain.

The Three Saints of Scotland convert the British Celts.

Story of Saint Columba and his work.

The Celts Christianized by the agency of the monks.

asteries were established, generally on islands which were protected by their situation from violence and well adapted to that system of mystic contemplation to which the monks gave themselves. These institutions were the seats of the primitive learning. There was much independence among them. Each had its own rule and confession and faith. Each required implicit obedience to its own superior, enjoining poverty, chastity, hospitality, as its chief precepts. In course of time this work was recognized abroad. The bishops of Scotland

ward, southward, backwards across Europe, and into Asia Minor. There is a contrast in this respect between the destiny of the race and that of the Greeks and Romans. The latter, at a very early day, fixed themselves in the peninsulas of Southern Europe, and there ran their entire career. The circumstances which forced the Celts into these ultimate regions next the Atlantic were closely related with the barbarian conquests which extended from the fifth to the ninth century of our era. The spread of the Roman power had already prepared the



BARMOUTH ESTUARY.—Drawn by Charles Stuart.

began to appear in the councils of the Church, and the authority of Rome was more definitely extended over North Britain.

It was in the ages which we are here considering that the Celtic race, viewed as a whole, was driven, by historical, ethnical, and geographical conditions, into those final seats which it has ever since occupied and from which it can not be pushed further without extinction. The Celts had fluctuated over the greater part of Europe. We have, in parts of the first volume, noted the vast excursions of the Celtic peoples west-

ward for what the barbarians were to effect in thrusting the Celts into the remote maritime and insular positions which they have ever since occupied.

The situation which these peoples took under the impact of the Germanic invaders—one branch in the Highlands of Scotland, another in Ireland, another in Wales, and still others in Cornwall and Bretagne—was of a kind to exercise a double influence on the subsequent history of the race. It tended to preserve the ethnic purity of the Celtic people, and to present them in modern times as the best example in all the West of a

The Celtic race
pressed into
ultima thule.

Advantage and
hurt of the eth-
nic pressure.

pure race of men. But at the same time the localization of the Celts in the mountains and maritime parts of Northwestern Europe prevented the salutary reactions which come of contact with other peoples and of the absorption of their blood. A great many invidious comparisons have been drawn between the

The Celtic mind is to-day less emancipated, on the whole, from the thralldom of the Dark Ages than any other in Western Europe. Celtic intellect unemancipated; the race best abroad. It is more difficult to stir up the race, to excite it with the infusion of new ideas, to inspire it with hopes and visions of great achievement and a splen-



IRISH TYPES.—A POOR CUSTOMER.—From the painting by H. Helmick.

Celtic peoples of modern times and the contemporaneous European nations. Such comparative treatment should always be considerably presented. It may be freely admitted that the isolation of the Celts in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall has hindered their development, and has perpetuated the ancient superstitions under which the pagan peoples of antiquity toiled toward the light.

did future, than in the case of the Teutonic and the Latin peoples of the modern epoch. These are the conditions which have held fast the Celts in a bondage which they themselves do not understand, and which they seem impotent to break. It is the simple preference of the past to the future. There is more of the backward look, the backward adoration, in the Celtic peoples than in any of the other nations who

are contributing the intellectual forces by which the world is at present controlled. To a great extent the Scotch and Irish peoples have diffused themselves in foreign parts, especially in the New World. They are more potent by the influences which they have shed abroad, and by the amalgamation of

Gaelic Highlanders. Below the Grampians, to the Roman wall, were the Lowlanders, or Scotch Saxons; while south of this, through the rest of the island, were the British Saxons proper. It appears that in the middle country, the Lowlands, an intermediate type of character was formed. The Gael of the



THE ROMAN WALL AT DORCHESTER.

their blood and life with that of Western Europe and America, than they are in their own seats of centralization.

The Saxon conquest of Britain extended only to a certain limit northward. It happened thus that a three-fold aspect was given to the ethnic life of England. In the north were the

Ethnic place and
relations of the
Lowlanders.

north looked upon it as Saxon, while the people of the south regarded it as Scotch. This country became the battle ground between two races. The student of history will perceive the reasons of the perpetual warfare and contention which existed in the border country—a conflict which has not yet entirely passed from the memories of men.

It has remained for the Gael of Scotland to preserve to modern times a form of social organization which was greatly prevalent in the ancient world. We have had occasion in another place to comment upon the various forms of

The clan preserved to modern times by the Scottish Gael.

children, or descendants. The system has its points of difference from every other form of organization which men have adopted. It is based upon the idea that groups of kindred may be associated in a common government, under a chieftainship. It is related with certain



CLAN WARFARE.—BRUCE ADDRESSING HIS TROOPS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN.

social unit which different peoples have adopted, and have said something of the *clan* as an example. It is in Scotland and in some parts of Ireland that the clan has survived as an element of modern society. The word is of Gaelic origin, and signifies *seed*, in the sense of

peculiarities of land tenure. We have seen how a tribe is constituted, how people who were perhaps of a common blood, diverging into different families, have held together under that loose organization which was the condition of society in the times of the migrations.

In course of time the tribal organization was broken up by conquest and

The Highland chieftain; evolution of patronymics.

other forces in the larger parts of Europe. When this occurred, he who had

been the head of the tribe or of some particular group of families gathered to himself his blood relatives, and gave to them his own name as a common designation for all the kindred. Many cognomens have thus been introduced to designate the various clans in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. In the first named country the syllable *Mac*, meaning "son," was added to the clan name, giving thereto a patronymic sense. In Ireland the syllable *O'*, from the Celtic *Ua*, meaning "grandson," was used in the like manner. All of the kindred who bore the clan name were called *Mac* or *O'*, with the patronymic affixed. Thus *Mac Carthaigh*, meaning son of *Cartach*, became *MacCarthy*. Thus were formed the clan names, the *Macdonalds*, the *Macgregors*, the *Mackinnons*, the *Macnabs*, the *Macphies*, the *Macquarries*, the *Macaulays*, etc.

Historically considered, the clan continued to be the prevailing organization

Turbulence and loyalty of the Gaelic mountaineers.

in the Highlands of Scotland until the middle of the last century. It constituted

that turbulent and dangerous element in the mountainous regions with which England had to contend for centuries. It was the clansmen who could never be weaned from their sympathies and loyalty to the house of Stuart. They it was who, as late as 1745, supported the last formidable effort for the restoration of that house to the throne of England. Immediately after the suppression of the rebellion, Parliament took steps to destroy the system which had so long menaced the authority of the English crown in the north. Many

severe laws were passed with a view to breaking up the clans and forcing their elements into harmony with the other parts of British society. These statutory measures went so far as to attack the national costume. But it was presently found that such irrational proceedings tended rather to perpetuate the animosity of the clansmen than to win them from their old manner of life.

If we look at the constitution of the clan, we find at its head the *Rig*, or chieftain. The word is the same as the Latin *rex* and the Norse *rikir*, meaning

Position and support of the Rig and the Aire.

"king." The chieftain was supported by the clan. Each clan had a portion of the old tribe lands. The arable part was tilled in common. The pasture lands received the flocks of the different families in a common herd which grazed together. The uncultivated part, consisting of woods, bogs, mountains, etc., belonged to the clan in common. Most of the members of the clan gathered in a village, where each family possessed its own personal property, but had other things in common. The head of each homestead was known by his Gaelic title of *Aire*. It is believed by those who have looked profoundly into the ultimate conditions of civilization, that this clan system was a form of the human evolution through which nearly all the peoples of Aryan blood in Asia and Europe have passed on their way from the simple household unit to nationality.

It was possible to hold land in severalty under the clan system. When a given estate had been held by an *Aire* and his family for three generations, the

Clan system of vassalage; life of the chief.

Aire became a *Flaith*, or lord. There were also a kind of lords of cattle as well as lords of realty. There was much gradation and many other features in common

with that feudal system which held Europe for several centuries. Every member of the clan, without exception, owed loyalty to the rig, or chieftain. He was his *cicle*, or vassal. He must pay to him certain tributes in kind. A part of the flocks must be set aside for the rig. Military service must be rendered to him. When the clansman's bugle blew he must rally to the banner of his chief. He must also assist him in peace. He must aid in building his dune, or stronghold, which was the central fortress of the clan. As to the chieftain himself, his life was passed in foray and excursion, in warfare, in idleness. As to the sentiment which held the clan together, it was one of extreme loyalty and devotion. It is doubtful whether under any other system which men have devised to increase their individual strength the tie has been more indestructible than that which bound the clansmen to their chieftain and to each other.

The clan system was rich in forms and traditions. Each clansman must do homage three times a year to the chieftain.

The service which he was bound to render might be commuted. Even the food-rent which he was expected to pay might be changed to some other form of service. The tie between the chieftain and his men was mutual. Under it all the family system, based on monogamy, was recognized and observed. Illegitimacy, however, was common, and was not a bar to the preferences which the clan was able to bestow. Even the chieftainship might descend to an illegitimate child, providing he had been recognized by his father. The chieftainship, however, was not strictly hereditary. There were many cases of disputed succession. These were some-

times decided by peaceful methods, but generally by war. The son's succession to his father's honors was dependent rather on his own merits and the assent of the clan than to the mere fact of his being the heir. Theoretically the chieftainship descended, with the death of the lord, to the clan; and it was the rule to honor the eldest or the most capable son with the distinction of chief. It was the custom in the Gaelic Highlands to select the successor to the headship of the clan during the life of the incumbent, to the end that disputes and battle might be avoided on the occasion of his death. Such a chieftain-elect was called the *Tanist*.

It appears that great care was taken in choosing a successor to a chief. The clan paid considerable attention to the hereditary principle, preferring the eldest surviving son or brother of the preceding chieftain. But the candidate must have all the virtues which a half-civilized and wholly chivalrous age exacts in those who would be its leaders. He must be "the most experienced, the most noble, the most wealthy, the wisest, the most learned, the most truly popular, the most powerful to oppose, the most steadfast to sue for profits and for losses." It was also exacted in a Highland chieftain that he should have no personal blemishes and no deformities. He must be of manly age and in full power, to the end that the clan might be honored in its leader. In addition to the annual payment of tribute, whereby the chieftain and his family were supported, it was the custom to set apart a certain portion of the clan lands, and to make the same an appanage of the chieftain's office.

On the whole the clan life, such as it has presented itself in the Highlands of

Social and domestic usages of the clan.

Principles of succession in the chieftainship.

Scotland, is one of the most picturesque, as it is certainly the most archaic, forms

Manner of the
clan life; the
Highland glens.

of society transmitted to the modern world. Freedom and wild license were its characteristics. It has been related in all of its more striking developments with the mountainous region, to which it is as much fitted by nature as is the

sequestered places. They retained rather than abolished or changed the natural conditions. The glen was the Highlander's natural retreat. It was a large part of the strength of the system to be able to fall back into covert, to hide in a place where no military pursuit could be made. To a certain extent roads were constructed through the Highlands; but



BRITISH KING, EDGAR THE PACIFIC, WITH HIS TRIBUTARY CELTIC VASSALS.

character of the Swiss peasantry to the Alps. It was not in the nature of the clan to modify physical environment to any considerable degree. It may be said as a general fact that the Celtic peoples have not anywhere effected so great a transformation in the face of nature as have the Græco-Italic and Teutonic races. The clans of Scotland nestled in

there was no system of highways, each clan preferring to construct its thoroughfares for itself, and to break, rather than to make, connection with the roads of other tribes. This condition was for a long time a bar to the English armies in their invasions of the north. It was not until after the insurrection of 1745 that any general system of thoroughfares was

carried by the English government into the Highlands.

Such a system as the clanship of Scotland and Ireland could never produce greatness, power, wealth.

National greatness impossible under the clan system.

It represented on the other hand the broken-up

condition of half-barbarous society. No great cities, no public enterprises, no vast display of human energy could be seen where everything was segregated, if not positively hostile. Among the Highland clans, such as they were in the seventeenth century, only two sources of wealth were known. These were, first, the contributions which were made by the cieles, or vassals, to the lords, or chieftains. Such contributions were generally in kind, that is, the vassal paid a certain food-rent to his superior, and received from him in return an allotment of stock, such as cattle drawn from the clan herd, and paid to the ciele for his service and allegiance. The other species of wealth was the slaves. Slavery was common in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland—indeed wherever the clan system prevailed.

The slave class was made up of the descendants of bondmen, of prisoners taken in war, of forfeited hostages, of refugees from other clans who had surrendered themselves to service, of broken-down clansmen no longer able to pay their food-rent to the rig, and in general, that motley and indescribable element of humankind which is always aggregated around the barbarian leader. Slaves were sold or bestowed as stipends and gifts by the chieftains and headmen of the tribe. The labor of the clans was generally performed by the bondpeople. Female slaves did the housework of the chiefs. They ground the meal with the

Slave system under the clan organization.

handmill, and performed all of the heavy servile work peculiar to such situations. Slaves had an estimated value, based on the value of the *cow*, which was taken as a unit. The female slave had three times the value of the cow.

English romance and poetry has preserved to modern times the general character of the Scotch Gael. The Highlands had also a vernacular literature, similar to that which we have already noticed as the product of the Fili of Ireland. It is impossible to say precisely to what extent the traditional Gaelic ballads, which have furnished the subject-matter of so much controversy, are genuine, and to what extent they are the product of later fiction. But the Gaelic mind was not capable of a development into full literary activity. The literature of the Highlands has not made any considerable impression on the thought of the modern world. Gaelic influence, the Gaelic intellect, has to a considerable extent entered into combination with that of the English-speaking race, and has imparted thereto some of the ethnic qualities for which the Celts have been proverbial ever since the opening of the historical epoch. Otherwise, the influence of the latter race may be neglected in the history of the human intellect in modern times.

Character and manners of the Gael preserved in literature.

Another circumstance also has prevented the Celtic mind from performing its legitimate part in the intellectual history of Western Europe and America. This is its subjection to superstition and its antagonism to the progress of scientific knowledge. It can not be fairly denied that the Gaelic mind has dreaded rather than admired the magnificent march of science and the consequent conquest of the natural world. It has

The Celtic mind subjected to mediæval superstitions.

preferred rather to hug those delusions which it inherited from the ignorance of the Middle Ages, to deny the existence of physical laws and their beneficent uniformity, and to continue, as in the Dark Ages, to people the physical universe with mysterious agencies, with goblins and phantoms, born of fear and nurtured in the darkness of barbarism.

As we have said, there has been much in the outer life of the Scotch Gael in

analogy with the conditions and aspects of feudalism.

The Highland chieftain corresponded in many particulars to the feudal lord of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The clan, too, had the likeness of that group of dependents, villagers, and villains which constituted the feudal society. The situation in Scotland was very similar to that of a large part of Europe in the Middle Ages. The chieftain sought the same means of offense and defense which the barons had used before the epoch of the Crusades. The clan village was almost identical with the feudal village, and the castle of the chieftain had the same relation to the governed body, the same inaccessible position, the same structure and character as the baronial hall of the Middle Ages. One has only to study the character of Gaelic life and manners as depicted in the works of Scott, to perceive how close is the transcript from the mediæval condition.

We have seen in considering the state of the Celtic race under paganism its persistency in old beliefs

and practices. The extermination of Druidism was

as difficult a task as ever Christianity had imposed upon it in the West. Religious superstitions are deep-rooted in the Celtic nature, and the indisposition to change is one of the most striking aspects of life

among all peoples of this race. Christianity once accepted by the Celtic nations found in that soil a place of growth from which it could not be displaced by any agitation. We have noted the peculiar circumstances of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland. From the time of the establishment of the monastic system and the spread of the new faith the Gaelic mind began to pass under the dominion of the new faith, and to accept the Roman theocracy as its form of religious government.

For about nine centuries the Gaelic race remained in the communion of Rome. The circumstances of the Reformation, which broke out at the six-

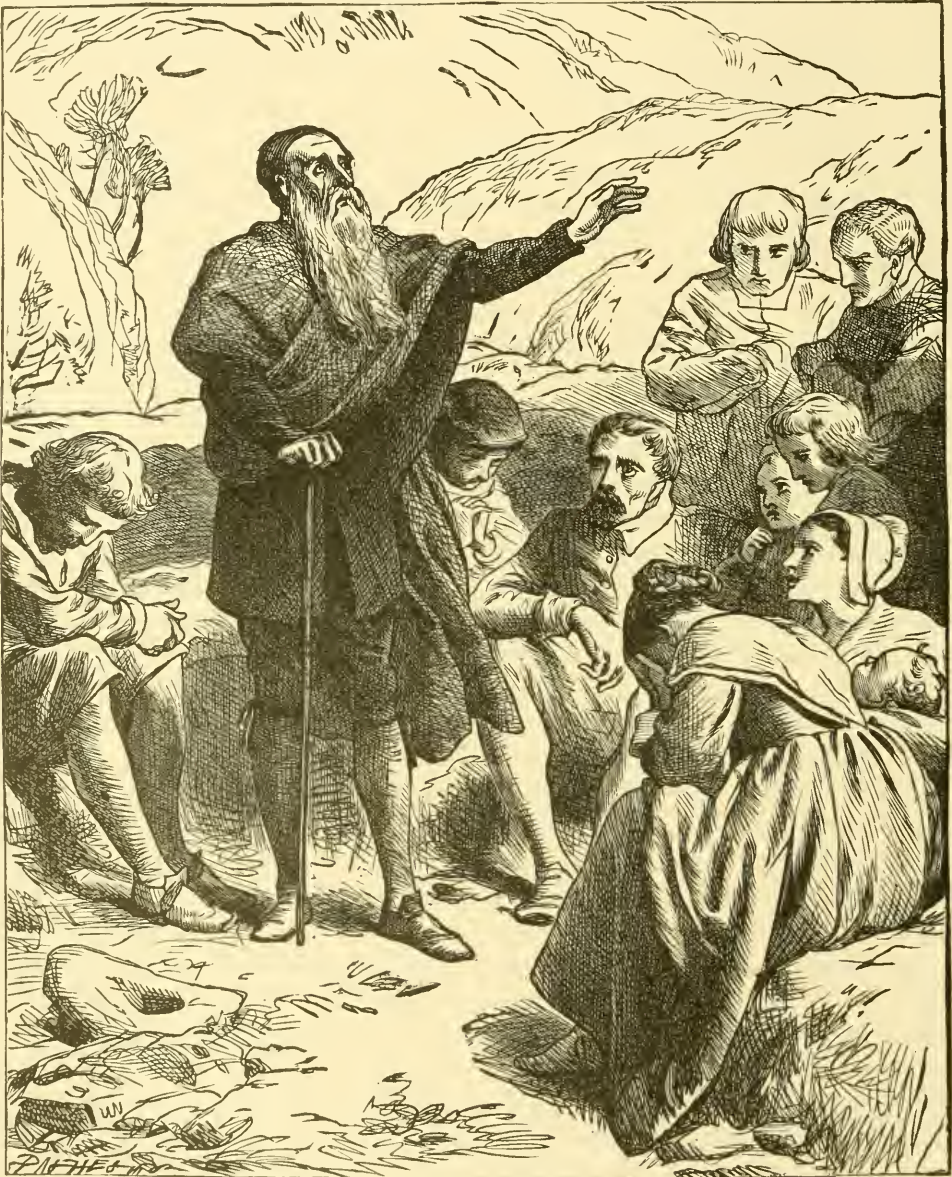
The leaders of the Gaelic Church broke with Rome.

teenth century, by which the authority of the Catholic Church was completely broken in Scotland, are known to the student of history. The movement differed from the contemporaneous revolutions in Germany and England. It was the leaders of the Scotch Church who broke with the Roman hierarchy, and drew after them the whole body of the people. The Kirk was established on the ruins of the Cathedral, and it has been maintained with a zeal and devotion unparalleled in any other Protestant country. The Scotch became the most religious, the most zealous, the most persistent in their Protestantism of all the Western peoples who broke with the mother Church. The old ethnic devotion—not to say superstition—of the race asserted itself in the attachment and enthusiastic support which the Scotch people have, during the last three centuries, given to the Church of their choice. Their zeal, moreover, has been equaled by their resistance to all innovation and heresy. It were difficult to say in what material particular the Gaelic mind has been modified in its

religious dogmas and practices since the days of John Knox and the Scotch reformers.

Philosophers, historians, and ethnog-

Scotch thinkers, with scarcely an exception, have fallen under the dominion of the scholastic and Aristotelian systems of thought. The great revolution in the

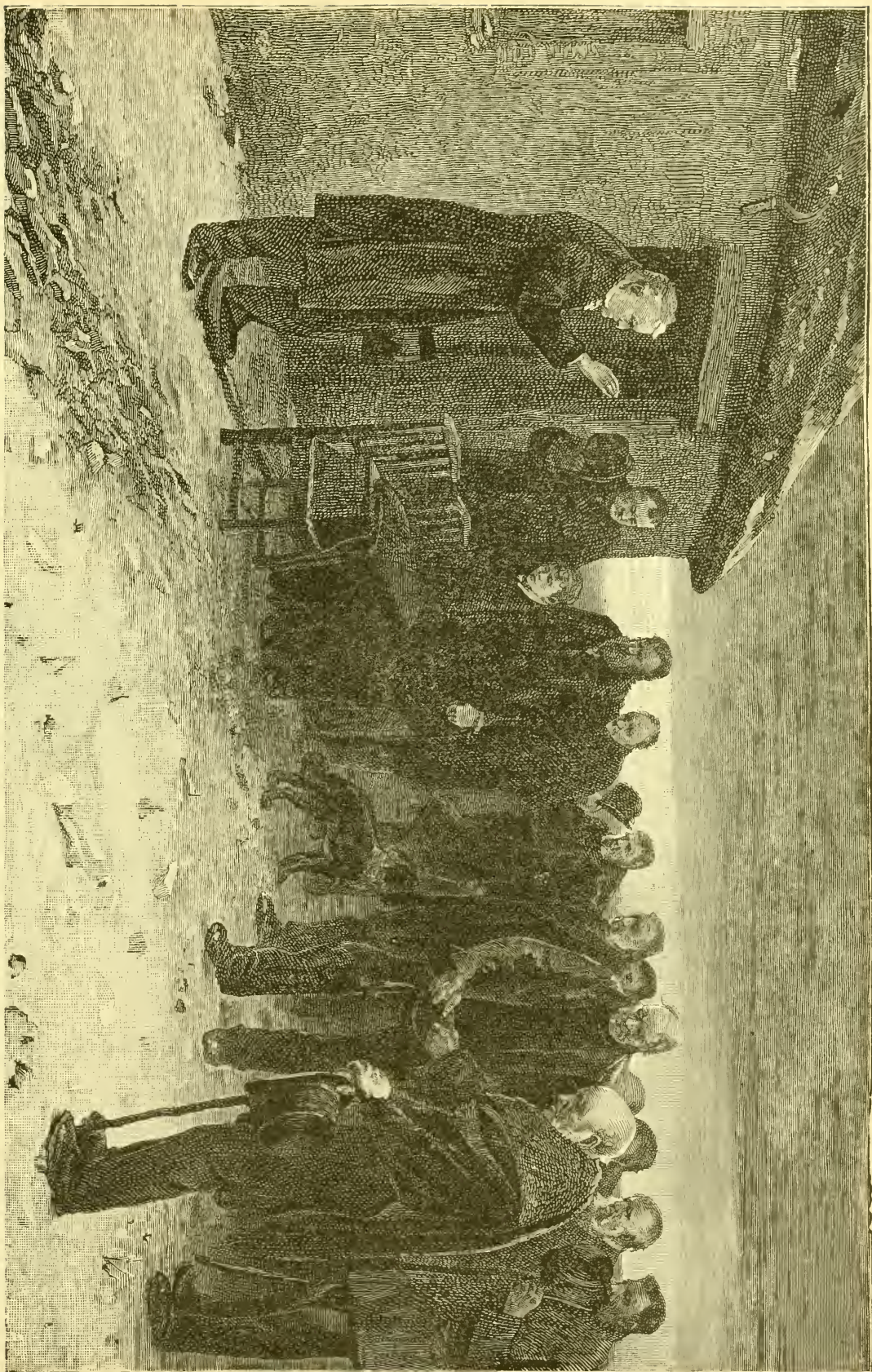


BEGINNINGS OF THE KIRK.—WORSHIP ON THE HILLSIDE.

raphers have pointed out several peculiarities of the Scotch mind, distinguishing it in its methods and activities from the intellect of the Teutonic and Latin peoples. It has been found that all the

Peculiar deductive instinct and method of the Scotch intellect.

method of inquiry which was effected by Bacon and his contemporaries, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, never penetrated the Celtic countries. The Gaelic mind in particular did not yield to the new philosophy, but



TYPES AND MANNERS.—A HIGHLAND FUNERAL.—After the painting by James Guthrie.

held to the deductive system of inquiry which had swayed the intellect of Europe for nearly twenty centuries. As a result, the Scotch thinkers of the last two hundred years have devoted themselves almost exclusively to speculative inquiry. Whatever may be the subject-matter of the investigation, the Scotch mind has chosen invariably to consider it deductively, and to elaborate a system from principles and assumptions taken *à priori*. In the border country the Scotch school has been most conspicuous in its activities, and it can not be denied that from the vicinity of Edinburgh the larger part of the metaphysical philosophy of the last two centuries has emanated. It has all been characterized by the common feature of deduction and its inability to apply the inductive method of inquiry.

It should be noted that in this region there has been a large interfusion of races. It is here that the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon bloods have flowed together; but it appears that the former has been dominant as it respects the character of the Scotch mind. While the intellect of Germany, of France, and of England has yielded freely to the new methods of inquiry, and has as a consequence gone forth to explore and interpret nature, neglecting the speculative for the actual conditions of the world, the Scotch mind, even in its highest moods, has continued to deal with those speculative and metaphysical inquiries which were the whole intellectual resource of the Middle Ages. It must ever remain a surprising thing in the intellectual history of mankind that the first great effort of the human mind to construct a system of political economy was made by Adam Smith on purely deductive principles. The *Wealth of*

Nations is written from beginning to end with only such incidental references to the facts and actualities of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption as necessarily suggest themselves to the mind of the writer while carrying forward his assumptions and deductions in the speculative manner. The Scotch mind has always followed this method of investigation, assuming its principles, constructing its argument, and drawing its conclusions according to the principles of deduction, and with as little regard to the facts to which the argument is applied as though the thinker lived in an ideal universe, and as though the syllogism were more true—and more useful—than the law of gravitation.

A fair estimate of the rank and character of the different races in modern times is rendered difficult by the political vicissitudes through which the various nations have passed. In the countries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland we have several Celtic peoples subordinated to the rule of England. The problem here presented is not only civil, political, national, but also ethnical. How much of the intellect of Great Britain has been deduced from the Celtic origin? How much has been derived from the Teutonic source? How much should be referred to the amalgamation of the two races and to the peculiar reactions which result from the composite character?

An examination of indubitable facts will show that the leading intellects among a people who have been politically subordinated drift in the direction of the dominant race and join their destinies with it. The problem of government of itself absorbs a large part of the energy

Syllogistic
movement of
Scotch mind
illustrated.

Question of ethnic
character of
British intel-
lect.

England has ab-
sorbed the men-
tal energies of
the Celtic race.

of a subject race. The ambitions of a people who have been reduced by conquest or political union are most easily gratified by passing over to the side of the conquerors and becoming identified therewith. No fact is more patent than the tremendous draft which England has made upon the mind and energy of Scotland and Ireland since the conquest of the latter country by Henry VII and the union of the two crowns at the death of Elizabeth. A large part of the literary enterprise, the commercial ambition, the political aspiration of both Ireland and

Scotland, have been appropriated by the dominant English race until it is extremely difficult to refer the common intellectual achievement of the British people to its proper ethnical origins. After making due allowance, however, for all these influences, we are forced to the conclusion that in nearly all of the elements of a high civilization the Gaelic race of Scotland and Ireland has fallen below the English, and that its energy and force and promise are less by a great per cent than that of the dominant people.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—THE IRISH.



ET us, then, pass over from the Scottish Highlands to Ireland and make a brief study of the insular race in its history and development. Here again,

at the beginning, we meet unmistakable traces of a people who inhabited the island before the incoming of the bronze-bearing Celts from the Continent. More and more as our knowledge has widened of the primitive conditions in the west of Europe we find the traces of a tolerably wide distribution of those Iberian and

Traces of Orientalism in Western Europe.

Basque peoples whom we have already considered in the ethnology of the Spanish race. We here once more insist that whatever signs of Orientalism there are in the archæology and ethnology of the peninsular and insular parts of Western Europe must be referred to a very early distribution of a people in these regions, whose origin we must seek in the far East, and whose migratory pathway we must follow through the Hamitic distri-

bution along the western parts of Northern Africa, thence into Spain, and finally into the countries which we are here considering.

We have already found traces of the ancient Iberian life in the bottom of the ethnic conditions of Scotland and Wales. The same are discoverable still more abundantly in Ireland. Even tradition has preserved the account of the incoming of the Celts, with their bronze weapons and purposes of conquest. It may not be uninteresting in this connection, as an example of ethnic tradition, to recite the story of the Celtic conquest of Ireland as preserved in the old Irish ballads and chronicles. To be sure it is mere myth, having, however—as most myths do—an ultimate origin in reality.

Traditional stories of the Celtic conquest of Ireland.

Partholan was the Celtic hero who led his warriors into Ireland. They came—so runs the legend—from Middle Greece, and landed at the estuary of Kenmare.

Partholan and his sons establish Irish kingdoms.

The part of the coast region in which the landing was effected was divided into

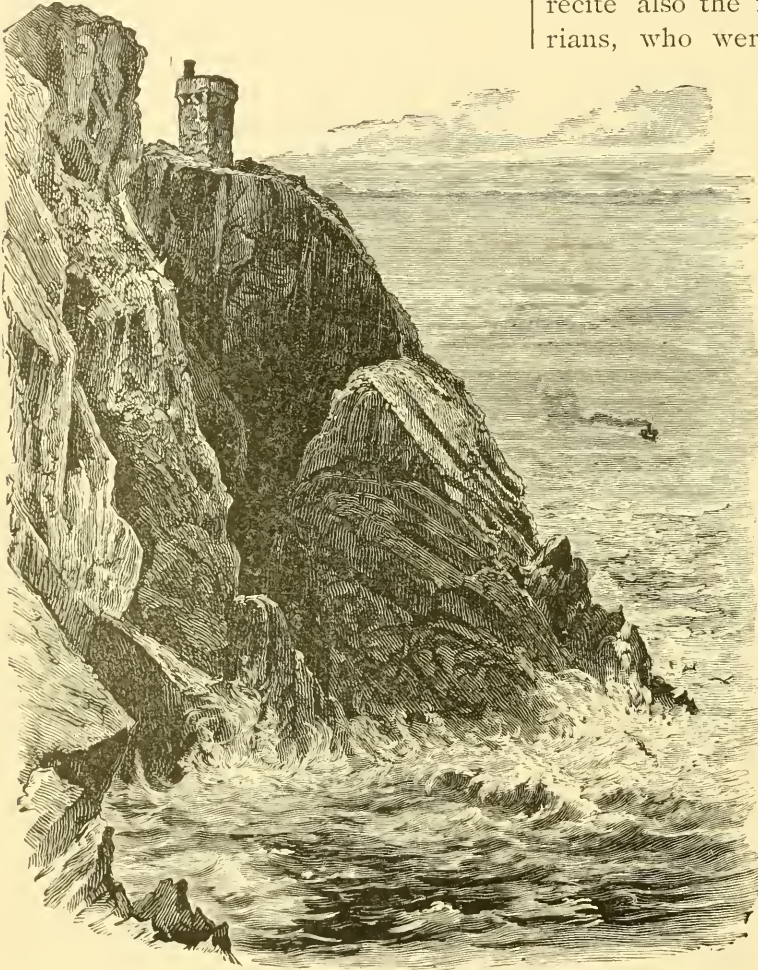
four parts; for Partholan had four sons who must become petty kings. The old Iberians were conquered, and a Celtic tetrarchy was established by the four princes, who succeeded their father in authority. Thus was established the first Celtic kingdom. It continued to

commanded by a hero called Nemed. He also established a kingdom. But, like his predecessor, he and his people were in course of time swept away by a plague, and were buried upon the hill of Queenstown. The legend goes on to recite also the incoming of the Fomorians, who were doubtless Celtic sea

Tradition of
Nemed and the
Firbolgs.

pirates, somewhat after the character of the Angles and Jutes of a later age. These invaders began to arrive before the destruction of Nemed's people, and there was war in the island. Nemed left three sons, who departed into different regions and became the founders of petty kingdoms. Next came a race of people who are called in the traditions the Firbolgs. They were led by five chieftains, who landed at different points on the coast and planted colonies. One was established on the river Slaney, the second in Mayo, and the third at Tracht Rudraide, in Ulster.

It is believed by



CARRIGAN HEAD.

flourish for three hundred years. Then came a great plague, and Partholan's people were swept away. They were buried in the plain of Talaght, near Dublin. And so ended the first chapter in Ireland's history.

Thirty years afterwards another race arrived, said to be out of Scythia. The invaders came in thirty ships, and were

ethnologists that this division of Firbolgs came over from Britain, where the Celts had already established themselves. In the course of time another tribe of invaders, called the Tuatha Dé Danann, arrived, and contended with the Firbolgs and Fomorians for the mastery of the island. Last of all came the Scots, who were said to be

Milesians. They called themselves the Galam, said to signify "the brave." These peoples all had their pedigree, which they preserved with care, tracing back, through a few generations, the genealogy of their race to Noah!

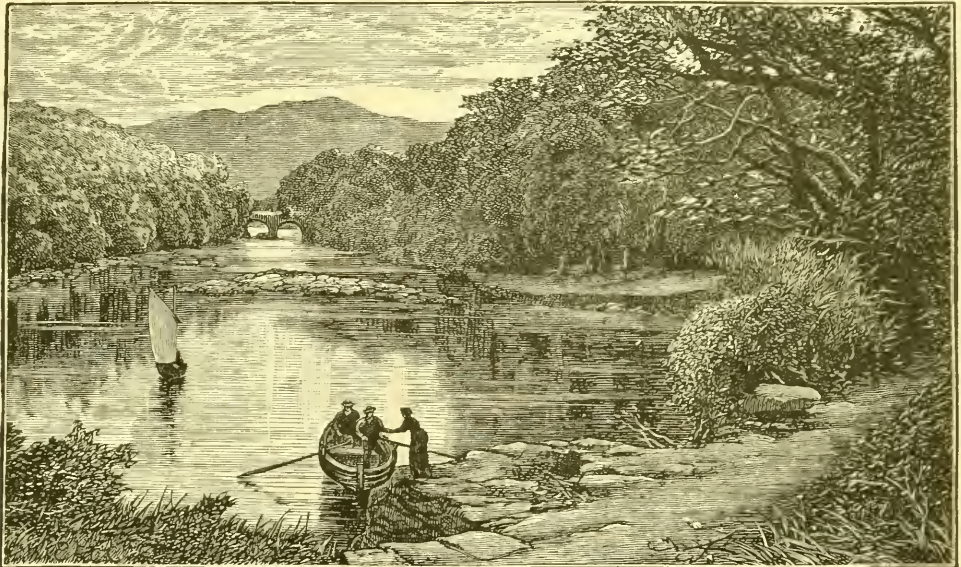
The story of these mythical invasions is here recited as merely illustrative of the form in which a nation's first consciousness of itself is generally preserved.

It signifies, when rendered into historical language, that there was a primitive people in Ireland, and that in course of

race we have, in the next place, an account of the establishment of a kingdom in Munster. The Celtic clan of the De Gaid conquered a large district in the middle parts of the province and drove out the previous peoples, known as the Eberites, into Cork and Kerry. It is not known from what quarter the clan De Gaid came. The expulsion of the previous inhabitants of Munster was not complete, and in course of time three petty kingdoms were planted in the country. One was the kingdom of the

Clan of De Gaid
colonizes Mun-
ster.

What the mythical stories of invasion signify.



IN MUNSTER.—MEETING OF THE WATERS AT THE OLD WEIR BRIDGE.

time—doubtless many centuries before the Christian era—the bronze-bearing Celtic warriors and colonists began to cross the narrow waters which separate Ireland from Britain and the Continent, and to plant themselves by conquest all along the Irish coasts. It serves to account in a traditional way for the distribution in Ireland of the race which had already taken possession of Britain, and for its supremacy and development in the former island.

In the mythical history of the Irish

Eberians, another of the clan Lu Gaid, and the third of the clan De Gaid. One of the princes of the Eberians, named Mug Nuadat, succeeded in course of time in conquering the other two, and raised himself to complete sovereignty in Munster. Thus was established the kingdom which is said in the tradition to have survived a thousand years.

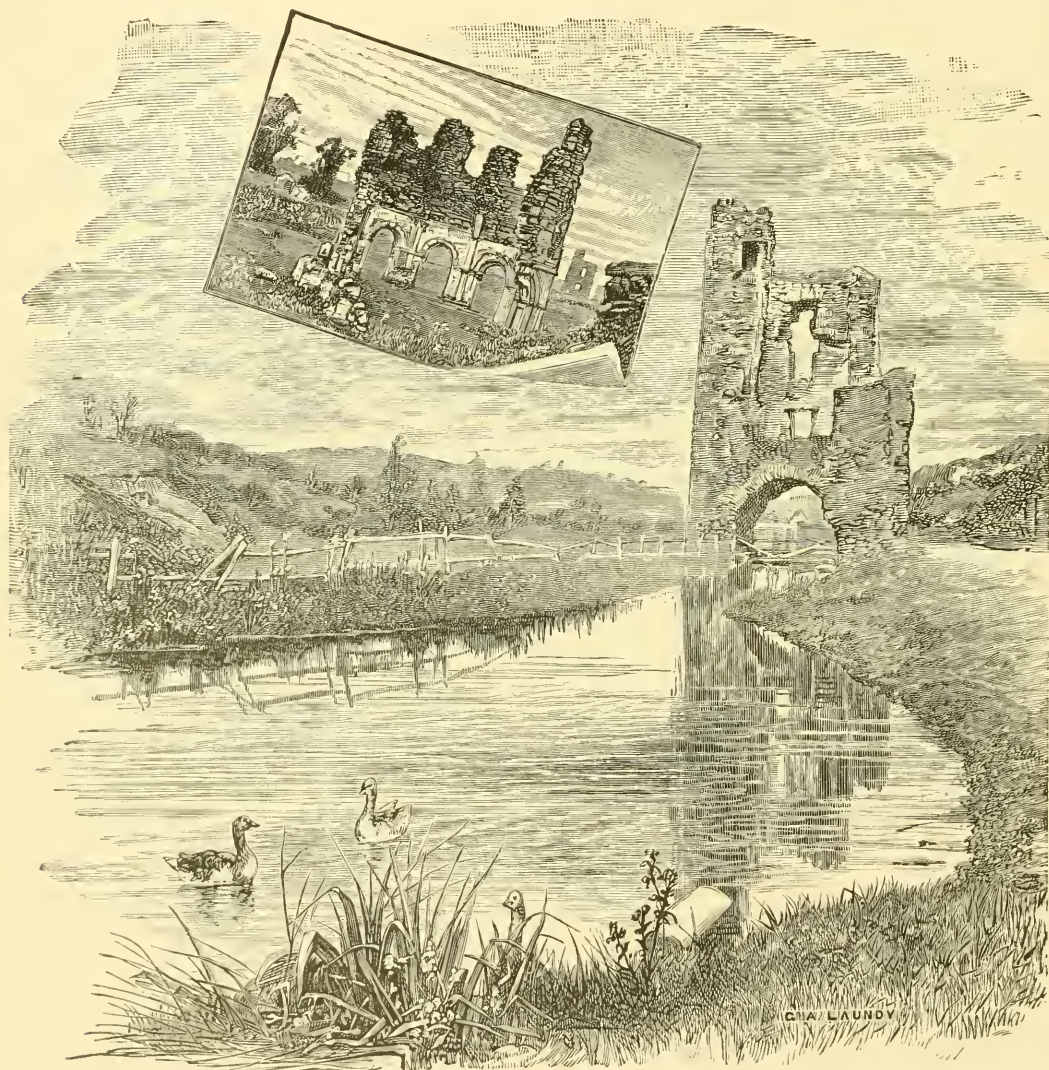
Another important event of the prehistoric, or half-historic, times was the invasion of Ulster by the Scots. There was a princely quarrel between the Irish

subjects of King Ard Ri and those of the Scottish sovereign, and the latter came over in force and made a conquest of Ulster. This is thought to have happened about the year 327. It is not unlikely that the early Irish invasions of

hinder the Irish from passing over and attempting to regain in Britain what they had lost in their own country.

In this attempt they were partly successful. No fewer than three colonies were planted by Irish Celts in the parent island. There was a tribe out of Mun-

Legend of the conquest of Ulster by the Scots.



RUINS OF MELLIFONT ABBEY.—Drawn by Laundy.

Britain had some relation to the pressure upon Ireland by the Scots. It is in the nature of half-civilized peoples, when they are driven from their seats, to fall upon their neighbors. The narrow waters between the two islands would not

ster which passed into South Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and there secured a permanent footing. Another company of Irish invaders took possession of the Isle of Man and of a district in

The Irish Celts turn back on England and Wales.

North Wales; while still a third tribe called the Dal-Riada, also founded a settlement in Wales. In fact, the age of which we here speak was one of diffusion, in which the two branches of Gaelic and Cymric Celts in Scotland, Ireland, and Britain were intermixed by migration and war, yet not to the extent of obliterating the ethnic characteristics by which they were known when they passed over from the Continent to the insular and outlying regions.

Thus, at length, we may contemplate the Celtic race in possession of Ireland.

Evolution of the Irish race; Christianized by Saint Patrick. The situation was such as to favor the development

of a people according to its own nature and ethnic tendencies. In the fourth century of our era the race still possessed nearly all the characteristics and peculiarities which marked the Celts when they first became known to the Romans. Their tribal and clan organizations had been but little changed. Their institutions and manner of life were virtually such as they were when they were in undisputed possession of all Europe between the Rhine and the Pyrenees. It was in this condition that Christianity found them in its movement against paganism. We have already referred to the circumstances of the conversion of the Irish to the new religion. The Church founded by Saint Patrick was in its doctrines and principles identical with that of Gaul and Britain. It was a branch of that Western Romanism which had its center in the Eternal City. There were, however, some peculiarities about its organization, and many striking features in its development. We have already seen to what an extent the former ritual and observances of the Irish race were incorporated by the wise and politic saint who laid the foundation of Catholicism

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in Ireland. The Church was strongly monastic in its character. Saint Patrick himself has borne witness to the disposition of the early Gael to assume the monastic life. In a passage of his *Confession* he says: "The sons of Scots and daughters of Chiefs appear now as monks and virgins of Christ, especially one blessed Scotch lady of noble birth and great beauty, who was adult, and whom I baptized."

It is claimed, however, that the primitive Irish monastery differed greatly from those of the continental Church. In case a chief became a Christian, he

Planting and development of the Irish monasteries.

generally made a gift sufficient to endow a religious institution, of which he retained the principal direction; that is, he entered his own monastery and became its head. The family to which he belonged meanwhile pursued its usual course. At the first celibacy was by no means universally practiced; but the doctrine grew in favor, and at length prevailed. It has been urged that an Irish monastery of the age here referred to had many features in common with those of the communities of Shakers as the same are now constituted in the United States. In process of time a severer and still severer rule and confession were adopted in the Irish monasteries, and they became conformed to the common type which the Church of Rome dictated as the most promotive of holiness and evangelism.

It must not be supposed that all of the Irish tribes passed at once under the dominion of Christianity. The movement was

Slow transformations of human society.

slow and toilsome. It is a common error to suppose that societies, whether barbarian or civilized, can be transformed into new conditions in a day. Human nature is such that

even in its most plastic and highly excited states it passes slowly into new forms, beliefs, and modes of activity. We must also take into consideration the fact that the Irish people were at this time under a system of clanship, and that this form of organization was a great obstruction to the spread of common sentiments, and especially to the adoption of new customs and beliefs.

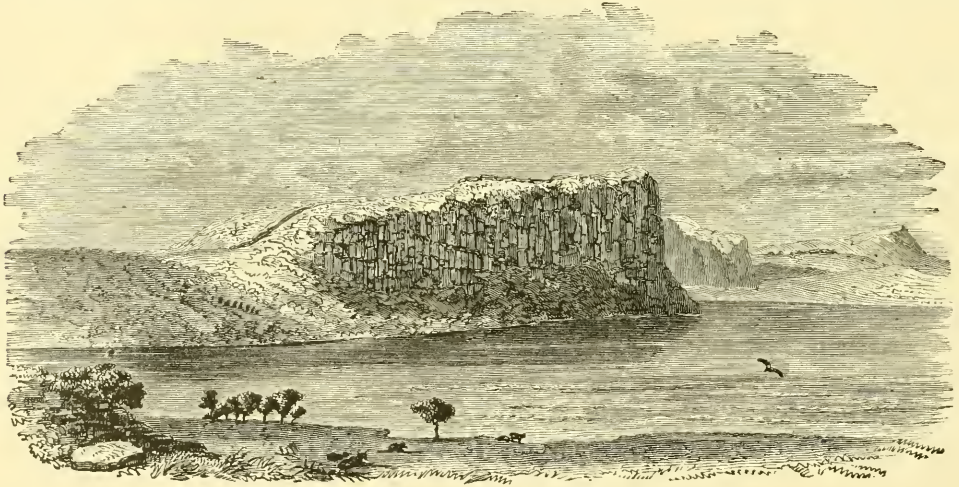
During Saint Patrick's life he himself constituted a bond of union between all the religious establishments which were planted in the island, but on his death there was much relaxation and disso-

Reâction in
favor of Druid-
ism; mediæval
period.

national customs of the Celts stood out stoutly against the ideas of morality, the doctrines, and the canon law which Saint Patrick and his successors sought to establish.

The sixth and seventh centuries were a period of great confusion and much distress among the Irish people. It has been noticed in all ages that when a new faith is substituted for an old—after the latter has relaxed its hold on the people and before the former is fully established—an epoch of moral depravity and of social retrogression is almost certain to ensue.

The insular position of the Irish race



RUINS OF THE OLD ABBEY CHURCH OF IONA.

lution. The druidical orders revived somewhat, and made an effort to regain the lost ground. A state of semipaganism ensued, and it was not until the seventh century that the usages of Druidism ceased to be observed and to have the preference among some tribes over the doctrines and ceremonies of Christianity. There were still druidical priests in Ireland as much as two hundred years after Saint Patrick's death. The marriage customs continued to be pagan long after the planting of the new religion in the island. The old

led to the preservation of customs and peculiarities which had long since disappeared on the Continent. It is well known to the student of Church history that in the early ages of the ascendancy of Rome the usages of the Church and its principles of conduct were by no means so severe, so after the monastic pattern, as they were at a later period. The Irish Church had at the beginning more license than any other. We have said and repeated that it incorporated out of the preceding order a larger part

Break of the
Irish Church
with Rome.

of paganism than did any other of the Western Churches.

This, in course of time, led to a conflict between the ecclesiastics of Ireland and them of the Roman school. The latter had now become accustomed to strict order and discipline. Many questions arose between the insular Christians and the Church authorities of Rome. One was as to the observance of Easter. Another related to baptism. The Irish monks had their traditions on these subjects, and the Roman ecclesiastics attacked them with vehemence for their nonconformity to the true standard. The Scotie clergy and they of England and the eastern part of France, including Switzerland and a part of Germany, were on one side, and the Roman monks on the other. The latter prevailed. The Irish system gave way before the power of Rome. The monasteries in Ireland and Scotland were supplanted by others organized in conformity with Rome, or, if not actually supplanted, the Irish monks were converted to the Benedictine rule and confession.

But in the meantime, however, the zeal of the Irish priests had been as great as had been witnessed in any other branch of the Western Church. Missionaries had gone forth from Ireland and prepared the way for the after-conversion of several peoples whose change of religion has been attributed to other influences. The controversies to which we have referred extended from the close of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth, covering a period of about a hundred and fifty years. In the south of Ireland the Roman usages, including the method of reckoning Easter, were accepted in 633 A. D., but in the north, especially in the community of

Iona, the monks did not yield to the Roman usages until 716, and in Wales until 768.

From the eighth to the twelfth century but little of interest is to be noted in the development of the Irish race. The country became Catholic in an intense degree; but the clan organization was preserved, and the petty kingdoms into which the country was divided were after the tribal pattern. Perhaps of all the countries of the West, Ireland shared least in those progressive movements which, though slow, bore the people of Western Europe toward the dawn of a better era. Ireland least of all felt the common sentiments with which Europe began to be inspired. The great agitation which preceded the Crusades and which maintained the Holy Wars for two centuries was little felt among the Irish Celts. Their isolation was so complete that the Church was the only bond connecting them with the destinies of the Continent.

At the middle of the twelfth century, however, these relations began to draw the Irish people into union with England, and from that time forth the country pursued its dependent career. When the monk Nicholas Breakspeare became Pope Hadrian IV, he carried to the papal chair a greater knowledge of English and Irish affairs than his predecessors had possessed. He was the only Englishman who ever came to the papacy. In 1155 he announced to Henry II that Ireland rightfully belonged to the blessed Peter and the most holy Roman Church. He granted the island, therefore, to the English king, reserving only ecclesiastical dominion for himself. It was from this time forth that the English claim of the sovereignty of Ireland was upheld by the Plan-

Points at issue between the Gaelic and Romish clergy.

The Irish party yields and becomes most Catholic.

English domination is established over Ireland.

tagenets and their successors. Henry himself invaded Ireland and established his authority. From the very first the dif-

Irish, with their clan organizations and their doctrine of gavelkind, were totally unacquainted with the feudal usages of



HENRY II INVADING IRELAND.—CAPTURE OF WATERFORD.

ferences between the two peoples, which have ever since led to their estrangement and hostility, were apparent. The

primogeniture and entail which prevailed in England under the Norman kings. As a result the Irish rulers, whether

secular or ecclesiastic, did not understand the exactions of homage made by Henry and his successors. Nevertheless, English authority was extended over the island, and the Irish Church, in connection with that of England, was more completely subjected by the papacy than ever before.

We are able to see in these circumstances the conditions which subsequently led to the religious severance of the English and Irish peoples. When the Reformation broke out, and the attempt was made by Henry VIII and Elizabeth to detach the Irish Church from Rome and attach it to the independent sovereignty of England, Irish Catholics resisted the scheme; and Rome was ever afterwards busy in maintaining her sov-

all their strongholds into the fields and villages, but he could not break their ascendancy over the Irish people. As a result, the establishment of the English Church in Ireland was nominal rather



THE RELIGIOUS WARS.—WILLIAM OF ORANGE AT THE BOYNE.

Persecutions of
the Irish Church
by the English.

creignty in Ireland, as against the claims of the English kings. Henry VIII succeeded in disestablishing the monasteries and in driving forth the friars from

than real, and its whole subsequent history in that island was a history of usurpation, of exaction, and of tyranny.

The actual conquest of the country may be said to have been made by Eliza-

beth. She was the real conqueror of Ireland, and her policy with respect to the people was not more severe than might have been expected under the conditions which she had inherited from her father and grandfather. The strong Catholic dispositions of the Irish people were shown in the time of the English revolution, but they were unable, in their rebellions against Cromwell, to establish any regular government or to oppose a successful resistance to the iron soldiery of that despotic republican. Under the later Stuarts, Ireland constantly sympathized with the Catholic tendencies of the English kings. The Jacobite disposition asserted and reasserted itself, and was scarcely destroyed by King William at the Boyne.

It is out of these historical and ethnical relations that the Irish race has emerged into modern history. It is not our purpose to review the peculiar aspects which the people of Ireland have presented to the inquirer in the last two centuries. The Irish stock is typical to a considerable degree of the whole Celtic race as it appears at the present time. It is against the laws of human nature not to sympathize with the struggles made by the Irish people to maintain their independent existence, their nationality, and to compete in the race for greatness; but it seems to be out of the scheme of destiny to expect any other result than the complete absorption of the race. The English language, learning, and literature, and English institutions have more and more made their way across the island, and it seems manifest that in no great span of time the distinctive features of the Irish people will disappear—that the fate of this branch of the Celtic stock is

to be the same which we have already noted in the Cornish race.

The decline in the population of Ireland since the middle of the present century also indicates the tendency of the race toward extinction, or at least toward its diffusion and absorption among other peoples. If we begin our inquiry with the accessible statistics at the close of the seventeenth century, we find about a million and a half of people on the island. In 1760 the estimate was two and a quarter million. In 1792 the total had risen to a little over four million. The maximum of the Irish race appears to have been reached about 1841, when the census showed eight million one hundred and ninety-six thousand five hundred and ninety-seven. With-

Deductions from the race statistics of two centuries.

in the next ten years, owing to the potato famine and other disasters, the population fell off to six and a half million, and in the next decade it had fallen to five million seven hundred and ninety-eight thousand. According to the census of 1881 the entire population of Ireland was five million one hundred and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

A large percentage of this falling off must be attributed to emigration. The hard conditions of landown-ership, the political domination of Great Britain,

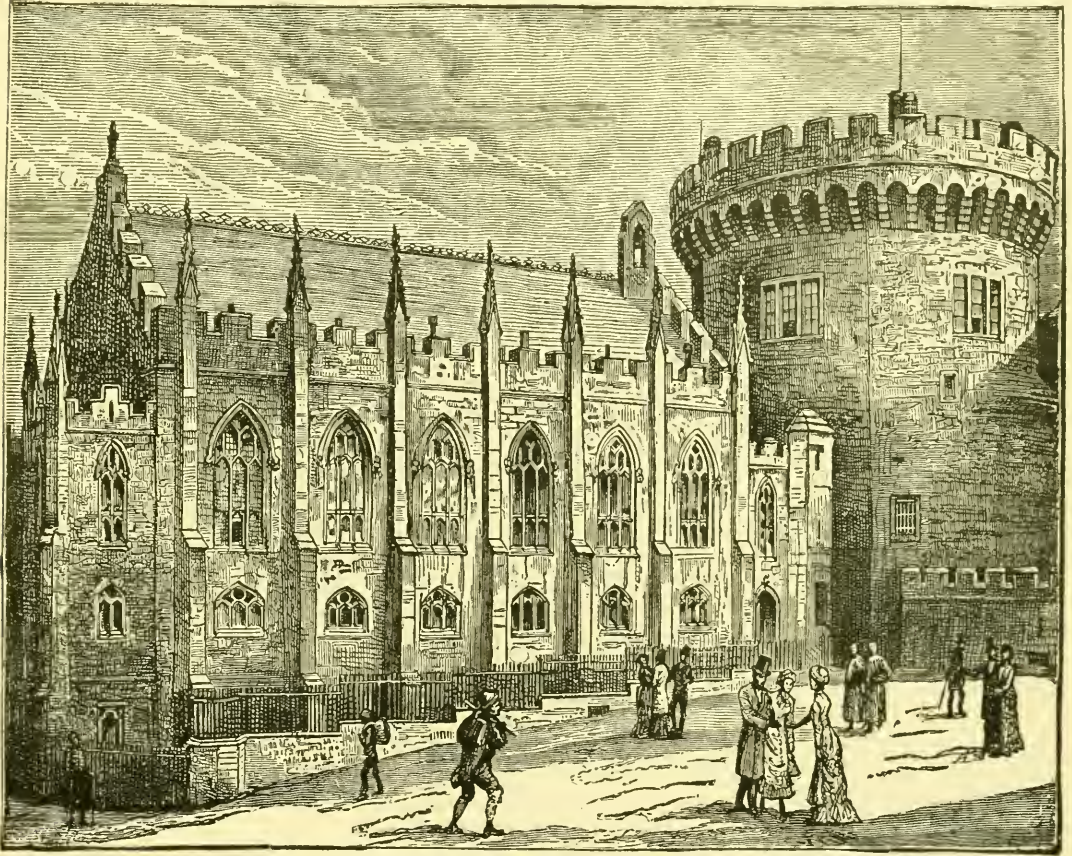
Extent and direction of the Irish exodus.

the evils which until 1869 had attended the establishment of the English Church in a Catholic country, and particularly the great famine of 1847, had conspired to discourage the Irish people to an extent almost unparalleled in modern times. Between 1831 and 1841 almost half a million of Irishmen emigrated to foreign countries. Between 1846 and 1852, covering the period of the famine, the number emigrating was

three times as great as in the preceding decade. More than two hundred and fifteen thousand departed in the single year of 1847, while in 1852 the number leaving the island increased to two hundred and forty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-one. The countries into which this large increment of the Irish race was dis-

ance must be made for the evil effects of the English domination, and for the cross purposes, animosities, and even positive hatreds of the two peoples. Race rank determined by intellectual and material products.

There are two general ways in which the energy and greatness of a people are displayed: first, in intellectual achievement; and secondly, in those material



THE CHAPEL ROYAL, DUBLIN.

tributed were principally Canada, the United States, and Australia; but almost every country of Europe and the New World has received a considerable number of the Irish emigrant population.

It is in Ireland that we may best consider and estimate the average achievement and rank of the Celtic race in modern times. In doing so much allow-

works and enterprises which constitute the tangible expression of human greatness and ambition. In the domain of intellect there are many distinct fields of activity: literature, with its several departments; art, with its great divisions of painting, sculpture, and music; science, with its discovery of new laws and its extended application of those already known.

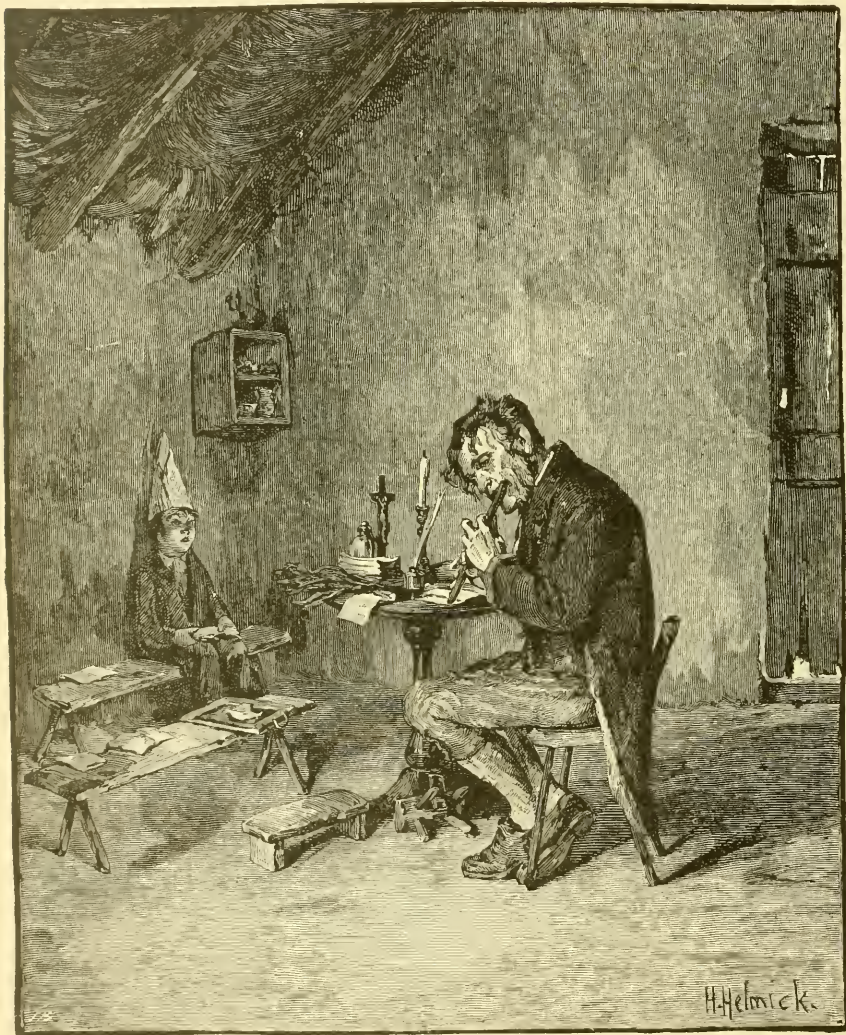
On the material side of achievement we have also many manifestations of the physical and constructive energies of men. Architecture stands at the head, but the applications of the builder's art are as multifarious as the activities of

Forms in which material achievement is displayed.

those public edifices which are used by the governing powers of society, and in what are called public works, such as bridges, aqueducts, tunnels, thoroughfares, etc. Still another variety of material enterprise has relation to the sea. In the maritime and insular countries

the people are naturally seafaring. They are navigators and merchants. This involves the construction and improvement of ships. It is, in general, from these considerations of intellectual and physical achievements that the rank of a given people is to be determined in modern society.

In intellectual grandeur the Irish race has not risen to the level of the average of Western European peoples. In certain departments of mental labor they have equaled the best products of other nations. In oratory the Irish



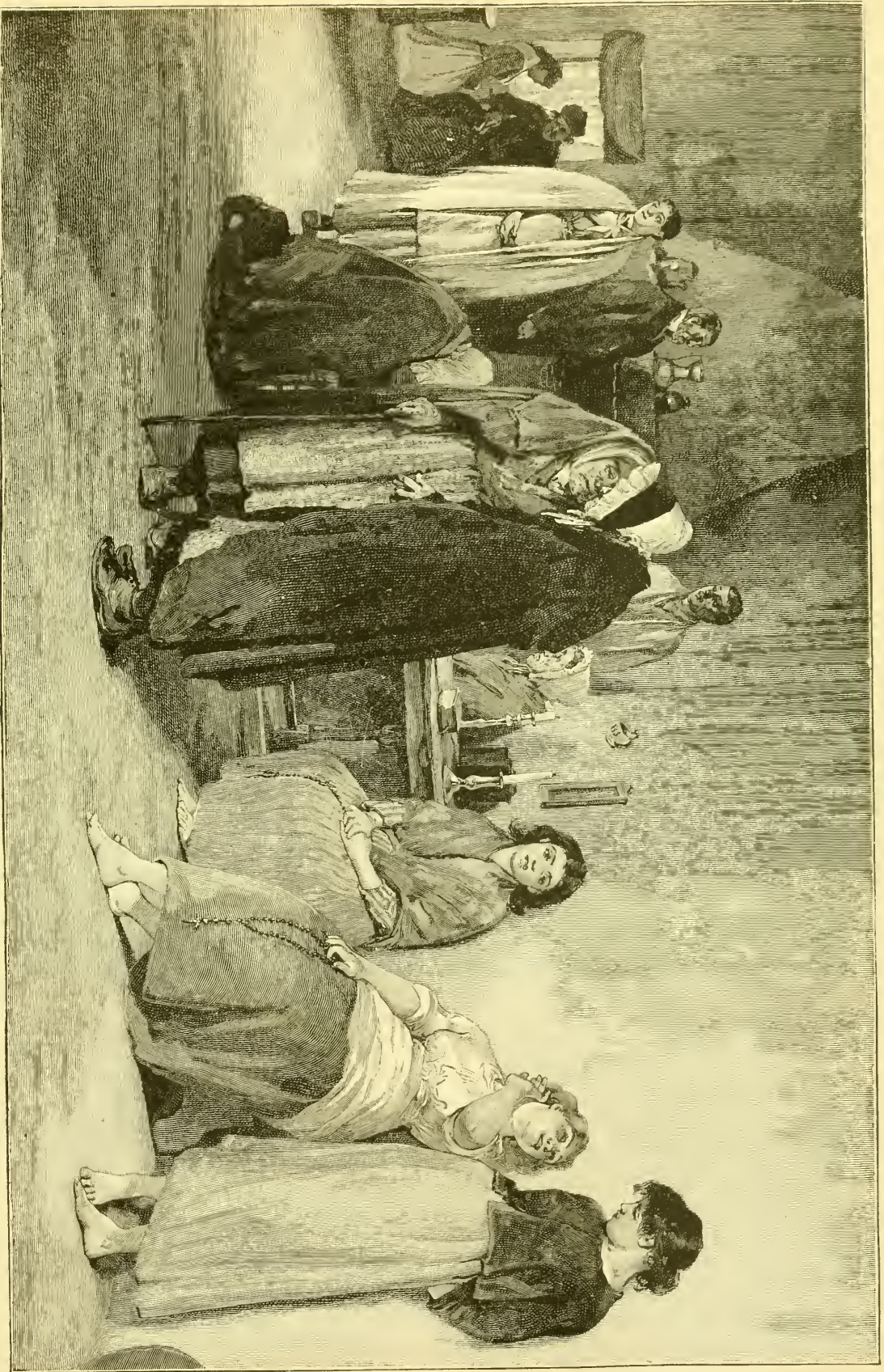
TYPES AND MANNERS.—THE SCHOOLMASTER WITH HIS FLUTE AND PUPIL.
After the painting by H. Helmick.

men's lives. There is in particular an ecclesiastical architecture which has gratified itself with the rearing of grand cathedrals, mostly Gothic, in divers parts of Central and Western Europe. Civil architecture finds its noblest work in

have not been surpassed, and the same may be said of their lyric poetry. The Irish songs are among the most sentimental and musical of all the bardic work produced in modern times. In the consid-

Intellectual rank and products of the Irish.

A RURAL CONFESSIONAL IN IRELAND.—Drawn by H. Helmick, for *Magazine of Art*.

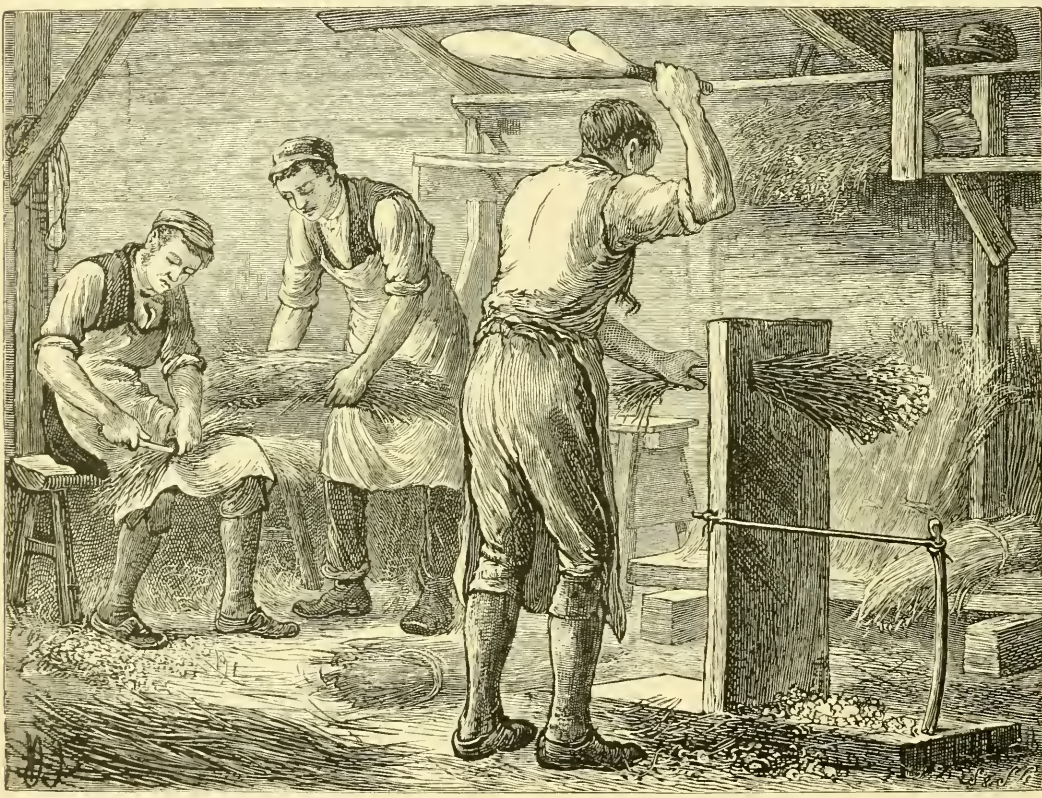


eration of ideal subjects also the Irish mind has established its claim to a very high rank. Its critical powers have occasionally displayed themselves with unusual vigor. In other respects the Irish intellect has been in analogy with that of Scotland. It has shared the deductive disposition which we have already noted as belonging to the Scotch mind.

In the more solid forms of literature

wit and fiery dramatic action. Its sentiment is poetic, patriotic, love-burdened. It is also a mind which is pervaded with conceits and fancies. It has less of that brooding care and more of easy cheerfulness than the contemporaneous mind of England and the Continent.

On the side of material achievement the Irish are still further behind the work of other modern races. The power



IRISH INDUSTRIES.—HAND SCUTCHERS OF FLAX.

the Irish have not been distinguished. Neither in epic poetry nor in history has the Irish intellect displayed its powers to advantage. It lacks persistency. Its flights are short and brilliant, but it has not shown strength of wing or that eagle-like sweep and grandeur for which the English and German mind have been so distinguished in our centuries. If we look into the consciousness of the Irish race we shall find it inhabited with quick

to seize the forces of the natural world, to bend them down to the human will, to apply them to industrial problems, to master nature, to crush and grind the obdurate resistance of the material world, has not been shown in any marked degree by the Irish people. If we begin low down with the primitive methods of industry practiced in the island, we shall find that very little

The race disparaged in industrial progress.

progress has been made since the wild clans first took possession of the country. There appears among the Irish peasantry a preference for the simple application of labor to the simple work of the fields in the simplest manner. The introduction of machinery has been effected in Ireland against all the dispositions and prejudices of the people.

and the Continent. The same is true of nearly all material enterprises and improvements. The construction of thoroughfares, the building of bridges, the erection of public works, the transformation of the face of nature, have been accomplished in large measure by the energies and skill of the English capitalists and supervisors, employing



THE YOUNG SQUIRE AND HIS TENANTS—TYPES.—After the painting by H. Helmick.

It goes with the saying that in a country where such unprogressive habits prevail the grander aspects of material progress are impossible. In architecture the Irish have been among the least distinguished of the modern peoples. Not that Ireland is wanting in examples of great building; but this has nearly all been effected by foreign architects, and after models furnished from England

the working power of the Irish people in accomplishing the given results.

The latter race seems to have been in a measure satisfied to be thus used by the stronger people. The dispositions of the Irish to continue in the primitive methods of industry have been gratified rather than offended by the subordinate position to which they have been assigned in the industries of the English-

Material grandeur of Ireland of foreign origin.

Labor the common lot of the Irish people.

speaking race. In the New World, in like manner, the skill and vehement energy of the people have drawn largely upon the Irish emigrant race for the performance of all simple labor. It were quite impossible to exaggerate the amount of this kind of toil which has been expended by Irish-American laborers on the great railways and canals of the New World.

The personal characteristics of the Celtic peoples have been a subject of comment since the first contact of the Romans with the races north of the Alps. The Roman travelers and ad-

Personal characteristics of the Celts; the complexion.

venturers who made their way into the broad countries of Northwestern Europe have left on record many allusions to the form and features of the tribes inhabiting these regions. We may gather from the Roman historians and poets that the peoples on the two banks of the Rhine, the Celts and the Germans, were not greatly different in stature, complexion, and form. The Germans were more red-haired and had a more florid skin than did the Celts. The latter were flaxen-haired and fair. It has been said by Pritchard, after carefully examining the data, that all the ancient races who peopled the northern and western parts of Europe had what is called the *xanthous* variety of complexion. They were fair, with a yellowish tinge, and in the primitive ages the hair was invariably flaxen, tending to red. The Gauls are so described by Vergil, and particularly by Marcellinus, who had lived in Gaul and was a good observer. It may be interesting to quote his description of the Gauls as a true delineation of the features and character of the Celtic race at the close of the third century of our era:

"The Gauls are almost all tall of stature, very fair and red-haired, and

horrible from the fierceness of their eyes, fond of strife, and haughtily insolent. A whole band of strangers could not endure one of them, aided in his

Descriptions of the Gauls by Marcellinus and Vergil.

brawl by his powerful and blue-eyed wife; especially when, with swollen neck and gnashing teeth, poising her huge white arms, she begins, joining kicks to blows, to put forth her fists, like stones from the twisted strings of a catapult. Most of their voices are terrific and threatening, as well when they are quiet as when they are angry. All ages are thought fit for war, and an old man is led out to be armed with the same vigor of heart as the man in his prime, with limbs, hardened by cold and continual labor, and a contempt of many even real dangers. None of them are known, like those who in Italy are called in joke *Marci*, to cut off their thumbs through fear of serving in war. They are as a nation very fond of wine, and invent many drinks resembling it; and some of the poorer sort wander about with their senses quite blurred by continued intoxication."

Such was the original stock. By processes of ethnic differentiation the various Celtic peoples of modern times have arisen. These have preserved in different degrees the personal likeness of the original.

In general, a Celt is easily noted among the group of peoples who inhabit Europe

The original stock reappears in the modern races.

and the West. In one respect, namely, in bodily strength, the Irish and Welsh have preserved the preëminence of their ancestry. We should not expect, when we consider the physical vigor and bodily powers of many representatives of the Irish race, that the race itself was in a condition of decline, or that it is disparaged in an intellectual comparison with the other branches of the European fam-

ily. The greatest giant in the Potsdam Guards was an Irishman. And if a new regiment were to be organized at the present time, and the complement made up of men of gigantic stature and tremendous physical power, it is likely that a majority would be of Celtic blood. Perhaps this physical vigor which is frequently, though not universally, exhibited by the Irish and Welsh races is to be in part attributed to the manner of life rather than to ethnic forces. The native races of Ireland and Wales are engaged in those primitive forms of industry which best of all develop the body and increase its stature. The hard life of the peasant and the miner is not unfavorable to the reproduction and perfecting of the physical life. The peoples of whom we speak have been less deteriorated by the influences of civilization, and more invigorated by the natural pursuits to which men devote themselves

in a natural age, than have the other races of Europe.

Beginning with the personal delineation given by Marcellinus, we find certain diversities among the modern Celts distinguishing those of one country from



A FISH DINNER—TYPE AND MANNERS.
 Drawn by H. Helmick.

those of another. The people of South Wales have a brunette complexion and black hair—or at least these characteristics are common. The Bretons, also, have departed from the original standard in the same direction. In the Scotch

Diversities of feature in the existing Celtic types.

Diversities of
feature in the
existing Celtic
types.

Highlands red or sandy hair is common, though by no means universal. It is as though there were in this country a reversion to the old type of the Belgic Gauls and the Germans beyond the Rhine. The Irish have preserved to a large extent the original features of the race. The blue eye and fair complexion have been maintained with little alteration, and the flaxen hair may be regarded as the national feature.

As we have already intimated, the complexion, the countenance, the physical peculiarities of the Celts have been distributed to a very large extent among the more prominent and powerful races of modern times. The English people themselves are greatly infected with features which were derived from those who preceded them in the island. It is now recognized as a fact that the barbarian invaders who took possession of Britain in the fifth century—those Angles and Saxons and Jutes and Frisians—wild pirates of the northern seas, who came, like hawks of the water, upon the Celts of the British Isles, were nearly all males. They brought at the first but few women with them in their ocean boats. It can hardly be doubted that the first generations of northern

pagans born in England were largely the product of British, that is Celtic, mothers, who were taken by the Saxon warriors in the roughest courtship known to history. In all subsequent ages the Celtic stock has been combined in varying degrees with the dominant people, and in recent times it has contributed a large percentage to the English-speaking race in America.

We have now noted the condition and distribution of the Celtic races. We have seen them dispersed throughout all Gaul, in the Spanish peninsula, in ancient Armorica, and finally in Britain and Ireland. We have delineated the transformations to which the Celtic tribes have been subjected, and have considered the aspect which the six existing forms of the Celtic race present to the modern inquirer. Much has been omitted; but a sufficiency has been presented to give the reader an adequate idea of the great people who, once in possession of the better part of Europe, have receded and dwindled until, compressed in a few remote positions, they maintain only a precarious and unpromising existence, tending perhaps to a speedy disappearance from the act and drama of modern history.

Summary of the subjects considered in connection with the Celts.

Distribution of Celtic traits among the other races.





BOOK XI.—THE TEUTONIC PEOPLES.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—GERMANIA.



WE are now to consider the evolution of what is generally regarded the youngest of the Aryan races in Europe; that is, the peoples called Teutonic. It is not certainly known that the Germanic stock came last, that the great races bearing the common name of German were the rear guard of the Aryan migrations into the West. Indeed, the opposite view has been stoutly maintained. Some have thought that the Hellenes were the latest arrival, and that the Teutonic tribes of the north had been in possession for centuries before the Græco-Italic race took possession of the South European peninsula.

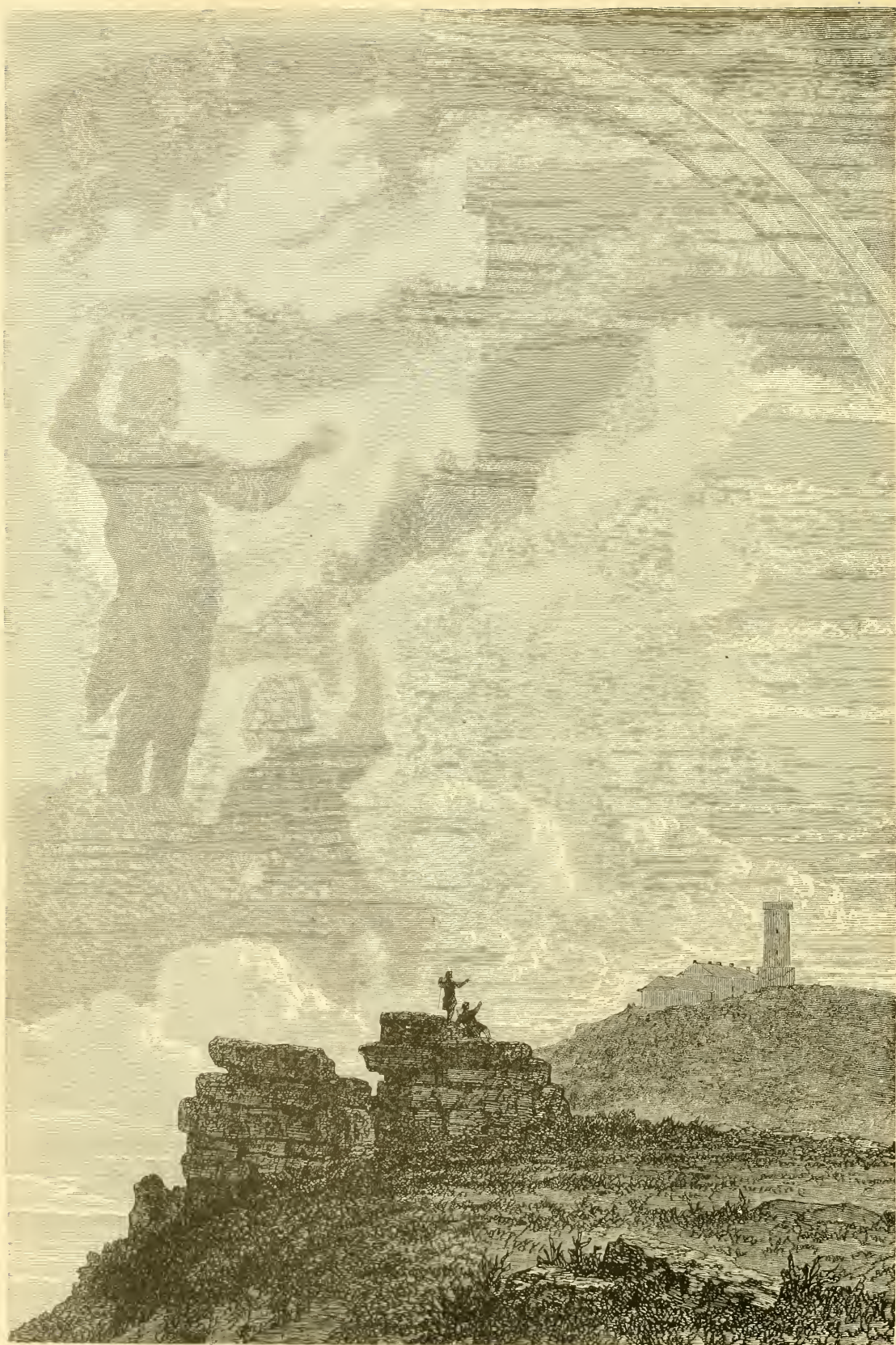
Many circumstances, however, indicate the incorrectness of this view. The order of national development, if nothing more, tends strongly to establish the later arrival of the Teutonic people. They have been the last of the European

races to rise into the realm of nationality; that is, the last on the supposition that the Slavic races are to be considered in common with the Germans. Unless we are to suppose that the germs of national consciousness lay dormant for a much longer period among the Teutonic races than among the peoples of the south, we are forced to the conclusion that the former were the later to arrive in the European domain.

However this question may be decided, we are not in much doubt as to the source of the Teutonic stream which flowed out of the northeast. It was a part of the great Aryan movement to which we have frequently referred in the preceding volume. The course of migration which brought the Germanic race into Europe was out of Armenia, around the Black sea, to the northwest, and thence through what is now Great Russia, westward into the countries where the

Teutonic race
the last to arrive
in Europe.

Course of the
migration of the
Germans into
the West.



GERMAN LANDSCAPE.—SPECTER OF THE BROCKEN.—Seen and drawn by F. Stroobant, in the summer of 1862.

Germans were destined to establish themselves and ultimately rise to national consciousness. We have also said that this great ethnic stream pouring into Europe contained in the age of the migrations the potency of the Celtic and the Letto-Slavic, as well as the Germanic peoples. The Celtic migration was in the van, and it is likely that the tribes out of which the German race has been

veloped. It is not the true nature of such a movement to roll on in a volume to a certain point geographically and then to disperse in various directions, planting here and there the beginnings of those different peoples which subsequent inquiry shows to have been derived from a common stock. The true movement, on the contrary, is progressive. It throws forward by migration,



ARTIFICIAL INUNDATION IN THE ENVIRONS OF GAND.—Drawn by E. Claus, from nature.

developed led the way before the Letto-Slavs. It is on this supposition that we now take up the Teutonic families, intending hereafter to complete the inquiry by considering the Slavic race in its ethnic course and various developments.

An erroneous concept has long been

In what manner primitive tribes spread into new regions. entertained even by scholars relative to the manner of the spreading of migratory tribes into new regions, and to the order in which they are successively de-

veloped. It is not the true nature of such a movement to roll on in a volume to a certain point geographically and then to disperse in various directions, planting here and there the beginnings of those different peoples which subsequent inquiry shows to have been derived from a common stock. The true movement, on the contrary, is progressive. It throws forward by migration,

We have seen this method of progress already illustrated in the distribution of the Græco-Italic peoples. The Roman

race was in the van; then the Illyrians or Æolic Greeks; then the Doric, and

The law illustrated in migrations of Græco-Italians.

then the Ionic Hellenes, in the order named. Also in the west of Europe we

have seen that the Cymric Celts were of greater antiquity than the Gallic Celts, and that they distributed themselves into regions further west. In like manner we have now before us the still vaster and more important distribution of the Germanic peoples. It appears clear that the oldest, the most primitive, of the tribes of this great family were the Norse folk, who, pressing close to the Baltic on their way to the West, fell into the remote peninsulas of that bleak sea, soon crossing to the northern side, and not stopping until they had reached and peopled Norway, Sweden, and Iceland. It is claimed with good reason that even this remote island does not mark the extent of the Norse incursion. Later archæological and historical inquiry has shown the presence of the Norse race in Greenland, and even in the northeastern portion of North America. To this first Teutonic stock, distributing itself into Northern Europe, particularly into the countries beyond the Baltic, the name of Scandinavian is given, and will be retained.

The second movement came hard after from the same fecund source in the East. The pathway of

Nature and limitations of the Teutonic distribution.

the migration was nearly identical with that of the

Scandinavian Germans. The lodgment was effected in the extreme west or northwest of the Continent proper, in those vast, low-lying hollow lands next to the Baltic and the North sea. To this division of the Teutonic race we have given the name of Low Germanic. The third division came last. It was the most massive and important of all the

Teutonic migrations. It fell into the countries now known in the aggregate as Germany. The distribution south was as far as Switzerland, the Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria. On the west, the general limit was the line of the Rhine. On the north, the Baltic was the boundary; and on the east, the confines of Poland. Within these limits were planted the youngest and one of the most vital of all the Aryan races that have come into Europe—that High Germanic family, whose importance in the modern era can hardly be overestimated. It may be noted in advance, moreover, that it was from the High German tribes distributed along the Rhine, in the country which the Romans called by the name of Germania, that our first and most trustworthy notions of the character and dispositions of the Teutonic nations have been derived.

We shall now attempt a general study of the leading features of that barbarian life which was displayed by the German nations in the times of the Roman ascendancy. Its various phases have furnished the subject-matter of much ethnological inquiry. The civilized nations are perhaps better informed, on the whole, with respect to the leading features of the primitive Aryan race from sketches and disquisitions relative to the Germans than from any other source whatsoever. Tacitus has expended the force of his genius upon this subject, and Cæsar was so impressed with the character of the Germans that he paused in his military annals to describe them for his countrymen. Let us, therefore, review the situation and the race, to the end that its proper ethnic position as an element in modern nationality may be fairly apprehended.

Interest of the classical nations excited by the Germans.



FOREST OF THE VOSGES.—Drawn by Niederhaussen, from nature.

The country called Germany was in primitive times covered with immense forests. That was the principal feature of the landscape. Heavy oak and beech woods covered the whole country. Some of these forests were of immense extent. The Schwarzwald, or Black forest, reached across the whole of Germany. The woods had a sacred character. Whatever temples the wild men of these regions had were in the forest, hidden in profound depths, or set on the margins of consecrated lakes. The situation was similar to that which Herodotus has described in the country of the Budini, to the north of the Black sea. The Greek legends ascribe like conditions to the Hyperboreans, and there was even some likeness to the German woods in the grove of Delphi and the forest of Dodono. The appearance of the German forest was such as to strike dread even in the Roman soldiery. The trees were gigantic. Many of them were hollow, and many had projecting roots standing above the ground, forming spaces through which horsemen could ride at full speed. The silence and solitude were such as to overawe the bravest spirit, and impress the mind with a sense of mystery and the presence of the gods.

The country in its existing condition was the native place of a race of hunters. Hunting was the one great pursuit of the tribes that spread themselves abroad under the dark woods, and became as solitary in their manner of life as the surroundings were gloomy and foreboding. There were but few glades or open spaces, but few situations which invited to the cultivation of the soil. What the forest yielded was added to the animal resources which the first tribes gathered as a means of subsist-

ence. We need not here make an extended notice of the wild beasts that roamed at large in the German forests. Here was the buffalo, the bison, the elk, the bear, the wild boar, and, indeed, every variety of creature whose manner of life was adapted to the climate and the surroundings. The animals grew, as did the men in these regions, to an enormous stature. They were abundant. They were fleet of foot and ferocious. They must be taken by all manner of hazard and dangerous exposure of the hunters. To procure by the chase a sufficient provision for the subsistence of the tribe was a sort of perpetual warfare, little less dangerous than the battle with men.

It appears that there was a peculiar sympathy between the first tribes of men who inhabited these vast solitudes and the wild and gloomy aspects of the natural world around them. There was never seen among the Germanic nations a disposition to change their environment until long after the Christian era. It was with difficulty that the monks and missionaries, who at last made their way into the solitude of the north, persuaded the native men of those regions to cut away the forest and to undertake the cultivation of the soil. Unrestraint was the primary quality of these people. Whatever tended to confine, to restrain, to bind down to locality and servitude, was repugnant in the highest degree to the sentiments of the Teutonic barbarians. They yielded to such necessities as civilization ultimately imposed upon them with the greatest reluctance. The forms of society which the nations of the south had long before adopted, the vast city aggregations, the commercial pursuits, and the common enterprises which tend to national greatness,

Extent and character of the primeval German woods.

Mutual adaptations of the race and the environment.

Predominance of the hunting life among the German barbarians.

were all looked upon by the primitive Germans with dread, if not detestation. For them, the wild woods were enough. There they were free. There they had license. There the man was able to express himself under the dominion of the native passions with which he was inspired. There he might grow, and expand, and roam, and hunt, and kill according to that dictatorial will and impulse of freedom which constituted the dominant trait of his character.

days of its first occupancy of these lands.

The indisposition of the Teutonic tribes to cultivate the soil was noted by the Roman historians. Tacitus declares that corn was the only grain which the Germans produced. This, together with the wild products of the woods and the plentiful game which the forest afforded, constituted the entire food resources of the race. The climate was exceedingly

Climatic conditions and products of the country.



COUNCIL OF GERMAN CHIEFS.—Relief from the victory column of Marcus Aurelius.

Germany still preserves her original aspects. These qualities have never in the subsequent development of the race been wholly eradicated. To the present day no other country in Europe has retained so much of its native aspect as Germany. Here, still, as in the days of Cæsar, vast forests stretch away, unbroken by the stroke of man. Here gloomy morasses extend through leagues of silence. Here in a considerable degree the wild animals are allowed to retain possession of their native lairs; and to the present hour, under these illimitable solitudes, the observer is able to discover a considerable portion of those ancient lineaments by which the German race was known in the

forbidding. There were extensive marshes in different parts of the country. The range of temperature was lower than in the subsequent ages. The conditions of life were hard in the extreme, and no other than the most vigorous and vital breeds of men could have survived and flourished under such conditions. The wild fruits which the German forest produced were of the smaller and hardier growths, such as scraggy trees might bear in a most inhospitable region. As we have remarked in another part of this work, mast of several kinds was abundant, and it is quite likely that the Germans, more even than the primitive Romans and the first

tribes in Greece, were dependent upon the wild abundance which the oak tree and the beech tree flung down with each autumnal frost.

Almost the whole of the *Germania* of Tacitus might here be incorporated in description of the character, the customs, the manner of life, of the Germanic nations. The latter were not known to the Romans until the first century before our era. At that time the excursions of the Roman people through the passes of the Alps, and their occasional visitation of the countries far down the Rhine, made them acquainted with the wild barbarians inhabiting those regions. It was a sensation to the civilized men of the south to discover human life in so free and startling an aspect. One may easily mark the notes of surprise with which the sedate Roman warriors and historians were wont to speak of the Germanic nations. From the first there was a clear presumption that sooner or later the two races must meet in war and perhaps decide by battle which should have the ascendancy in Europe. Strange premonition of the thing that has come to pass! After nearly two thousand years, the battle thus anticipated by the men of Italy and the men beyond the Rhine has not been decided. Every age has seen the conflict renewed between the Latin and the Germanic races, and the mastery of Europe is, at the close of the nineteenth century, still in dubious suspense between them. In the very first sentence of the *Germania*, Tacitus declares that the country is separated from Sarmatia and Dacia by the mountains *and by mutual dread!*

Surprise of the Romans at the aspects of German life.

We may here pause for a moment to repeat the traditions which the Germans had of their own origin, and which the

Roman writers accepted with their usual credulity. Tacitus says that to him the people appeared to be indigenous; that is, sprung from the soil. Purity of the German race preserved by solitude.

There appears to have been no notion of a migration from foreign parts. The Germans had the same tradition that the Greeks had of their origin, namely, that they were autochthones, or earth-born. The opinion of the Roman historian was emphasized by the fact that there appeared to be no intermixture with foreigners. Within the limits of the *Germania* of the ancients there were no foreign settlers and very few visitors. The race was pure. The country was in a measure inaccessible whether by land or water. It was considered exceedingly hazardous for ships to pass around from the Mediterranean to the German ocean. There was, moreover, very little to attract the desires of the Roman race in the inhospitable north. On the other hand, there was much to allure the cupidity of the barbarians in the rich products and genial climate of the southern peninsulas. Nothing except the stern patriotism and religious attachment of the Germanic nations for their somber forests prevented the eruption of conquering hordes at a much earlier epoch than the same finally occurred.

The German tribes had a peculiar kind of verses by the recital of which they stimulated their courage in battle and perpetuated the traditions of their race. In these ancient songs, which Epic of Tuisco and Mannus; the name German.

contained the only records of their past, they celebrated the god Tuisco, who was said to have sprung from the earth, as the father of the German race. Tuisco had a son, Mannus. This is nearly equivalent to saying that *Man* was the descendant of Mercury. Mannus was

said to have had three sons, from whom sprang the three leading tribes of Germans. These, according to the legend, were called the Ingavones, the Hermiones, and the Istavones. The tradition took on also a second form in which the descendants of Tuisco were enumerated as the Marsi, the Gambrivii, the Suevi, and the Vandali. It appears withal that the latter classification had a better basis in historical fact than the former. As to the word *German*, applied to the race at large, it was of a later origin. It is said to have been given to the people who crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, in describing them as *conquerors*. It is said, however, that an inscription is now known to exist containing the name German as the epithet of the race, dating as far back as the year 222 B. C.

Thus much for the tradition. The Germans, however, were not indigenes.

They came, as we have seen, from the East. The mythology and the language of the Germanic race both show conclusively its ultimate identity with the great Indo-European family of men. In some of the oldest Teutonic records the words *Anten* and *Inten* are often used to name an ancient nation with which the Germans had been associated. There were particular kinds of building and particular weapons which were proverbially called the "works of the Anten." Many German words, names of places and of people, contain the same syllable, indicative of a former race community

with the people of India. Such syllables as *ant*, *ango*, *cut*, *eng*, *int*, *intto*, and *indo* are common in names of places in Old German. In mediæval German the word India is always written *Endia*. Many other linguistic signs are scattered in the German language, to say nothing of its legend and tradition, indicating, as such vestiges always indicate, the community of descent and primitive association of the Teutonic and Indic races of men.

The Græco-Italic fables and myths nearly all had their analogies, as we have now learned, in the mythology of the German peoples. The Greek story of the flood finds its counterpart in the German tradition of a deluge and of a re peopling of the earth. The wars of the gods and the Titans, as recited and believed by the Hellenic race, are repeated in the Teutonic mythology. According to the northern legend, Buri, the father of the Asiatics, who was licked out of a rock of salt by the sacred cow, dwelt at Asgard. It is the story of Boreas in the Caucasus repeated in the Germanic fashion. Buri had a son, Bor, who in turn had three sons, Wile, We, and Odin, or Wodin. Here we have the three sons of Saturn. Wodin is the Northern Jove. In all particulars, even to details and minute inflections of the myth, the story of the gods, the heroes and primitive men, is identical in its substance as told by the Indian bards, the Greek mythologists, and the German seers.

Ethnic kinship
of the Germans
and Indians.

Teutonic and
Græco-Italic
myths and
fables.

CHAPTER LXXX.—WOMEN AND SOCIETY.



The sexual relation at the bottom of political organization.

IN taking our view of these people and considering their national life we shall again begin with the relation of the sexes. Upon this, rather than upon less essential manners and customs, the character and tendencies of both barbarian and civilized peoples are dependent. Even the political structure of society, that semblance called government, has not nearly so much to do with the essential life and bottom dispositions of a race as its sexual sentiments and practices. On these are reared the family; and the tenacity of the whole body of the tribe or nation depends upon the strength and validity of those affections which have their foundation in the nature of man and woman.

It is in this particular that the Germans have had much of their pre-eminence. Among the pagan nations women were generally despised. We have seen already how seldom the woman has been regarded as other than a slave, a chattel, a convenience; how little her true character has been discovered among any of the ancient tribes of men. To this fact the Germans furnish a remarkable exception. It is not ours to say to what extent Tacitus and other Roman writers have exaggerated the chivalrous and noble sentiments with which woman was said to be regarded among the Teutonic tribes. There must, however, have been good grounds for the universal statement made by the men of the south relative to the purity of

the sexual relation among the wild peoples of the northern woods. There is perhaps in this condition of sexual nobility among the free Germanic nations a hint of what is universal, or would be universal among mankind, if a different and less artificial code were adopted for the government of human affections. There appears to have been among the Germans absolutely nothing except the force of a profound sentiment to determine the regard in which men and women were mutually held by each other. In other words, the human instinct, so different from the instinct of other living creatures, was sufficient under the free conditions of tribal society to work out the highest results of social—particularly of sexual—purity.

Here again, however, we must be on our guard against hasty generalization. The other Aryan races of Europe passed also through the free tribal stage of development, and among many of these the chivalrous sentiment did not appear as it did among the Germans; among many the feeling of love and devotion based on sex rose no higher than the heathenism of the East. So we are driven to the conclusion that *in addition* to the state of freedom existing among the Germans, considered as an antecedent of sexual nobility, there must have been also an ethnic instinct combining with the situation to produce the given result. However this may be, it can hardly be denied—though some distinguished French authorities have denied it—that even in the wild tribal condition in which the Germans were found before the Christian era they

Other Indo-Europeans infected with Oriental notions of sex.

were inspired, both men and women, with sentiments of regard, of affection, of honor, and of sexual purity for which we should look in vain among any other community of people in ancient Europe.

This sentiment displayed itself in the first peoples in a perfect indifference to those methods of concealment between the sexes upon which chastity is foolishly supposed to depend. There was very little difference in the garments of the men and women; and for each the clothing was scant in the last degree. The principal garment was a kind of a square mantle, called the *sagum*, which was fastened at the throat by a clasp, or, as Tacitus says, "in want of that by a thorn." As to the material, it was generally the skin of a wild beast reduced to softness by tanning and dressing. For the most part the body was naked. The more wealthy members of the tribe, particularly the chieftains, wore a kind

arms were exposed, and a part of the breast. Nor does there appear to have been the slightest idea of immodesty among the people on account of the ex-



WODIN.

Natural modesty of the German barbarians; clothing.

of vest, which was girt close to the body. It appears to have been the instinct of the race that the bodily form should be exhibited as much as possible. The

posure. We might even say that the sense of respect was intensified among the sexes by the substitution of nature for artificiality. The clothes-makers had the skill of variegating the skins of

animals, which they fabricated into garments. They marked them with spots and stripes, and ornamented them with strips of fur. Tacitus says that some of the furs were taken from marine animals, which were out of distant seas, unknown to the Romans.



COSTUMES AND ARMS OF THE OLD GERMANS.
From the Victory Column of Marcus Aurelius.

was by this standard that both woman and man were judged in their relations with each other. It is not meant that the chivalry involved in all this was like that of the Middle Ages. There was a certain materiality about it—we might say a certain common sense—totally at variance with the lighter and more fictitious sentiments of knighthood. Take, for instance, the question of dowry. The wife did not, as was customary among other people, bring a dowry to her husband; but he to her. The parents and relatives in such a case must assemble and pass on the character of the presents. These were not of a kind to please the vanity and fancies of woman, but were substantial in the last degree. They were not the decorations of a bride, but things useful to the household. Oxen were brought by the young man who would take a wife; also caparisoned steeds, shields, spears, swords, all articles of valor and of use. With these the virgin was espoused. It was the custom that she should make a present to her husband, and this was nearly always some articles of armor.

It was under this significant symbolism that the strong union of man and woman was effected among these wild Germans. In the ceremonial of mar-

Indissolubility
of the marital
tie among the
Germans.

riage the woman was exhorted not to shun the hazards and terrors of war. She was counseled to be a partner in the toils and dangers to which her husband's life was exposed. She must suffer and dare with him in all things. Her attention was called to the yoked oxen and the harnessed steed and the offered arms as the symbolism which best expressed her relation to the man with whom she was henceforth to live in perfect singleness. The Roman authors insist upon the strictness and se-

The sentiments and practices of the German people relative to the sexual

Practical and
common sense
relations of the
sexes.

relation were very real. There appears to have been nothing fictitious or arti-

ficial in the usages of the tribes. Everything was based upon the subjective innocence and purity of man and woman. The whole matrimonial system of the race depended upon this one central fact, that the mind should be innocent. It

verity of the marriage tie among these free barbarians. The rule was one wife for one man, and no more. The only exception was in the case of chiefs. The latter sometimes took two wives or more, as in the case of Ariovistus, one of the German kings with whom Cæsar had serious dealing in the north. But the polygamy is believed in such instances to have been purely political, the idea being to bind the tribe of the wife to the king in a peculiar manner.

It is alleged that the German youth under these institutions and customs grew up in their homes with pure morals and chaste sentiments. It was a peculiar theory with the German nations that the marriage should be postponed until the complete maturity of both sexes. The usage in this respect was the very opposite of that which we have seen

Postponement
of marriage to
mature age.

prevalent in the warm countries of the South and East.

As a consequence of this postponement, the physical development of both sexes was prolonged to a later period, and all the vital energies in the meantime were stored up and

appropriated to the growth, expansion, and maturity of the body. The custom of the people in this respect struck the sedate Cæsar with admiration. In the sixth book of the *Gallic War* he says: "They [of the Germans] who are the latest in proving their virility are most



SPORTS AND TRAINING OF THE GERMAN YOUTH—YOUNG MAXIMILIAN AND HIS COMPANIONS.

From a wood cut by Hans Burgkmair.

commended. By this delay they imagine the stature is increased, the strength improved, and the nerves fortified. To have knowledge of the other sex before twenty years of age is accounted in the highest degree scandalous." To this it may be added that the man was generally approaching

thirty years of age before his marriage.

All violations of matrimonial ties, all insults offered to the modesty or honor of women, all improprieties on their own part, were visited with the severest punishments. If the woman violated

Repugnance of the race to violations of purity.

atonement could redeem the maiden who strayed from the prescribed customs and morality of the race. Tacitus says in a word that the people live "fenced around with chastity." All those means which refined peoples have adopted to stimulate the passions, to excite and fire and corrupt the sexual in-

stincts, were avoided and condemned by the Germans. It is alleged that nothing clandestine was tolerated among the people—none of those underhand arts by which the sexes are wont in less virtuous communities to seek and find unlawful association. The Roman writers allege that the German theory of marriage was the merging of two lives in one. Neither the man nor the woman might henceforth have any desire beyond the other. Nature was given full sweep and dominion under the matrimonial bond. Children multiplied through the whole productive period of life, and the honor and respect which they were wont to show to their parents was little short of passionate adoration.

Among the German tribes marriage was the climax of life. It was the great central fact of national, social, and individual happiness. The



MANNERS OF THE GERMANS.—END OF THE HUNT.
From a copper plate by Meister, 1840.

her marriage vows, she was given over to the wrath of her husband. In such cases he might cut off the hair of the offender, strip her in the presence of her relatives, drive her from his house, and whip her through the village. Prostitution was almost unknown among these rude but virtuous tribes.* No

ceremony itself was simple.

After the father of the bride had received the gifts which the husband brought, the affianced pair joined hands. Rings and kisses were exchanged between them, and henceforth they were one. The wedding was called the *Hochzeit*, or the "high time."

German marriage the climax of German life.

It was a revel. The guests, relatives, and friends gathered and celebrated the event with as much publicity as possible. They shouted and made uproar and conviviality around the wedded pair. The eye of discernment may see in all this the instinct of a race rejoicing with noise and hilarity over the provisions made for the perpetual renewal and development of their people.

There were in connection with the marriage ceremony several peculiar fea-

sign of her right under the privileges and honors of German wifehood. It was the usage that she in any case of disputed right might henceforth attest her truthfulness and fidelity by showing the present which her husband had made her, by placing her hand on her breast and swearing that the token was her morning gift.

In considering the question of marriage among the Teutonic races, we are at the threshold of another aspect of



GERMAN PEASANTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—TYPES.—From a copper plate by Meister, 1480.

tures which it may be difficult to explain.

It is said that among some of the tribes it was the custom to place a drawn sharp sword for three nights between the married pair. The ceremony had a religious significance, but the meaning is hard to discover. Another custom was for the husband on the day after the marriage to make a present to his wife, called the "morning gift," and this she ever afterwards preserved with vigilance and jealousy. It was a kind of talisman which she might henceforth use as a

their social life, that is, slavery. Bond service was recognized among the Germanic nations. The distinction between the freeborn and the slave-born was strongly marked. The whole pride of the race was concentrated in the fact of freedom—freedom by birth in the first place, freedom by achievement and action in the second. The name of the freeborn German was *Friling*, while the slaveborn were called *Lazzi*. Marriages between the two classes were illegal. The children of such unions, though the

Peculiar usages
of marriage; the
"morning gift."

German slavery;
relations
of free and slave
classes.

father might be a friling, lost their claims as freeborn and became bondmen. Still, a legal marriage was possible between a freeman and a woman who *had been* a slave. But she must first be set free. Then the friling might take her in marriage, and the children of the union were freeborn. If a free woman married a bondman, the case was hopeless. She, passing under his guardianship, was unable to give him freedom, but, on the contrary, became a slave herself. This kind of union was therefore looked upon with extreme dislike, and was even punishable with death. The Germans took all possible care to prevent the deterioration of the freeborn citizenship of the nation.

Around the woman and man thus indissolubly wedded grew the family. It was a rough, boisterous, but affectionate, life. It was the life of a populous hut, where vigor and virtue dwelt together with poverty. Among the young Germans nakedness was as much the order as any other. However severe the season, there was little protection to the body against the cold. The babes of this strong race were nursed by the mothers with the home-milk of valor. Such a practice as farming out children to nurses was unknown. It would have appeared despicable to one of those wild divinities of the German woods not to nurse her own offspring, not to give it strength, not to defend it with her life.

In and around the hovel were gathered also the few shaggy cattle belonging to the family. They and the children dwelt together. Tacitus declares that up to a certain age the German boys were wont to sleep among the cattle and slaves, seeking for warmth rather than elegant lodgings. At about twelve years,

however, when the child was regarded as becoming responsible for his conduct, there was an immediate separation between the freeborn and slaveborn youth of the tribe. The former asserted themselves, claiming equality with one another, rising immediately from the communal life which they had hitherto led. At a later date the age of responsibility was advanced to fifteen years. Notwithstanding the coarse, rough life which the German youth passed around their barbarian hovels, they were, nevertheless, cleanly in their habits. Time and again the Roman authors refer to the custom of bathing, which seems to have been as common in the German rivers as in the warm waters of Italy and Greece. It was the life of nature, rough and strong, but still of human nature as distinguished from the nature of those creatures which are born prone and obedient to their appetites.

The relations of the German family were all of excessive rigor. The ties were of a kind not to be broken. Among some of the tribes the wife was expected to perish with her husband. The bond which bound him to her was unto death. There was something ferocious in the natural attachments which these barbarians formed for each other, whether the same were based on sex or on other relations of life. In after times, when the Romans came into these regions and established their authority close along the borders of Germany or positively within those territories, they were wont to insist on the mitigation of the inexorable rules which the custom of the race had prescribed for the government of the household. But the spirit of the people always rose against it. The Saxon and Burgundian legislators of a later age still refused to accept the prin-

Triumph of the
natural life over
artificiality.

Excessive rigor
of the German
family usages.

Life of the Ger-
man boys; age
of responsibil-
ity.

ciples of Roman jurisprudence, always adopting the maxim that it was better by the severe punishment of wrongdoing in a few to give warning to the whole nation, than to smile at the violation of immemorial usages and pass them by as of no effect.

In the attempted explanation of the phenomena of tribal and national life,

Richness of the German race in sentiments and instincts.

too much attention has hitherto been paid to the tangible aspects of society and too little to those subjective condi-

rent institutions have been derived from a Teutonic source. Among the more than one hundred million of people now speaking the English language, a majority of the political principles by which society is influenced are of Germanic origin. True it is that the Roman principles of jurisprudence have been to a large extent imposed upon all the civilized nations of the West, but this part is expressed in the code civil, as distinguished from the common law. What may be called the established usages of



ANCIENT GERMAN HUTS DESTROYED BY ROMAN SOLDIERS.—From the Victory Column of Marcus Aurelius.

tions upon which the external forms of social and political intercourse are based. At the bottom and origin of every form which society has adopted, whether in barbarian times or in the civilized condition, lies some sentiment, feeling, or opinion which the primitive people have had, and from which the visible form has sprung. The German race was particularly rich in such sentiments, opinions, and instincts. If we take a general survey of the present conditions of civilization in Western Europe and America, we shall find that the larger part of cur-

the English-speaking races have their roots in the customs, and if in the customs, then in the beliefs and sentiments of the ancient barbarian races beyond the Rhine.

One of the principal of these sentiments by which the larger part of the modern peoples are influenced is the belief in the freedom and fundamental equality of mankind. This is a German notion. It existed in a modified form among the Greeks; but it seems to have been unable from that ethnic source to

Belief in the freedom and equality of men.

diffuse itself into other parts of Europe. But the German ideas of the freedom and equality of men have been disseminated until they are now accepted in theory, if not in practice, by nearly all the advanced nations. It is therefore of interest to every thoughtful person to consider the sentiment of freedom as it

in perpetuity. It was the principle of freedom rather than that of civil liberty such as was known and recognized among the Greeks and Romans. With the latter peoples, to be free was not the same thing as with the German nations. The word *liber* in Latin had no such meaning as that *free doom* which the Ger-



FREE MANNERS OF THE GERMANS—AN OLD-TIME BREWHOUSE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

man speech invented to signify the right of every member of the race. To be *liber*, or “free,” in the Roman commonwealth was to have certain rights which were derived from the state. Mark the difference. The rights were *conferred* upon the citizen by the state. It was as though the rights were residual in the state; not in the man. The Roman citizen had liberty under the state. There was much of this same sentiment in the free commonwealths of the Greeks. The prerogatives of the citizen were derived from that organization to which he belonged and of which he was a part.

existed among our barbarian ancestors of the Teutonic race.

This was in the first place the principle of free birth—an inherited liberty. It was as though the fathers of the Germanic nation had at some time in the past emancipated themselves from all thralldom, from all subjection, and had transmitted this right to their offspring

Very different from this is the German sentiment of freedom. Here the prerogative belonged to the member of the nation in virtue of his birth. It was inherent in himself. No man gave it. No organization conferred it. None could take it away. It was his. It was of himself a part, as much as his blood and life. Thus much for freedom as a right

Distinction between Roman liberty and Teutonic freedom.

German freedom came by birth and ancestral descent.

of the German in virtue of his birth and descent from an ancestry which had been immemorially free before him.

But the principle was extended into tangible forms. There was the free-

Freedom of companionship; the fraternal bond.

dom of companionship between man and man.

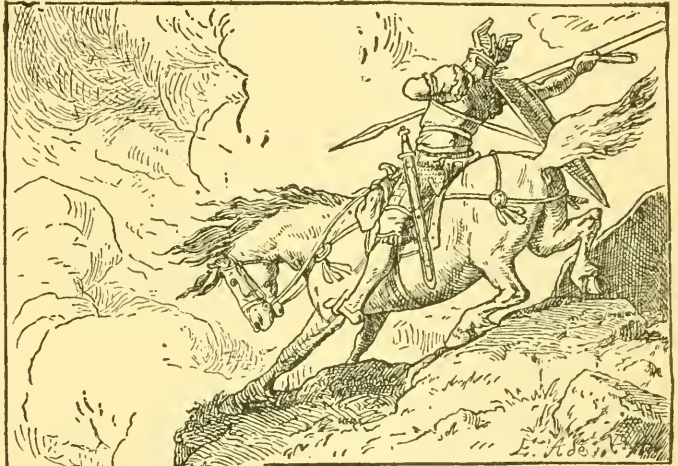
The word *Irman* in the Persian tongue means "a companion" or "a guest." The word *Germanus* in Latin signifies "a brother," or at least a relative by blood. In both terms there is a hint of fundamental equality and also of the acquired equality which comes of equal companionship. Thus the freemen of German birth were united as if in a fraternal bond. The spirit of equality was so strong as to dominate every other civil impulse. The sentiment was totally unlike that which prevailed among those other peoples who in the prehistoric ages were disseminated from the Aryan nest in the region of the Caucasus.

This sentiment of freedom continued to prevail as the German tribes were developed into nationality. The exigencies of the race history brought out great leadership, and there

The German leader continues to be one of the people.

was in the life of the chieftains everything to attract the admiration of their countrymen and fix them on a high plane of honor and respect; but the Germans never ceased to regard their leaders as their fellow-men. They never ceased to maintain their own equality and to enjoy their own personal freedom, their exclusive right

over their own lives and property. In so far as there was any natural aristocracy among them, it was the aristocracy of age. In the assembly of the warriors when the chief men of a given tribe came



OLD GERMAN CHIEFTAINS.

together to debate the interests of the people, the eldest man was called to preside. But he was rather the speaker of the assembly than its president. On every question a vote was taken, and the votes of the majority prevailed. The experiences of the tribes had in course of time taught the lesson that in war the majority is unavailable as a means of government. In this case chieftainship prevailed. An arbitrary rule was conceded

to the military leader. He was selected by his virtues and his valor as a warrior. The men of the nation gathered in an assembly around him, lifted him on their shields, and shouted *hoch!*

Meanwhile the territorial division of each tribe was maintained. The condition of life which we are here depicting was that which presented itself when the Romans first made their way into

the countries beyond the Rhine. It was a state of nationality which prevailed at the beginning of the Christian era. The student of history knows that centuries of struggle ensued. The Roman empire constituted the Danube and the Rhine the frontier of the imperial sway, and

Persistence of the tribal organization of the race.

brotherhoods and societies and orders of knighthood, the guilds and corporations of citizens which in all the Germanic parts of Europe furnish the subject-matter of so large a part of mediæval history. It has been said that the law of free intercourse of German with Ger-

German society preserves the outlines of the old order.

man, each possessed of like rights and privileges, and each bound to the other in the performance of like duties and obligations, was the soul and life of the German race. It can not be doubted that these principles of fidelity, of humanity, of the instinctive sentiment of devotion between man and man, lay at the foundation and constituted the essence and life of all the subsequent history of the Germanic-races. Nor can it be said that even in modern times, after the races of Europe have been so vastly modified by their actions and reactions upon each other, by the lapse of time, by change of circumstance and historical vicissitude, the essential nature of German civilization has been lost or seriously modified. Its freedom and equality were the bottom principles of its existence.

The Roman poets and classical historians discerned clearly the nature of the ties which bound togeth-

er in free union the strong people of the northern forests. Lucan declares that liberty was the German's birthright.

Roman writers discover the essential features of German life.

Florus says that it was a privilege which nature had granted to the Germans, and which the Greeks, with all their artistic instincts and intellectual achievements, had been unable to attain. Montesquieu adds that "the lovely thing called liberty was *discovered*" in the wild forests



DEVOTION OF MAN TO MAN—CARING FOR A WOUNDED SOLDIER.

From a wood cut of the sixteenth century.

along this line the battle was incessant between the two races. But nothing could shake the organization of the German tribes. From Norway on the north, and from distant Iceland southward to the Gothic settlements in Northern Italy and Spain, the old division into tribal districts and the free constitution were maintained in their integrity.

After centuries we shall see issuing from this constitution the various

of Germany; and Hume has declared that in so far as the modern world has perpetuated the sentiments of liberty, honor, equity, and valor among men, in so far as the English-speaking race has shown itself to be in these respects superior to the rest of mankind, the debt is due to the seeds which were planted by the Germanic tribes in that generous barbarism which prevailed beyond the Rhine in the days of the Roman ascendancy.

vited to shelter in the German hut. There he was given food and lodging. None might inquire who he was or whither he took his way. Under the shelter of that barbarous roof he was a guest. No injury might be committed against him. He might be a fugitive, a criminal, but still he was safe within the rude walls of the German home. The warrior who had there his abode was obliged by the usages of his race to spring forth and defend his guest even



GERMANS IN WAR.—HENRY THE LION AT BARDEWICK.—Drawn by William Camphausen.

Observing carefully the social life of the German nations, we are struck with the prevalence of hospitality. It was both a practice and a principle with these peoples to extend to every comer the courtesy and protection of the home. True it is that there was not much to offer to the wayfarer, to the stranger, in the northern woods; but whoever he was and withersoever he went, he was in-

Teutonic law of hospitality to strangers.

with his life. The latter in turn was bound to certain principles of action. He must do no wrong while under the roof of his host. The only bar to his remaining as the guest of the household was its poverty. If the family store was so low as not to permit the further entertainment of the stranger, he was conducted by the houseman to some other dwelling where he might remain as a guest. He took with him also a

parting gift, and if he had aught to bestow, gave something in turn to the master of the house. Even in later times, when the German communities emerged from the tribal state and became national, the old rights of hospitality were still held valid, and for three days at least any stranger might find refuge in a German hut. The same

of the people, they rushed forth and exhibited the most vehement activity. So large and vital a nature must display a most unparalleled vigor of action when once it is stirred profoundly. In war the German soldiers rushed with ferocity upon the enemy, striking right and left and thrusting,

Alternate lethargy and fierce activity of the Germans.

beating down with indescribable violence. The same activity was displayed in the chase. The struggle with the wild boar of the German woods, gnashing his teeth and foaming as the wolf-dogs seized him, was only second in his vehement excitement to the turmoil of human battle. But for the rest, the Germans were lethargic to the last degree. They slept heavily and long. Tacitus declares that for whole days they lay in the ashes about their hearths, snoring in what seemed



VILLAGE FEAST OF THE OLD GERMANS.
From a copper plate by Hopper, about 1500.

right of protection and safeguard were extended to all classes. Sometimes the princes of the tribe and the princesses fled for refuge to the hospitality of their subjects, and the state might not pursue or reclaim them against the immemorial usages of the race.

The Germans were excessive in both action and inaction. When they were aroused from a certain lethargy which seems to have been the home mood

an endless slumber. Returning from the hunt, they filled their stomachs with heavy foods and threw themselves upon the earth, sometimes not arising for days together. Generally, however, at a late hour in the morning they awoke and roused themselves with a cold bath. Tacitus says that warm water was used by the barbarians in their ablutions; but the likelihood is that this was done after the Russian fashion or in the manner of the

North American Indians, who used the warm ablution and the relaxation of the steam bath only as preparatory to the plunge in cold water or into the bank of snow. It required a powerful shock to rouse the vitality of the German warriors after a night the first part of which had been passed in gluttonous feasting and the after part in heavy animal slumber.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE OLD GERMANS.



HE Roman writers give an account of the daily manner of life among the Teutonic nations. After the morning bath came the meal. Each member of the house-

hold had a separate table and a seat of his own. Even in so small a circumstance we may see expressed the strong individuality of the race. Each member of the German household was *one*. He considered himself as a personal unit who might not be too much crowded and compressed even by the members of the household.

Passions, sentiments, and appetites of the Germans.

After the morning meal came the business of the day.

The men went forth armed, and gathered in groups, where discussions of tribal matters were undertaken or the rude enterprises of the kindred promoted by common effort. But industry was disparaged. The Germans cared not for the accumulation of property. To enjoy their freedom was the principal thing. Their appetites were strong in the last degree. This is said especially of the propensity to eat and drink. Nothing so quickly aroused the members of the tribe as the convivial feasts at which they were wont to assemble and spend a great part of their time. Gathered in this manner they passed whole days and nights without intermission in drinking and singing and

carousing in their barbarian manner. Quarrels frequently broke out among the intoxicated, and these were generally settled in blood. The Salic laws took cognizance of this condition of tribal life, and covered the occasion with the following statute:

“If at a feast where there are four or five men in company, one of them be killed, the rest shall either convict one as the offender, or shall jointly pay the composition for his death. And this law shall extend to seven persons present at an entertainment.”

Though the sexual bond and all the family ties were exceedingly strong among the German nations, there was one other sentiment still stronger. This was the love of physical perfection and the contempt for physical weakness. It was not reckoned among the humanities to preserve the weak or imperfect members of the race or those who had become imbecile through disease or old age. In common with the other half-barbarous tribes who first possessed the European continent, the Germans believed it proper to foster the physical vigor of the people by eliminating everything that was diseased, weakly, or deformed. The sickly infant was accordingly drowned in the morass. The sentiment was that life in any imperfect form was not worthy of preservation.

Desire of physical perfection and means of attaining it.

Those who were mutilated or crippled, those who had become infirm from advanced age, those who for any reason were no longer able to participate in the stirring life of the tribe, gave themselves up freely to destruction. It was felt that to live without strength and beauty was ignominious—that such a life might

mit suicide. They who were sick besought their healthy companions to pierce them through with a lance, that they might at once shed forth a life that was no longer valuable to themselves or others. There were certain places to which the unfortunate were wont to re-

Imperfect forms
of life cast out
and destroyed.



CAROUSAL OF THE GERMANS.—THE BALTHEN'S DRINKING WELCOME TO THE KING'S CHILDREN.—Drawn by H. Leutermann.

properly be thrown off by its possessor. It was not considered a blessing to grow old, to decline gradually through years of superannuation, to die at last in peace, on the ancestral bed, in the ancestral home, but rather, while all the powers were still in full vigor, to fling away the life in battle.

It was no uncommon thing among the Germans for the aged and infirm to com-

sort in order to take their lives. It was one of the customs among the primitive Scandinavians for the old men of Norway to resort to a high rock by the sea, and after distributing their goods among their children and sitting with them at a parting feast, to cast themselves headlong and perish in the deep. Death had no aspect of terror when it came by violence, in the clamor of battle, by ca-

lamitous accident of flood and field; but the approach of decrepitude, of infirmity, and of wasting disease was abhorred as the greatest of earthly ills.

This theory of life and these practices in the administration of life tended greatly to the physical perfection and the strong bodily development of the German people. Their size, their stature, their brawny, muscular forms were the admiration, the wonder of the ancient world. All the Roman writers agree as to the tremendous height and strength and physical perfection of the Germans. Their average stature is placed as high as seven feet, though it is likely that this estimate is excessive. Cæsar has told us of the great size of the Gaulish warriors whom he met in his northern campaigns, and how they were wont to make sport of the diminutive Roman soldiers. As much as the Gauls overtopped the Romans, so much did the Germans surpass the Gauls in magnificence and strength. They were a race of Titans. This is shown in the tremendous armor and weapons which the dead Teutonic giants have left to the gaze of modern times. The habit of life tended apparently to stimulate the bodily powers and bring them to full development.

The whole life of the German was passed out of doors. The open, vital air was inhaled in great draughts and expelled as if from an engine. The body was broad and strong as well as tall. The shoulders were immense, the arms muscular, the breast like the breast of a buffalo. The body was white and smooth, ruddy in its glow. The cuticle was thin and transparent, and the red blood came everywhere to the surface. The eyes were fierce and blue, like the

glare of the cold sky of January. The hair was abundant, yellowish-red in color, long and wavy, flung back from



TITANIC FRAME OF THE GERMANS—ILLUSTRATED IN
ARMOR OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
From the Imperial Collection.

the brows. The mouth was rather small, the lips red, the chin prominent and well formed, the expression of the

Stature,
strength, and
bodily habit of
the race.

Form and fea-
tures of the
people.

face resolute, the cheeks aglow, the attitude full of defiance and daring, the whole person braced as if for exertion, standing like one who would assail or be assailed, and who would die in his tracks sooner than yield his ground.

No other race of men have been characterized with greater vigor and vitality

law of sexual preference which the scientists of our age have clearly pointed out worked strongly among the German men and women, bringing up by successive increments to a maximum of strength and beauty all the elements of bodily perfection. The strongest and greatest men were most admired. Many



A JUNO OF THE NORTHERN WOODS.—DRUSUS ON THE ELBE.—Drawn by Bendermann.

than the Germans. Doubtless the law of natural selection, the survival of the fittest, had much to do with the egregious development of the Teutonic peoples. The weak members, as we have seen, were allowed to die. Imperfect and deformed children were cast away. The aged and infirm either committed suicide or were thrust through with a spear. Only the perfect procreated. Only the perfect multiplied. The strongest everywhere prevailed. The

Great vitality of the Germans; the women.

of the German women were like the mythical goddesses. They were the Junos of the northern woods. The hair that fell back from their brows in heavy masses over their shoulders and backs was like a shower of sunset. Such creatures in their highest form were sought by the strong men of the race, and thus each tribe and nation was developed through ages of natural selection to the perfection which was found by the men of the south on their first visits to the German wilds.

BOAR HUNT OF THE GERMANS.—After the painting by Benno Adam.



Doubtless many of the habits of the German race were little conducive to the perfection and the longevity of the people. The question of drink is still a problem among mankind. Whether stimulants can be taken under any circumstances with advantage, whether certain kinds of beverages containing the intoxicating principle may be used by certain peoples and under certain conditions, is still a question which physiologists rather than moralists have to determine. However it may be decided, it is certain that the primitive Germans were profoundly addicted to drink. At all their feasts they imbibed profoundly of the rude drinks which they knew how to prepare. The national beverage, as it is to the present day, was a kind of beer or ale. Pliny has given an account of its preparation. He says that the liquor was made of steeped grain. "Thus," says he, "drunkenness is a stranger to no part of the world. These liquors are taken pure and not diluted, as is our wine. Surely the earth *thought* she was producing corn, but mark the astonishing sagacity of our vices. We have discovered how to render even water intoxicating."

At their tables the German warriors poured down this coarse drink drained from the malt of barley or wheat by fermentation. Deep were their potations. Under the stimulus of the drink all their secret emotions came to the surface. Then it was that clamor arose around the rude tables of the barbarians. Then each nature displayed itself in its true intent and purpose. Then all dissembling was put aside. Then the chiefs proposed and the tribe voted to go to war or to make peace with the enemy. Then it was that the slumbering ani-

mosities which had become ethnic by long perpetuity burst out in little jets of flame. Then it was that the old tribal attachments, the friendships of man for man, the race-love of the German people, flamed like a conflagration at each barbarian festival.

It was in the nature of this German race to seek and to find, by whatever means, some stimulus, some excitement, that might rouse their heavy powers into vigorous actions. Their manners and customs must all be explained in the light of this principle. The blood must be in some way set to boiling through the veins. The brain must be fired, the spirits exhilarated. War with the northern nations was a passion rather because it gave excitement than because it gave conquest and advantage. The sports and spectacles of the rude men of the German woods had the same explanation. The young men of each tribe were wont to invent and practice such amusement as had in it the element of danger. They would expose themselves to the deepest peril, simply for the excitement which came of the hazard. They thought nothing of putting their lives on the stake if by any means they themselves and the spectators might feel the thrill of the wild experiment.

The youth were wont to dance naked through an array of drawn swords and firm-set spears. A false step was death. We have seen in our own age such jugglery, but all ways with the hope of gain. With the young Germans it was pleasure only. So, also, in their play. In throwing dice or in practicing any other game of hazard, the excitement of the players rose to a desperate pitch. One thing after another was staked upon the die and lost; and, finally, their own per-

Drink habits of the Teutonic barbarians.

Uproar and busi-ness of the drinking feast.

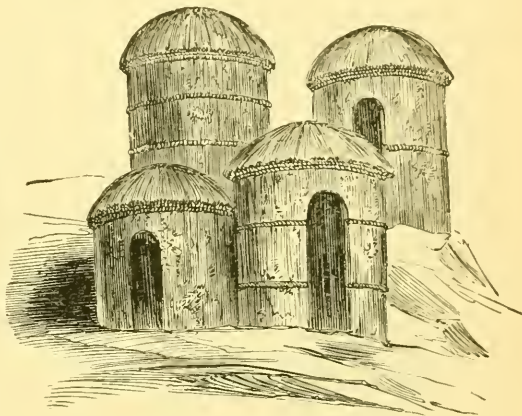
Heavy faculties of the Germans aroused by stimulation.

Love of hazard leads to loss of freedom.

sons and their liberty were hazarded in the last throw, and with a reckless desperation for which we may find no parallel. Liberty thus lost, servitude was accepted. Young men, strong as the Titans, in the full prime of youth, suffered themselves to be bound and sold because they had lost themselves at dice! Here the honor of the race stood them well in hand. They would suffer slavery rather than break their words. Those whose personal liberty had thus been forfeited were bartered away in commerce, for it was reckoned that the winner, though he might in accordance with the usages of the race claim his wage, had acquired a scandalous gain of which he must free himself as soon as possible. Those whose freedom had thus been lost, who by the hazards of gaming had sunk to the condition of bondmen, were in a worse condition than the other slaves of the tribe. The latter had, for each family, a habitation and a household. Their condition was serfdom rather than slavery. The bondmen were the tenants of the lord, and the subjection of the slave-class extended no further. But they whose liberty had been lost in gaming might be sold as are the chattel slaves among modern nations.

The land system of the Germanic nations had strict respect to their manner and theory of life. We have already pointed out the three pursuits which absorbed the energies of the German race. These were war, the chase, and to a limited extent the cultivation of the soil. The last was the irksome part of life. The first two vocations constituted its pleasures and gave its gain. Agriculture was practiced no further than the raising of a limited amount of corn; that is, rye and barley and wheat. In the production of this, slave labor was as

much used as possible. Such was the disesteem of agriculture that fee simple ownership of the soil was at first unknown. It might have been expected that under the German theory of citizenship the lands would be owned in fee, but another part of the system forbade it. The land in the beginning belonged to the tribes. Each nation had its own district, its own territorial boundaries, which were observed with tolerable strictness.



ANCIENT GERMAN HOUSES.
From the column of Antoninus.

Within the given limits the lands were annually allotted to the owners, that is, the arable lands; for the wild lands were held in common and reserved for the free chase to all the Germans. In the annual exchange of plowlands, a part was each year left as fallow ground. The forms of industry as practiced by the barbarians were clumsy in the last degree. No effort was made to increase or even preserve the fertility of the soil. It may even be doubted whether the Germans were aware of the fact that the soil is exhausted under cultivation. It is said by Cæsar that the reason for this constant interchange of land among the different tribes of the nation and among the individuals of a given tribe was to prevent the formation

The three leading vocations of the German people.

Management of the lands by the German barbarians.

of those local attachments which would inevitably lead to the settled state, and which by so doing must weaken the warlike spirit of the people, tending to substitute peaceful pursuits and a fixed residence for the manly and exciting vocation of war.

valor, and strength. At a very early epoch this indifference to property and the anticommercial instincts of the Germanic nations began to express themselves in several circumstances of development. First, it forbade the building of cities. To the present day the an-



GERMAN HORSEMEN.—Drawn by Herman Vogel.

The people had very little regard for property. They did not seek to amass wealth, to heap up around themselves great fortunes. Property was regarded as something to be used in the support of life, not something to be accumulated. The inheritance which the German sought to leave to his children was the ideal property of courage, freedom,

ancient preference for the open country or for small collections of hamlets has prevailed among the Teutonic peoples. They did not take kindly to the metropolis. At the bottom it was the sense of confinement always coming with the city life that forbade the collection of the German freemen in great towns and municipalities.

The same thing was seen in the dislike

Sentiment respecting property and trade for gain.

of the race for walls. It was preferred among all the German tribes that there should be no wall built either for protection or as a means of offense. To the free barbarian the wall appeared as a *thus far* to all his excursions. It seemed the ocean shore, the end of the world; and he dreaded it as a physical limitation to his liberties. He would be unconfined in his goings forth. He would have no cities. He would not degrade himself by trade for gain. He would have no great mass of property heaped up and stored, as though his independence and importance as a member of his nation depended on so fictitious and perishable a circumstance. The average wealth of the German freeman would be thought the extreme of poverty if set down on the tax duplicates of a modern state. Owing to the constant interchange of position with the annual transference of lands, the huts in which the people lived were of little value or durability.

Each householder, as a rule, possessed a few cattle which he had raised for himself, drawn from the common herd or taken in war. These had several values. He drew the milk of the cows for drink and for the making of sour cheese, ate the flesh for beef—preferring it half raw—and yoked the bullocks as oxen to draw his rude wagons and sledges through the woods. Cattle constituted the chief movable property of the German estate. The name of cattle was transferred to property in general. The raising of the rude herd was associated with the system of serfdom. The name *Lassi*, which the Germans gave to their slaves, was in the Frankish dialect *Liti*, and in modern German the name has reappeared in the

Antipathy of the Germans to walls and defenses.

word *Leute*, meaning the common people. Cattle are called *rich*, which stands for the ancient word *fe*, meaning the same thing; and from this comes the word fief, the old word feod, meaning personal property. The nomenclature has preserved the history of the ancient condition, just as the Latin word *pecunia*, from *pecus*, a herd, shows conclusively that among the primitive Romans also the old sense of movable property was limited to cattle and flock.

The German's horse was a part of his preparation as a warrior. It was about the horse that his affections and pride were largely centered. The German cavalry is fully described by the Roman writers. It was a swift-moving, formidable body of troops, numerous, audacious, well disciplined, both man and horse, terrible in its barbarian evolutions and charges. The horse was regarded with a respect that was half sacred. It was by him that one of the strongest oaths was taken. The Germans were not wont to swear by things which they could not see. Cæsar has told us that the same principle determined the objects which they mostly worshiped. They were little disposed to pray to beings whom they could not behold, by whose assistance they were not manifestly benefited. When it came to the oath, the Germans were wont to say, "I swear by the deck of this ship; by the rim of my shield; by the head of my spear; by the withers of my horse; that the thing is true, that I will observe my promise," or whatever the oath might be.

Treatment of the horse and manner of oath taking.

Under every element and aspect of German life lay a concept of practicality, a sense of realism, more intense than we shall find among any contemporaneous people. Even their mythology

was with difficulty maintained above the level of earthly heroism. Life was regarded as a thing practical in the last degree. It was an estate to be enjoyed. If the primitive German could have been brought to an understanding

Predominance
of realism and
practicality.

folly of such a thought. To him life was life and death was death. He idealized not the one or the other.

The funeral ceremonies of the Germans were the simplest known among the ancient nations. Ordinarily it consisted of burial or burning. When eminent

chiefs died or were slain in battle, their bodies were burned with some particular kinds of wood; but there was no heaping of the garments of the dead upon the funeral pyre, no scattering of perfumes in the flames. Sometimes the armor of the dead warrior was burned with his body. Sometimes his horse was offered as a gift in the flames. The tomb was simply a mound of earth, soon sinking to the level of the plain or woodland. It was regarded as a weakness to express great sorrow for the dead. The women were permitted to indulge in tears and lamentations, but for no long time. The theory of the men was that the vir-



BURIAL OF A SUEVIAN WARRIOR.
Drawn by H. Leutermann.

of what was meant by life as a preparatory stage of discipline for some other condition which he had not seen, he would have laughed aloud at the

tues of the dead should be remembered and imitated, but that no unmanly sorrow, no vain expression of regret should be

Funeral meth-
ods and senti-
ments of the
Germans.

indulged in for the necessary departure of friends or ancestors.

Another evidence of the absence of the commercial instinct among the Germanic nations is found in the feebleness and primitive character of all trade among them. There was in the earliest

Absence of the commercial spirit in the ancient race.

time no commerce at all except by barter. Everything was exchanged in kind—one piece of property merely swapped for another which was reckoned of equal value. Money was scarcely known among the German races when the Romans first knew them, and the introduction of money was looked upon with some suspicion. The German mind did not readily apprehend the “dollar of account.” The specie value of coin they better under-

stood, and they came at length to know the pure from the alloyed coins in circulation among the Romans. Such a process as dealing in money was unknown. If money or any other property were loaned, it was with the understanding that the same would be returned in kind, or at most in equiv-

alent value. The taking of interest was a process with which the people were totally unacquainted, and it is likely that the Germanic nature would have rejected all usurious usage as impolitic and dishonest.

We have spoken of the manner in which the lands were divided out by



WORKSHOP OF A GERMAN ARMORER.
From a wood cut by Hans Burgkmair.

the chieftains among the warriors. Such division was the beginning of the two-fold method by which land- Evolution of allodial title; “from God and from the sun.”
ed property in after times was held. The principle of hereditary right was acknowledged among the Teutonic nations, and led at length to the transmission of real prop-

erty from father to son. It thus hap-
pened that hereditary, or freehold,

the name of *allod* was given, and it came
to be regarded as a high honor to possess
such freehold lands. In course of time
the German freeholder—after the hunt-
ing life had given place to settled pur-
suits—was strongly attached to his
allodial possessions. Generally the orig-
inal title by conquest or gift was lost in
the obscurity of barbarism; but the long
transmissions from father to son had
made good any defect in title. The
German freeholders were accustomed to
say that their allodial lands were re-
ceived “from God and from the sun.”

The multitude of these *sonnenleichen*, or
freehold, estates in Germany was one of
the circumstances which kept the people
apart and prevented their aggregations
in cities. Each man built his house on his own free-
hold. It was an Aryan abode in every particular, constructed of
wood, consisting generally of one large
apartment, called the hall, or *saal*. In
the center of this was the hearth, and
here the German wife had her seat and
her dominion. Round about was a gar-
den, a cornfield, perhaps a meadow.
The boundaries of the estate were
marked with stones and trees. One of
the odd German customs was to assem-
ble the children of the neighborhood on
the occasion of establishing a land bound-
ary, and of boxing their ears, under the
belief that by the infliction of the pain
memory would be more tenacious in
recalling the place where the stone was
set up or the tree notched to indicate the
boundary.

When an allod, or freehold estate, had
once been acquired, it could not be alien-
ated without the consent of the whole family. The
king could not take it away. The freeholder was himself a king with-
in the limits of his estate. Though the



GERMAN WORKMANSHIP OF THE TENTH CENTURY—
IVORY PLATE FOR BOOK COVER.
Carved by the Abbot Tutilo.

estates came into possession of many
German families. To these properties

The German
hearthstone;
establishment
of boundaries.

The freeholds of
the people might
not be alienated

settled German no longer wandered from place to place, though he had surrendered his barbarian license and had become a householder, he nevertheless sought and found compensation by claiming a complete prerogative on his own land. Within his boundary his person was inviolate; so also the guest that was in his house. The German home became a fortress. Not, indeed, that it was a fortified place, but it was girt around with prerogative and right. Here it was that those principles and theories of inviolability of a man's home which have entered so largely into the jurisprudence of all the Teutonic races had their origin. Here it was first said that every man's house is his castle. Here, also, the principle came to be recognized of a male descent from father to son—of that Salic principle which transmitted landed property in the male line exclusively, as best preservative of the rights, privileges, and character of the race.

The German family in the epoch here described was called a *sippe*, and the general condition was *sippschaft*, or *mag-*
Constitution and relationships of the German family. *schaft*. The family had a rather broad construction, though all the members must be of a common blood. It was divided into *kinsmen*, called *schwertmagen*,

who were the warriors; and *kinswomen*, called *spillmagen*, who were expected to perform all household duties, especially the work of spinning. Sometimes art work was attempted, and we have examples of not inelegant ivory carving executed by ancient German artists. Of the whole group, the father, as the legal head, was called the *Mund*, the mouth, for he spoke for all, the slaves included. The tie which bound the members of the family to him was called the *bann*. All the kinsmen were under the *bann* of the father. If any member of the family entered foreign service or married, he became what was called *mundig*, or *selbsmundig*. That is, he spoke for himself henceforth, and was independent. On going forth he received a certain property, which was called his *abban*, or appanage. Those who continued unmarried remained under the *bann* of the father. They might not leave his home or estate without his permission. One who to old age thus remained under the paternal *bann* was said to be a *hagestolzer*; that is, one who had become proud (*stolz*) of the hedge (*hag*); that is, a bachelor. Thus is revealed, as we have said, in the phraseology of the German household the history of its organization and peculiar character.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—SPIRIT OF WAR.



It is one of the difficulties of ethnological and historical inquiry that much of the language employed, though properly expressed, conveys a modern

rather than an ancient thought. The reader must always be on the alert to

In what manner the predatory life may sustain itself.

get the proper linguistic and historical perspective.

He must acquaint himself

with the ancient facts to which modern phraseology is applied. This is illustrated in the saying that the principal business of the Germanic peoples was war. How could war be the principal business of any tribe or nation? Very easily, when we consider the whole environment. The predatory life is capable of sustaining itself by what it preys on. From remote antiquity most members of the human kind have been sufficiently provident to gather round their huts a certain amount of the means of subsistence. Every tribe has in the aggregate a considerable sum of property. In barbarous ages, as we have seen, the leading value of a tribe is in its flocks and herds. It is thus possible for one tribe to fall upon another in war and take away its property. The vanquished people are in part destroyed, some by actual violence, others by starvation. But it is in the nature of life to revive. It is also a law of the natural world that the more life is crowded to the wall, the more vigorous is the reviving impulse. When a race of animals is pressed to the very verge of extinction, the rate of reproduction is increased to make up for the deficiency.

Among the tribes of men it is the same. War always repairs its own damages. The history of modern warfare proves conclusively that the vacuum in

War destroys and nature repairs the waste.

the population is supplied immediately by a natural law of increase. This is true of the barbarous as well as of the civilized condition. It was thus possible for the ancient races to maintain themselves by the paradox of destruction. The ancient Germans were a conspicuous example of this principle and its workings. They made war perpetually on their neighbors. They ravaged and killed and took captive both man and beast. But around all the selvage of Germania the wounds of battle healed as soon as they were made; and the condition for new campaigns was at once prepared. We have seen something of this in the aboriginal tribe life of North America. The Indians were almost continually at war, but never reached extermination.

The military life was so predominant among the Teutonic races as to give character to all the aspects of society. The king of the nation was simply a military chieftain on an enlarged scale. He differed in no essential particular from the petty chief who commanded a clan. He was elected in the same manner by the German warriors. When a campaign was to be undertaken, the chief who had shown himself valorous and able to conduct an expedition was lifted by the freemen on their shields. That was his election. The king was chosen in precisely the same way by the chiefs. The king was the chieftain of the na-

The king a superior chieftain; manner of his election.

tion, as the chieftain was the king of a tribe.

Among no other people with whom we are acquainted was the fact of government in peace so nearly a myth. It consisted of nothing. Caesar declares in so many words that they had no civil magistrates, or at least no common magistracy. This fact is of the greatest philosophical importance in the consideration of the general question of civil government. Whether government is a large fact or a small fact in the destiny of nations may turn upon data, of which the Germans must furnish many. The race has always had a repugnance to much government. Instead of considering it a vast organism, pressing like the weight of mountains upon all parts of society, holding everything in

On the Teutonic races government must sit lightly.

form with rigor and severity, and in turn sucking up, by administrative processes, the resources of the national life, the German theory was that gov-

ernment in peace consisted of the slightest possible bond, resting lightly as a gossamer upon the individual life. We have seen the perpetuation of the same idea among our own barbarian ancestry. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain adopted



GERMAN VILLAGE ATTACKED BY FREEBOOTERS.
From a cut of the fifteenth century.

and promoted the principle of little government, and it was a maxim with them, as it has been with their civilized descendants, that the man who speaks English does best in the world when he is least governed.

Tacitus has given us a description of the German battle. The offensive and

The manufacture of iron weapons was but little understood. The refractory nature of iron ore was too much for the skill of the Germanic smiths. But iron

Weaponry and war method of the Germans.

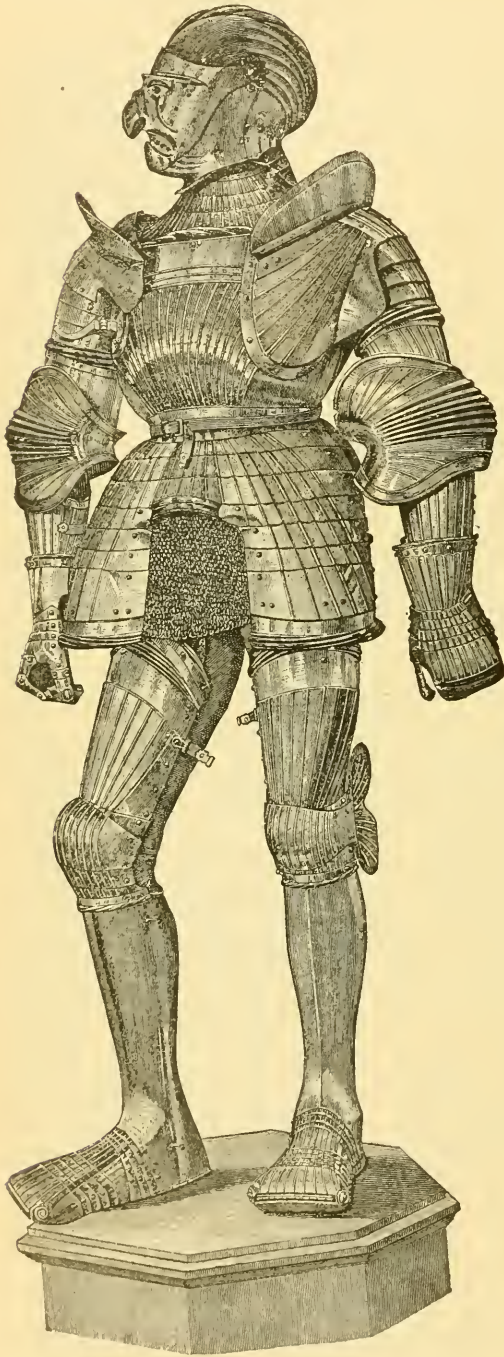
weapons were used; at least the essential parts of the weapons, such as lance-heads and sword blades, were made of this metal. The cavalry had only the spear and the shield. The German spear was of the intermediate character between the javelin and the long spear of the Macedonians and Greeks. It might be used in the hand-to-hand encounter or be hurled as a missile against the enemy. The bodies of the soldiers in battle were little protected. The Roman historian says, indeed, that they were either naked or but lightly covered with a small mantle. Only their shields were richly ornamented with decorations and choice colors.

Plutarch has, in his *Life of Marius*, described the arms and equipage of the Cimbri, one of the Germanic nations. He speaks of helmets which the barbarians wore, made in representation of heads of wild beasts, and also alleges that the warriors were covered with iron coats of mail. "They carried," says he, "white, glittering shields. Each had a battle-ax, and in close fight they used large, heavy swords." This description must have been of the chieftains rather than of the common warriors, else we might conclude that Plutarch had substituted an imaginary sketch for a real delineation.

Plutarch describes the armor and manner of fighting.

In the cavalry service the evolutions were comparatively simple. The principle movements were the direct forward charge and the wheel to the right. The

Tactics of the battlefield; sacredness of the shield.



MAIL OF CIMBRIAN WARRIOR.
From the original in museum of Vienna.

defensive weaponry consisted mostly of a shield, a spear, and a short sword.

array was close, and the aim was to sweep away the enemy as much by the

impact of the body as by fight. Each district had its own soldiery. The warriors were arranged by hundreds, and each company was distinguished by the home name of the tribe from which it was drawn. The honor in which this name was held was increased by victory or sullied by defeat. Tacitus describes the German battle-line as arranged in wedges. The principal stratagem was that of pretended retreat, which was meant to draw the enemy in pursuit, whereupon the Germans would suddenly rally with extreme audacity. As among the Greeks, it was reckoned the greatest disgrace to lose the shield. To yield it up in battle, to permit the enemy in any way to possess himself of this great badge of the warrior, was considered ignominious in the last degree. It was no unusual thing for German soldiers, who had in the *mêlée* of battle lost their shields and were unable after the fight to recover them, to commit suicide rather than suffer the infamy of returning defenseless to their friends.

agraph descriptive of this method of fight:

"There was also this method of battle in which the Germans trained themselves: there were six thousand cavalry and the same number of infantry, most swift of foot and brave, whom the horsemen had chosen, one by one, with a view to their own protection. By the side of these they remain in the battle, and to these the horsemen betake themselves from the fight. These, if the cavalry be



GERMAN CAVALRY.
From the Column of Antoninus.

Cæsar gives an account of the leading peculiarity of the German battle-line and method of fight. It

Equalization of
the horse and the
foot in battle.

was the equalization of the foot and the horse in such way that each might support the other in the conflict. Among other nations the rapidity with which cavalry evolutions were performed would preclude the association of the two arms of the service. But such was the exceeding swiftness of the German warriors, that they had no trouble in keeping their place by the side of the cavalry in full charge. Cæsar has the following par-

hard pressed, join them in the combat. If any fall, wounded, from their horses, they are covered by their foot companions. In advancing and retreating, even to considerable distances, such agility have these warriors acquired by exercise that, supporting themselves by the manes of the horses, they keep pace with them in the field."

German warfare, such as it was during the first five centuries of our era, may be considered under the two aspects of offensive and defensive. On some occasions the warriors went forth on expedi-

Offensive and
defensive as-
pects of Ger-
man war.

tions against their neighbors, even the Romans, and attacked them, generally achieving victory and bearing off the

For several centuries there was hardly ever a condition of peace along the frontier. The Romans became thoroughly

familiar with the German tactics and their ethics and management of war. The Germans also learned all that the empire had to teach in its dealings with enemies. We first see the peculiarities of the situation on the occasion of Cæsar's invasion of Gaul. The nations defended themselves by falling back before the Roman advance and fixing their armies in some place defensible by nature. It must be borne in mind that not only the warriors but all the people of the tribe were aggregated in these situations. The old and decrepit were there, the women and the children. The same condition of affairs reappeared in the German campaigns. The battle was not only



GERMAN FORAY INTO ROMAN SETTLEMENT.

spoil. In rarer instances Germania was invaded. The aggressions of the race upon the Roman empire provoked attacks not a few of the imperial legions.

with the warriors who formed a phalanx in front of the families and property of the nation, or perhaps were arranged around the women and chil-

dren and wagons, but rather with the nation itself. Everything was staked on the hazard of battle.

These circumstances added to the fierceness of the conflict. The warriors were inspired to extraordinary bravery by the presence of everything which could move strong men to heroic action. In the first place there were their standards. It is not known precisely what

The effigies, or standard; singing of the pæan.

head, or some other effigy which had been adopted by the tribe as a symbol.

The German warriors as they went into the fight sang pæans and battle songs. All of the Aryan races have had this habit. The old German strophes referred in their subject-matter to the valor and victories of the fathers of the race. It is said by the Roman writers that the sound of a German battle hymn was terrific, not better cal-



GERMAN WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR WAGON CASTLES.—Drawn by Ehrhardt.

the *effigies*, or standard, of a German war party was. Some have thought that it was an image of some deity borne aloft, but this is probably incorrect. The shaft of the standard was cut from the sacred woods, and had a mythical signification as being a growth from the shrine of the national superstitions. It is likely that the *effigies* proper on the top of the shaft was some emblem, like the totem of the North American Indians. It may have been a bird or beast, a figure of a bison's

culated to fire the wild warriors to ferocity than to strike terror into their enemies. The barbarians in singing their war hymns had a way of putting their mouths into the hollow of their shields, thus causing the song to roar like thunder in the horizon.

But the great inspiring circumstance of the German battle was the presence of the women. Sometimes they participated in the actual fight. On many fields the Romans, after the battle,

found dead women along with their husbands and brothers, gashed to death in the conflict, grasping the same weapons which the soldiers held, and wearing on their resolute features the same scowl of defiance. More frequently, however, the women remained, as we have seen, in the rear of the men or in the center

Presence and influence of the German women in battle.

the rude arts which they understood. It is said by the Romans that no faintheartedness was seen among these barbarian heroines in the bloody war business of the field. They shouted their husbands back to battle. They ran with disheveled hair along the lines, flinging their hands and shrieking their approval of the heroic charge or their contempt of



GERMAN VICTORS AT THE GATE OF THE CAPITOL.—Drawn by Herman Vogel.

of the camp, but in plain view of the battle. It was not the custom of the German soldiers to pay much attention to the wounded and slain while the fight was on. Every man must care for himself as best he could. Those, however, who received wounds and were still able to remain afoot fell back, if the injury was alarming, to the women, who acted as surgeons. The latter sought out the injuries which the men most dear to them had received, and bound them up with

the retreat. Little wonder that the German warrior, entertaining such sentiments as constituted the body of his hopes and purposes, should prefer under such circumstances to die in the front line, under his shield and the thrust of the Roman sword, rather than give an inch to the enemies of his race, who in case of victory were certain to capture and despoil the woman whom he loved with a wild and indescribable ferocity.

We may note among the great barba-

rian nations of Germania the presence and prevalence of what *à priori* might not

Prevalence of public opinion in the affairs of the race.

have been expected; that is, a powerful public opinion.

It is doubtful whether, on the whole, that intangible and frequently prevailing factor in the course and action of modern nations which we call public opinion is relatively more strong at the present time than it was at the opening of the Christian era among the

and the earth in this case stands for the people.

The officers of the German race understood full well the relations existing between themselves and those whom they governed, or rather led, in war and peace. The German priests were the most arbitrary and independent class of officers. To them in general the matter of punishments was relegated. But

Prerogative and manner of the German kings and leaders.



WOMEN OF THE CIMBRI IN BATTLE.—Drawn by Ehrhardt.

rude peoples beyond the Danube and the Rhine. We have seen how little these races were governed; how slightly they were restrained by those artificial regulations which in the aggregate make up the fact called government. And yet their customs and usages prevailed over all irregularity. Customs and usages are the product of public opinion. They are not made, but are the result of growth. They spring from the earth;

the secular officers and military leaders were under the prevailing check of public opinion. There was never a time when the German warrior, individual and obscure though he were, lost his voice, or, to express it in the German sense, ceased to be in a certain measure *mundig*—independent. The Romans were at first puzzled to understand these peculiarities of the German race. Cæsar in his first negotiations with the Gaulish

and German kings beyond the Alps doubted their sincerity. He believed them treacherous and perfidious when they endeavored to explain to him the

well be cited as an example. He told Cæsar in the conference that he, as king of his nation, had no more power over them to command them and lead them in

an arbitrary manner than had they over him. Snorri-Sturluson, the celebrated Icelandic historian, of the beginning of the thirteenth century, gives an account of one of the old kings of Sweden who was compelled by the popular assembly to give up a war in which he was engaged with a neighboring nation because of its *injustice*! When he was disposed to stand out against the will of his people, they threatened to throw him headlong into a morass, "*where many of his predecessors had already perished*," if he did not yield to their wishes and decision! It was only the repetition at a later age of the immemorial sentiment and manner of the ancient Germanic race. That race,



THE NORSE MYTH—OSERICH AND ODA.

usages of their people and their own relation in the government. The example of Ambiorix, leader of that Low German nation called the Eburones, may

though it has been submitted to manifold despotisms, has always required the ruler to be one of the people—a German.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—MYTHOLOGY.



WE may now properly approach the subject of German superstitions. What, in the first place, is a superstition? The word has gone into the vocabulary of modern peoples, and is much used for a certain kind of belief and practice.

There are those who would widen the sense of the word to include all forms of belief which are based on evidences not demonstrable to the senses. To believe what may be seen and no more is in this case the criterion, and all beyond

Nature and definitions of the fact called superstition.

this is called superstition.

At the other extreme the definition of the word is narrowed so that it shall signify only such idle conceits and concepts as are manifestly against the action of natural law. Between these two far-apart limits the word superstition expresses the varying degrees of belief in extra-natural agencies, and the acceptance of irrational traditions, as against the facts which are perceived by the senses and the known laws of phenomena operating in the natural world.¹ The latter is the popular sense of the term, and it is in this meaning that we use the word in its application to the beliefs and usages of the Germanic nations.

They were in a great degree given up to superstitions. The Germanic mind

The German mind dominated by superstitious beliefs.

has from the first been haunted with many forms of belief, the origin of

which it is difficult to account for, and the presence of which in a mind so highly developed is one of the paradoxes of the intellectual history of mankind.

One thing we may clearly perceive, and that is that the superstitions of every people are in the last analysis closely associated with those forms of life, whether animal or vegetable, that have been *most constantly present* to the mind of the people in its barbarian and plastic stages of growth. One may easily perceive the operation of this law among the ancient Germans.

One of the leading forms of the superstition of the race had respect to divination. The method of conducting this art was by the use of switches

Manner of divination with the twigs and switches.

or twigs cut from fruit trees. The belief in the significance of such omens as could be discovered in the arrangement and manipulation of the twigs and in the significance of lots was universal. Public and private matters were determined by the meaning of the twigs. If the question were a public one, the priest of the canton performed the ceremony. If it were private, the householder conducted the divination. The twigs were cut into small pieces and thrown into a heap upon a white garment. Then the priest or the houseman prayed to the gods and took thrice from the heap pieces of the twigs. These were distinguished by certain marks,¹ and the meaning of the marks gave the answer to the pending question.

If the divination were unfavorable, it might not be renewed within a certain period, either a day, a week, or a month. If favorable, it was the custom of the people to strengthen the conclusion by

Augury from superstition of the white horse.

¹ Perhaps it was the *buds* on the twigs, their number and relation, that gave the significance.

following it up with other omens. We thus see that the first appeal of Germanic superstition was to the twig of the tree. The second appeal was in the form of augury, caught from the cries and flight of birds. The people also relied greatly upon omens and presages taken from the horse. A white horse was regarded with superstitious respect. It



GERMAN SUPERSTITION—WITCHES BREWING A CHARM.
After a wood cut in Ulrich's *Witches*, Augsburg, 1508.

was the custom that such an animal should be pastured at the public expense; that he should run free in the sacred woods and groves, and should never be subjected to toil or rough usage. The priests were wont to harness white horses to their chariots. The kings also were drawn on their missions by white steeds. The conduct of the ani-

mals was closely observed and interpreted. Did they start at an object or snort or neigh, the principles of augury were applied and a meaning deduced. The German priests were held to have the lore of the gods as it respected the conduct of the animal, and, as Tacitus says, to be "privy to the divine will." There was another form of divination which involved the fight to the uttermost of a prisoner taken in war with a German soldier selected for the purpose. Each must meet the other with the weapons which were carried by his own people. The result of the battle was significant of larger events.

The German mind looking forth on nature was cause-seeking to a high degree; but it was exceedingly weak in following the laws of phenomena, in discovering the order and sequence of facts. At the same time, it was prolific in conceits, falling easily into the common error of assigning causative influences to merely associated facts. Out of these dispositions a vast and curious lore was originated among the Germanic nations, and has continued to be one of the characteristics of the race to the present time. Perhaps no other people in the world have been so addicted in all ages to ascribing irrational and impossible causes for the common occurrences of life. The ancient Germans invented a lore for all things and all processes. The lore became proverbial, and was repeated with the force of authority. The thought was filled with the doctrine of signs and omens and presages of coming events. Everything had its sign. There was one lore of the weather and another lore of the seasons; there was a lore of disease and of the cure of disease; and still another of success and failure. The days of the week and of the month had

The Germanic
race substitutes
lore for science.

their significance. The whole intellectual life of this free strong people was hampered and confined and weighed down by a mass of petty superstitions for the like of which we might look in vain among any other ancient race.

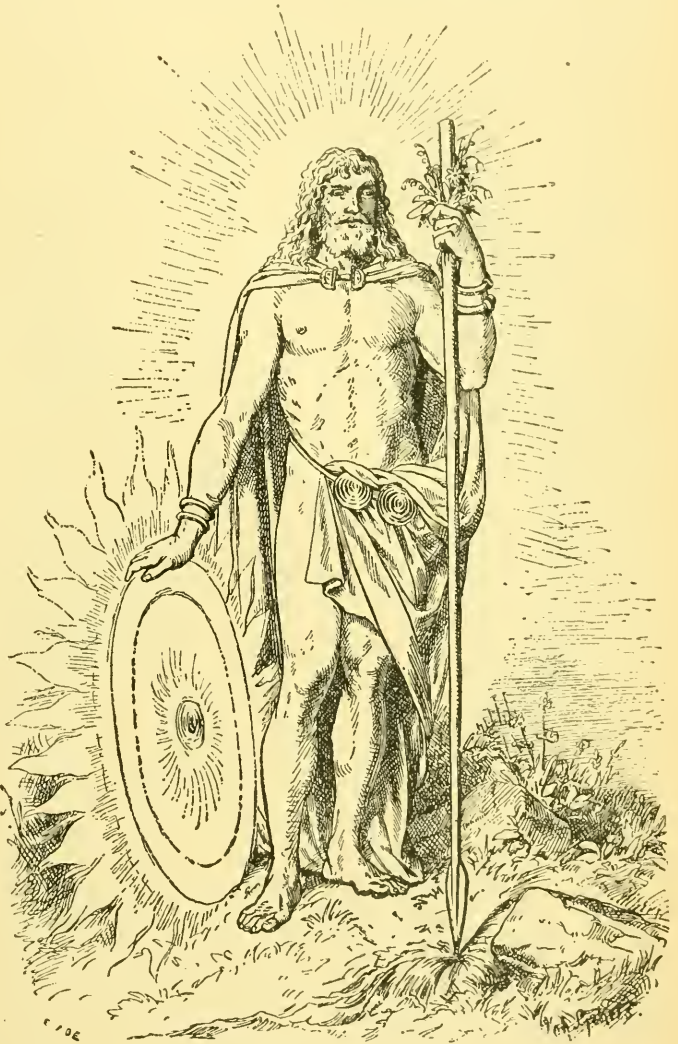
It were vain to attempt to enumerate the forms and inflections of these superstitious

beliefs. The body of superstition; belief in signs.

ily life was protected by carrying certain objects in the pocket or otherwise about the person. Disease was warded off by the quill of a bird, the bone of an animal, or the root of a vegetable. The heavens were full of signs, and all of the affairs of life must be conducted in accordance with their significance. A house might not be begun when the moon had a certain aspect. The roof would fail of its purpose unless it were laid under the proper sign. Fences and walls would sink into the earth if the moon were inauspicious. Plants would not grow to perfection unless the day of the sowing were selected by the calendar. The fruits of the field would blast unless the sign-scheme had been followed when the seeds were scattered. A wound was dangerous or harmless as it was inflicted in the dark or the light of the moon, or when the "sign" was in the heart or the feet.

The actions of all animals were significant. The secret things were expressed in the cry of a cat or the howling of the house dog. Pigs were in their actions one of the highest expressions of the

laws of nature. Ground hogs and foxes were the meteorologists of the race. The course of running water far under ground could be discovered by a switch of witch hazel or of the peach tree, held in the hand of one whom nature favored



THE GERMAN MYTH—BALDER.

in this particular. A volume might not suffice to elaborate, even by titles, the endless catalogues of superstitious beliefs and practices to which the ancient Germans were addicted; and the reader need not be told to how great an extent such beliefs and practices have flowed

Supposed significance of the actions and cries of animals.

down with the blood of every Teutonic people, have mingled in the life of the greatest nations of the present time, and have tended to combine in the same

and folly combined in the same mind—must be referred for their origin and explanation.

From this point of view we may well

advance to the consideration of the German concept of universal nature. It was anciently a mythology, after the same manner with that of the Greeks and the Romans. And it may be freely confessed that the mythological beliefs of the German nations have been unseated from the human mind with extreme difficulty. Their notions of the natural world, of the universe, of its division into realms and powers, have been as persistent as the other qualities of the race. Not devoid of poetry either was the view of the German barbarians relative to the aspects, the processes, the fundamental conditions of visible nature. Some have thought that they have discovered in the sacred books of the *Edda* a purer and loftier concept of na-



THE GERMAN MYTH—FRIGGA.

mind the absurdities and superstitions of the ancient world with the highest concepts of scientific regularity. It is to this circumstance that many of the intellectual paradoxes of the present time—greatness and weakness, wisdom

and the governing forces of the material universe than were prevalent among the Germans at the time of their first contact with the southern peoples. Nor can it be denied that there are

Germanic concept of nature and its governing laws.

glimpses in the *Edda* of some lofty, almost monotheistic, concepts of nature and universal order.

According to these ancient books there was first of all the Allfadr, or in Old German, the Allfater; that is, the Allfather, or Father of All.

Outline of the
Teutonic the
ogony.

It may be believed that to him the primitive Germans, or at least the Norse division of the race, ascribed the attributes of creation and preservation. Close up to this high notion of unity and power were the three *Nornen*, corresponding to the Fates of the Greek and Roman mythology. It was under their immediate administration that the affairs of gods and men were administered in this temporal state called life. In the beginning Allfater reigned alone over heaven and earth. But as yet there was no division of things—only that condition of confusion for which the Greeks invented the name of chaos. Under the creative glance of Allfather the universe parted into two. The first division was Muspelheim, that is, the world of light. The other was Niflheim, the world of darkness. Over the world of light reigned Surtur, the same as the Anglo-Saxon Säter; and over the world of night, Hela.

Allfater decreed the mingling of these two worlds, or of the light and the darkness. Showers of fire fell

The generations
of Muspelheim
and Niflheim.

from Muspelheim into Niflheim, and the battle between fire and water began, between heat and cold. There was boiling and fermentation. Out of Niflheim sprang the giant Ymer, the god of brute force and violence; and out of Muspelheim the sacred cow Audhumla, the divinity of nourishment and preservation. Out of Ymer's feet issued a six-headed son, progenitor of the powers of cold and devastation; while the sacred cow, as we

have seen, licked the good deity Buri out of a rock of salt. He was the father of Bor, and of him were born the three brothers Wodin, Wile, and We. These beneficent giants slew the vile Ymer, and out of his body created the earth. Ymer's skull was used for the vault of heaven. His brains were the clouds, his hair was the forest, his bones the mountains, and his blood the sea. Such were the astonishing imaginations of the ancient barbarians relative to the genesis of the heavens and the earth.

Thus while the invisible universe was, in the German mythology, derived from the two worlds of light and darkness, over and beyond which stood Allfater,

The visible
world springs
from Ymer; em-
pire of Hela.

the visible universe was made wholly out of the body of Ymer. Above the visible heaven was Muspelheim. The sun and moon and stars were only glints of light shooting down out of Muspelheim through the firmament. On the other hand, far below the earth, was Niflheim. Hela, that is, Hell, was its king. Her abode—for she was woman—was Helheim. The myth was elaborate. The palace of Hela was misery. Her table was hunger. Her servant was delay. The threshold of the place was ruin. Hela slept on a bed called sorrow. The color of her realm was decay. The bad dead, on their going forth from the earth, must ride for nine nights together through dolorous valleys to the river Giöll. Over this a bridge led into Niflheim. All who had died as cowards die went this way into the world of darkness. Thieves and liars plunged down thither. In the bottom of Niflheim was a deep pit called Hvergelmir, which was built of the heads of snakes, still living, blowing forth unceasingly their poisonous spit on the condemned dead who wallowed in the bottom. In

course of time out of such materials Milton at least, if not Dante—son of another race—will build with more elaboration, but not with a profounder sense of horror, the caverns and sewers of the damned.

hence they came forth to minister to the children. The wood nymphs and the water nymphs were called Nixen, and the sylphs were the Undinen. Not without poetry was all this fiction, born of the Teutonic dreams and imagination.



THE GERMAN MYTH—HELA.

Between the Middle World and Muspelheim was an intermediate realm inhabited by good spirits.

Myths of Lich-
talfheim and the
starland.

This was the country of Lichtalfheim. Here the guardian genii dwelt. Here was fairy-land. Here the Little Folk dwelt; and

heim, the lands of the good elves and bad elves, that a great many of the

The fairies and
elves haunt the
land of Mann-
heim.

German superstitions were derived. Nearly all the plants and animals on the earth, that is, in the Middle World called Mannheim, were connected with

The stars were, as we have seen, the sparkling beams falling from Muspelheim. The sun was the eye of Wodin. The Great Dipper was Wodin's chariot. Day rode across the heaven in a car drawn by Skinfaxi, in whom the student will recognize the shining Phœbus Apollo of the Greeks. Skinfaxi had a mane of gold; that was the sunshine. Night also rode in a car drawn by the horse Hrimfaxi; and the mane of Hrimfaxi was the dew. Besides the realm of the good spirits lying between Muspelheim and the earth there was, on the other side, the world of the Black Elves, a demon folk who plagued the human race. This was the kingdom of Schwartalfheim, the dark region where the Kobolds dwelt and the other seductive spirits that haunted and troubled the children of men.

It was out of these two adjacent realms of Lichtalfheim and Schwartalf-



the bright fairies or the black elves. The significance of nearly every superstitious belief and practice ran in the direction of these elfish influences which reached man through the kingdoms of animal and vegetable life.



THE GERMAN MYTH—FREYR.

Many were the refinements which the primitive German mind produced in dividing up nature and apportioning to each its part and place. Thus Mannheim, the Home of Man, was divided into an upper and lower part. The upper part, called Asgard, was heaven—the heaven of gods and of men. Wodin's palace in Asgard was called Valhalla. Its shining windows looked out on Paradise. Within, the halls were ornamented with golden escutcheons

Valhalla the home of the great and blessed.

and lances. Five hundred and forty were the doors that led into Valhalla, and through each eight hundred heroes could ride abreast. The great warriors of Mannheim came hither after death and dwelt with Wodin. Daily they rode

forth into the plains to immortal tournaments done in honor of their heroic battles in Mannheim. With the evening they returned to Valhalla, sat in an immortal circle in the halls, drank ambrosial mead from golden goblets, and feasted on the flesh of the bear Sährimnir, who, though slain, was ever restored from day to day, that the deathless warriors might continue their feast on the morrow.

The rainbow was a bridge—of which the name was Bifrost—between Valhalla and the lower earth. Mannheim was believed to be a sphere surrounded by the ocean of Ymer's blood. The seas, the mountains, the forests were inhabited by dwarfs and elves and sprites, while in the mountains were the abodes of the sons of Ymer. In the far north dwelt the Ice Giants. The great god of the cold was called Njord, that is, North. The

wind god was named Kari. His children were frost and ice and snow. One of the giants had a daughter named Gerdha, who on winter nights shut the door of her castle. Then from within, the radiance of her white arms shined far through the windows, and illuminated all the skies; and this was the Northern Lights.

The rainbow bridges the chasm; Njord and Kari.

Thus on and on, with endless variations and inflections, the poem of nature was extended. Another daughter of the

North Giants, named Hvenilda, carried earth in her apron. Once, as she waded through the seas, a rent came in the apron, and some of the earth, falling into the water, formed an island. It was the island of Hven. Very different are the myths from those of Greece and Rome, and yet fundamentally the material is the same. Nor might it be truthfully claimed that the evolution of nature-poetry in the brains and on the tongues of the Græco-Italic bards was greatly superior in elegance and strength to that of the German song-makers in the north of Europe.

It is claimed by those who have made a study of comparative religion that the beliefs of the ancient Germans had many features in common with those of the Iranians in Persia. Thus, for instance, Surtur, the sun, born of Allfater, is thought to have been identical with Ahura-Mazdâo, chief deity of the Persian race. It is said that in the golden temple of Upsala the supreme god of the Germans was represented by a blazing sun. Many of the myths are some-

what obscure. Thus, the year was called Wolfgang; that is, the wolf going.

According to the Saga of the Wolf, in the *Edda*, a wolf swallows the sun, while another swallows Wodin. But the sun and Wodin were one. The sense of it is obscure. It is held that the primitive concept of Wodin was degraded to a lower and more human condition; as

among the Greeks and Romans, the Almighty Zeus, the Jovis Pater of heaven and earth, was reduced to a sensual despot sitting on Olympus. It is, however, in this process, somewhat polytheistic and wholly myth-making, that the poetry of a race is brought out in fullest perfection.

Mythologists insist that the best in-



THE GERMAN MYTH—FREYA.

Common features of the German and Iranian mythology.

what obscure. Thus, the year was called Wolfgang; that is, the wolf going.

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terpretation of the northern god-lore places Tuisco at the head of the Pantheon, and also identifies him with the

Contest of Tuisco and Wodin for first place in the myth.

Hermes, or Mercury, of the Græco-Italic scheme. But the attributes ascribed to Tuisco are not identical with those of the Greek Hermes. He was in part at least a Jove, while Wodin, the nominal Jove, appears partly in the character of

an earthly hero. The warlike habits and arts of the German race were from Wodin. He had the surname of Sigge, that is, Victory, from which circumstance the syllable *Sig* entered to a great extent the list of heroic names among the Germanic nations. To Wodin also is ascribed the invention of poetry.

tain were the bad and spurious bards. But upon Himmelsberg, that is, heaven mountain, where the eagle had his home, the true poets took the real honey from Wodin's beak. Thus came bad and good song into the earth.

Frigga was Wodin's wife. She was the Earth. After the introduction of

Christianity among the northern nations

Place of Frigga and Freya in the system; Frigga was transformed into Frau Thor and Tyr.

Bertha, the guardian genius of housewives and hearthstones. Sometimes, however, she had the character of darkness, and rode in the night, on Sleipnir, the eight-legged steed. Sometimes she was drawn by cows harnessed to a chariot. It is impossible to make the members of the Norse Pantheon coincide in their character and attributes with those of the southern mythology, but there is a general correspondence. In the same manner in which Wodin and Frigga were associated in the Jove-and-Juno relation of divinity, so Freyr, Wodin's son, and Freya, daughter of Njord, were joined. He was the Sunlight, and she was the Moonlight, also the goddess of love.

In her train were Siofna, Lofna, Wara, Snotra, and Gefion; that is, Maiden Love, Happy Love, True Love, Shame Love, and Innocent Love. Thus the orb of day and the orb of night were regarded as presiding over all the emotions and passions of the heart.

Thor was the Thunder. He was drawn through the air by black goats. In his hand he bore the hammer of destruction. He carried the great drink-



THE GERMAN MYTH—THOR.

The myth takes a quaint and withal a beautiful form. Wodin on one occasion came in the form of an eagle. He had devoured that honey in which dwells the poetical inspiration. From the honey-eating he rose and flew in the direction of Asgard, the kingdom of the immortals. But he was pursued in his flight. Some of the honey he dropped on Asen-berg, and ever afterwards the world-poets who took the dew from this moun-

ing horn out of which he had once drank up the ocean. The war god was called Tyr. He corresponded in his attributes to Mars of the Romans, but was endued with other offices peculiarly Teutonic.

There was also a deity called Widar, who presided over all locomotion. He wore iron shoes, and crushed all things under his feet as he strode through the earth.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—THE TEUTONIC DISTRIBUTION.



WE have now pursued to a considerable extent the evolution of the primitive life and thought of the Teutonic peoples. In the next place it is proper

to note briefly something of the tribal, or national, life of these great races. Much diversity has existed in the classification and arrangement of the German peoples. There has been disagreement and uncertainty relative to all the generic and specific names of the nations and tribes. Ethnologists have disagreed as to what is the best term for the whole race the course and tendencies and character of which we are here delineating.

At first, the highest ethnic name for all these peoples was Gothic, or Mæso-

Nomenclature employed in classification of German races.

Gothic. Afterwards, in historical writings, the term Germanic was applied to the race as a whole, including the Letto-Slavic division with the rest. In the next place, the question was raised whether the latter division, namely, the Letto-Slavs, should not be considered as having an independent race origin. Within the last quarter of a century the word Teutonic has been generally accepted as bearing a wide sense, equal indeed to the definition of the whole northern family of nations with the exception of the Celts and a few Asiatic peoples in the extreme north of Europe.

We may adopt the latter term as satisfactory, and consider it as the ethnic expression for all those populations and diverse races of men who have filled up the country between the line of the Volga on the east and the Danube and the Rhine on the west. Nor need the student in ethnology be reminded that out of this great region of Northern Europe the race continued to spread across the Baltic into Scandinavia, and from the shores of the North sea into Britain.

In the second place, it has been agreed that the distribution of the Teutonic race, considered as a whole, has been into three broad areas, the first corresponding to the larger part of the present Germany, the second having its position in Northwestern Europe, from the mouth of the Ems to the borders of France, and the third including the great Scandinavian peninsula and Iceland. Ethnically, the first region belongs to the High Germanic family of nations, the second to the Low Germanic, and the third to the Scandinavian, or Norse, division of the race. Anciently, each of these major divisions was represented by a multitude of tribes. We have seen how completely the whole race was tribal in its organization. Nor is it possible in the present state of knowledge to disentangle the ethnic complications which were present at the beginning of our era, and to state with

The threefold distribution of the Teutonic race.

certainly the exact place of each tribe in the general Germanic scheme.

If we view, first of all, those German nations which were south of the Baltic and the North sea, that is, if we exclude the Scandinavians, we shall find three general divisions. To these the names of Ingavones, Hermiones, and Istavones

Classification of the Germans proper; place of the Suevi.

heart and body of the race in its strongest development.

Of these, the greatest nation was the Suevi. It is believed that they constituted the majority of the whole Hermionic population. The attempt has been made, indeed, to trace all the German tribes to the two sources of Suevian and non-Suevian stock, and to make this division



THE NORTH SEA, FROM OSTEND.

were given. The first of these races had their territories along the North sea, and corresponded in general to the Low Germanic division of the race. The Istavones had their place on the Rhine, and became known in course of time by the name of Franks. The Hermiones were located in Central Germany, and may be said to have constituted the

correspond with High and Low German. It may be accepted as correct that the Suevian nations were the best, or rather the truest, representatives of the High Germanic race; and the classification of the Istavones as a branch of the Suevian family would not do much violence to the ethnic facts involved.

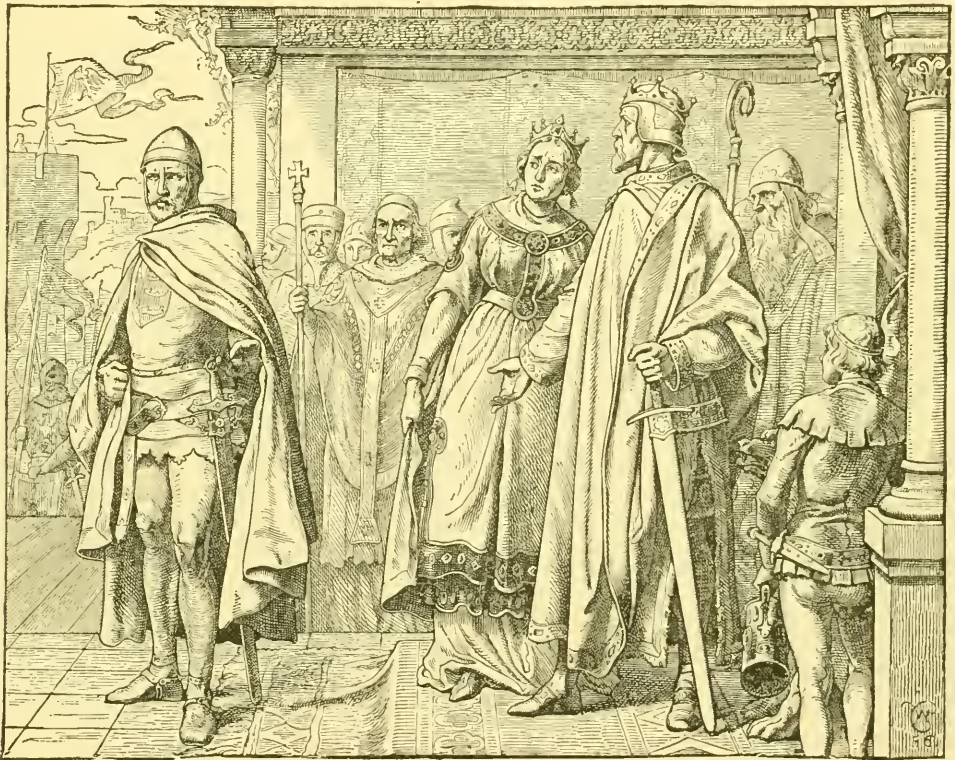
In the very earliest times the acquaint-

ance of the ancient world with the Germanic race had respect to the Suevians.

Predominant rank of the Suevians among the Germans. In the third century B. C. the Greek ships that voyaged into the Baltic to collect amber there, carried to the south of Europe the first knowledge of the Suevian peoples. The derivation of the name is not certainly known, but in a changed form it is still retained in the

It will, on the whole, be convenient in the following sketch of the Germanic tribes to consider all those beyond the Rhine in the order in which they are presented by Tacitus, and then to proceed with the Low Germanic races along the shore of the West Baltic and the North sea, passing finally into Scandinavia. We shall, therefore, take up sev-

Off-grading of Germans and Gauls along the Rhine.



OLD SWABIAN TYPES.—ERNST OF SWABIA BEFORE CONRAD II, AT INGELHEIM.

word Swabian, which the Hungarians apply indiscriminately to all Germans. In the times of Cæsar the Suevi were dominant. It was the dread of these peoples to which the Gaulish nations and the Low Germans, with whom Cæsar first came in contact, referred their own conduct. Their movements, they said, were occasioned and their policy must be explained by the constant pressure and aggressions of the Suevians on the east.

eral of the leading German tribes and refer to their place and character, using such data as have been for the most part furnished by the Roman historians. We should say at the outset that the German race along the line of the Rhine was graded off in its qualities toward the Gaulish type, and in like manner the Celtic race was graded down along the same line to the Teutonic pattern.

For more than twenty centuries this indefinite selvage of the two races has

continued to present itself as an indefinite ethnic boundary. Cæsar himself,

Hints in Cæsar of the ethnic selvage and interlocking.

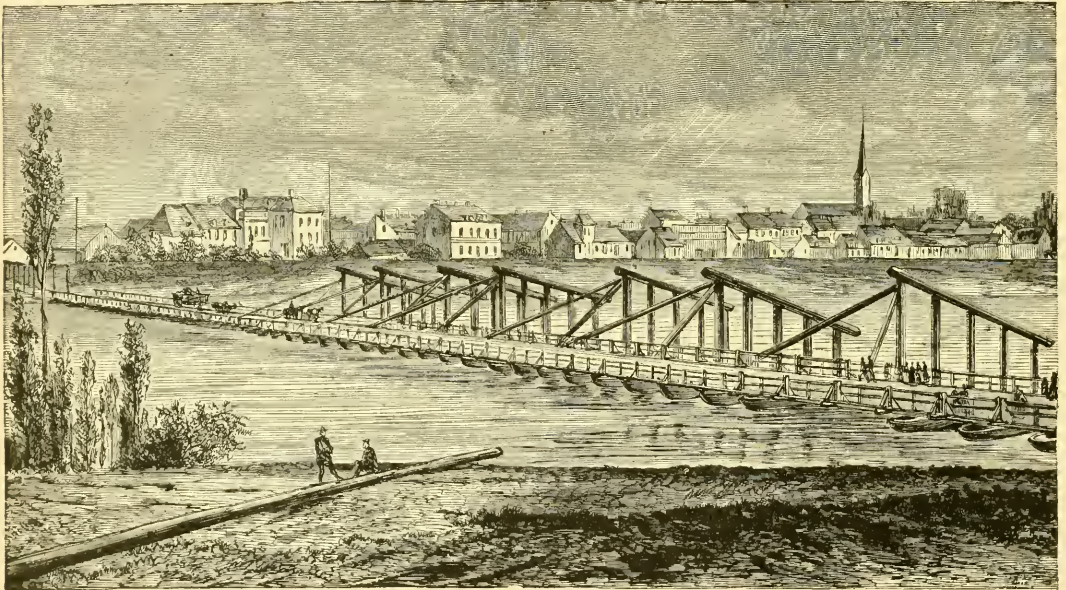
in the sixth book of the *Gallic War*, has noted the haziness of this border

line between the Gallic and Germanic nations. He informs us that there was a time when the Gauls surpassed the Germans in valor, and instead of standing in dread of the nations beyond the Rhine, actually carried war into those regions, made conquests there, and planted colonies. Some of the most

tact were the Helvetii and the Boii. In a mutilated form, the designation of the latter tribe has reappeared in the modern name of the country of Bavaria. While

Character of German tribes first known to the Romans.

the two nations here referred to claimed to be of Gaulish extraction, the Treveri and the Nervii claimed a German descent. So also the Vangones, the Triboci, and the Neuetes were all Riparian Germans. Their territories lay on the Rhine banks, and they thus belonged, perhaps, to the Istavonian branch



ON THE RHINE.—ANCIENT BRIDGE OF BOATS AT KIEL.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

fertile parts of Germania were occupied by Gallic tribes, of which the Roman general makes mention of the Volcæ and the Tectosages. For centuries afterward the character of these Gallic colonists could be detected in the populations lying along the borders of the Hercynian forest.

It was in this region, namely, between the wood of Hercynia and the rivers Rhine and Mayne, that the Roman legions first struck the barbarian nations. The tribes with which they came in con-

of the race. In like manner the Ubii were Germans, though their territory was in the debatable land. It might be doubted whether the Batavi, whose country touched the Rhine, were Suevian in their character, but they were a German rather than a Gallic people.

One of the most powerful tribes inhabiting the country bounded by the Rhine, the Sala, and the Harz forest were the Catti. They were a hill people, and were much attached to the Hercynian

wood.¹ They might be called the most German of the Germans. None were stronger or more courageous. None had such fierce visages or so great vigor of mind and body. Of all the tribes with which the Romans came into contact in these northern regions, the Catti were among the most fierce and invincible. Their soldiery was made up of infantry. Their audacity in war and indifference to death—provided always that it were the death of a soldier—were conspicuous among nations that had these qualities in common. The youth of the Catti on reaching maturity allowed their hair and beard to grow, refusing to trim either until they had slain an enemy. Only when they had struck down a foe in battle did they unvail their countenances and claim to be men. It was also a custom to wear an iron ring until some enemy had fallen before the warrior. The aspect of the countenance of these barbarians was said to be dreadful alike to friends and foes. In battle the unshorn who had not yet slain an enemy were placed in the front line in order that they might have a chance to become men.

Quite different from the latter people were the tribes of the Usipii and Tucteri, who had their settlements on the Rhine below where Mentz was afterwards

built. These two tribes were united in fortune. It was as cavalry that they distinguished themselves in the wars with the Romans. Riding the horse was the first accomplishment of the youth of the tribe, and when war horses were a legacy in a family, they were left not to the eldest, but to the bravest of the sons. Between the Rhine and the Ems lived the people called the Bructeri; but other tribes were said to have migrated into territories and expelled them. During the time of their occupancy, however, they warred fiercely with the Romans, and exhibited all the qualities for which the German race was noted in that age. They had the warlike disposition, and frequently gave battle to the neighboring nations of their own race. In the first year of the reign of Trajan, the Roman guard on the Rhine were witnesses of a battle between the Bructeri and another German nation, in which sixty thousand of the combatants were slain.

Thus we have proceeded down the right bank of the river to the country of the Frisi, those Frisians who to a considerable extent contributed the blood of the present English-speaking race. But they belonged rather to the Ingavones than to the Istavonian or Hermionian divisions of the German family. It was into this country that Drusus, brother of the Emperor Tiberius, made his way. But he found the country so difficult and the ocean so great a barrier to his progress that not much could be done in the way of conquest.

Tacitus in continuing his sketch next turns from these regions, which may be called Western Germany, to the right, and enters the country of the Chauci. Their territories lay between the Ems

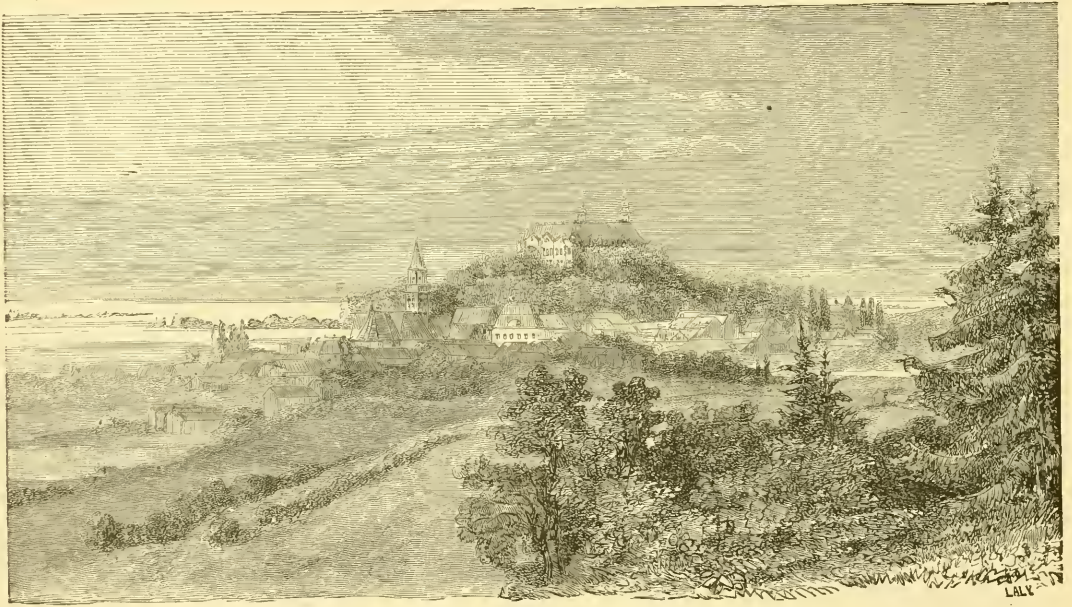
Race character-
istics and cus-
toms of the
Catti.

Names and man-
ners of tribes on
the Lower
Rhine.

¹ The description which Pliny gives of the Hercynian forest, though marvelous, is sufficiently picturesque, and doubtless true to nature. He says: "The vast trees of the Hercynian forest, untouched for ages, and as old as the world, by their almost immortal destiny exceed common wonders. Not to mention circumstances which would not be credited, it is certain that hills are raised by the repercussion of their meeting roots; and where the earth does not follow them arches are formed as high as the branches, which, struggling, as it were, with each other, are bent into the form of open gates, so wide that troops of horses may ride under them."

and the Elbe, running thence inland, and touching the nations already mentioned. The Chauci were exceedingly populous, and were accredited by the Roman historians with a higher character as to justice, humanity, and progress than most of the other Teutonic tribes. It is even said by Tacitus that the Chauci provoked no wars, and that they were not guilty of rapine or plunder. But like the other nations of Germania, they were on occasions fierce and valiant

We come now, in the country still adjacent to the ocean, to the great nation of the Cimbri. Their territories covered the peninsula called the Cim-
**Primitive Ger-
mans of the
Cimbric Cher-
sonesus.**
 Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein. It might be more in accordance with ethnic considerations to reserve the notice of this nation for the Low German branch of the race. It is quite likely that this region was non-Suevian in its population. But what-



VIEW IN HOLSTEIN.—CHATEAU OF PLOEN.—Drawn by Guillard.

warriors, keeping up the fame of the race in battle.

Next to this nation were the territories of the Cherusci. We are here in the country between the Weser and the Elbe, that is, in Lüneburg and Brunswick. The Cherusci shared to a considerable extent the peaceable character of the Chauci, their neighbors. It is said, however, that those German tribes who adopted this policy deteriorated in character, suffered in reputation among their countrymen, and presently declined. In course of time the Cherusci were subdued by the conquering Catti.

ever may have been the place of the Cimbri in the ethnic scheme, they were one of the bravest—we might say most terrible—of all the barbarian foes with which the Roman legions had to contend in the north. They were also one of the most populous. Plutarch has estimated the fighting men of the Cimbri at three hundred thousand. The nation had the passion of war, and their country to the present day bears unmistakable evidences of the military spirit of the ancient race.

The Cimbri appear to have employed earthworks more than the other Ger-

man nations. Lines of circumvallation and other vestiges of a military kind, such as the outlines of great encampments, may be seen in many parts of the country. It was in the year 113 B. C., in the consulship of Metellus and Carbo, that the Romans first fell into conflict

The contest between the Cimbrians and the Romans.

Such was the valor of the race that it extorted from the Romans unwonted expressions of applause. In fact, the Cimbrians competed with Rome for the possession of Gaul. One consul after another, with his army, went down before them. Papirius Carbo, as we have

Vicissitudes of the conflict; foretokens of Roman overthrow.



CIMBRIANS INVADING ROMAN TERRITORY.—Drawn by Bendermann.

with the Cimbrians; and the battle may be said to have raged for more than two centuries. Tacitus declares in a word that not the Samnites, not the Carthaginians, not the Spaniards, not the Gauls or the Parthians, had been the cause of greater or more constant alarm to the republic and empire than had these barbarian Cimbri of Lower Germany.

said, was defeated by the Cimbri in the year 640 from the founding of the city. Seven years afterwards Lucius Cassius, the consul, was overthrown in a battle with them in Switzerland. They who survived the battle were obliged to purchase their safety by the payment of one half of all their possessions. About the same time Scaurus was not

only defeated, but captured and slain. Cæpio followed with the next disaster, and then Cneius Manlius. Thus, under the republic, five consular armies were defeated by the Cimbrians and their allies, and afterwards—under Augustus—Varus, with his three legions, was annihilated. No other such enemy at any time rose against the mighty state of Rome; and the student of history foresees already that ultimately, when the empire shall have been weakened by its vices and undermined by despotism, this same northern race will overwhelm the peninsula and plant the standards of Wodin in the city of the Cæsars.

We shall hereafter return to consider somewhat the tribal life and character of these great barbarians along the Baltic.

Source of the
Anglo-Saxon
race; place of
the Suevians.

Meanwhile it must not be forgotten that from these regions, in process of time, will arise and drift away those Saxons who, in company with the Frisians and the Jutes, will dominate our ancestral island, and that at a subsequent time, several centuries having elapsed, the Normans, springing from the same coasts, will pass into Western Gaul, plant themselves in Neustria, take on a secondary development, and thence carry, in the eleventh century, civilization, power, and the premonitions of song into Anglo-Saxon England.

The discerning Tacitus understood full well that the Suevians were not a single tribe, but rather a family of nations. He says, in a word, that they occupied, in his age, the greatest part of Germany. With the map before us, we may trace their situation with the following boundaries: the Elbe, the Vistula, the Baltic sea, and the Danube. It is believed that at the beginning of our era they had even spread beyond these limits to the Rhine; and, as we have already

said, they were doubtless at this time largely interfused with the Istavonian nations on the banks of that river.

Odd was the device, simple and peculiar, which the Suevian nations adopted to distinguish themselves from the other German tribes. They had in some primitive time contrived a characteristic arrangement of the hair, twisting it side-wise and tying it in a knot, under the poll. All members of the Suevian race kept this badge of nationality even until they were hoary with age. Some other German peoples adopted it in imitation of the greater nation. But the Suevian slaves were not allowed to wear their hair in the fashion of freemen. They were, on the contrary, cropped close and shaven. It is said by Tacitus that the device was of such a character as to make the warriors seem taller than they were, and that this feature of the national costume was promoted especially by the chieftains, to the end that they might appear gigantic in the eyes of the enemy.

When Julius Cæsar made his first campaign into the Rhine country, he found all the races in that region in a state of trepidation before the Suevi.

Territorial division of Suevia; religion of the race.

He was informed that the country of the latter was divided into a hundred districts, each of which yielded a thousand warriors annually, and that these were in a condition of swarmery and migration, throwing the whole country into turbulence. It appears from the writings of Tacitus that this territorial division had respect rather to the organization of the Semnones, the most ancient and noble of the Suevian race, than to any other of the tribes. If we may trust the judgment of the Roman historians, it was in the Semnonian territories that the very

Suevians continue to make themselves appear Titanic.

heart of Germany could be discovered. The people bearing this name were wont, by their delegates, to assemble at a stated time far in the shadows of the sacred woods. There, with auguries and what Tacitus calls "ancient terror," and with the sacrifice of a human victim, they were wont to celebrate the old Teutonic orgy from which, in a measure, all other religious practices of the race had arisen.

woods. In going into its gloom he must wear a chain. None thought to go in without this symbol of subjection to the deity who was supposed to have at this place his favorite haunt. The worship was abject in its character. The greatest of natures sink the lowest under the dominion of superstition. If any German in the sacred grove chanced to fall, he might not arise, or even be lifted



CONFLICT OF ROMANS AND GERMANS.—GERMANICUS BURYING THE BONES OF THE LEGIONARIES OF VARUS.
Drawn by Grosze.

We may dwell upon these rites. They seem to have had respect to the origin of the race, which the Semnones believed to have been in this dark, almost impenetrable, wood. We have many times spoken of the superstitious reverence paid by the Germanic peoples to the primitive forest. Here this feeling and its consequent practices were seen in the highest stage of development. Nothing could surpass the spirit of veneration and awe with which the ancient warrior of this wild free people entered the somber

Origin and character of the Semnonian rites.

up by his fellows, but must roll over prone on the ground until he should come to the edge of the woods. By many other marks the ceremonies were distinguished as among the most awe-inspiring and absolute of any to which the races of men have submitted themselves in the hope of appeasing the invisible powers that preside over the birth and life and death of men.

Close to the Semnones were the Langobardi, those Longobards, or Lombards, whom we shall hereafter see issuing into the historical foreground, conquering in

Northern Italy, and planting there a kingdom the reminiscence of which is preserved to the present day in the plain of



TREATY BETWEEN THE MARCOMANNI AND THE QUADL.—From the Victory Column of Marcus Aurelius.

Lombardy. In the first century of our era the people so called were few in numbers, and seem to have been sur-

rounded on every side with nations more populous and powerful; but their fame even at this early epoch was great. Their geographical position was on the hither side of the Elbe, between Lüneburg and Magdeburg. In course of time, however, they were driven by the Romans beyond the river, and they there established themselves in what was known as the Middle Marche.

Glimpses at the place and character of the Longobards.

Next in order we may consider together several other of the Suevian tribes: the Reudigni, the Adiones, the Angli, the Varini, etc., who had their

Other Suevian tribes; worship of Hertha.

fastnesses in the German woods and among the numerous rivers. It is said by the Roman historian that all these tribes united in the worship of the Earth, to whom they gave the name of Hertha. To her they attributed various interpositions for and against the purposes and plans of men. The center of this superstition seems to have been in the Isle of Heilegeland, or possibly in the Isle of Rügen, in the Baltic. The myth was to the effect that in this island, in the center of a consecrated grove, was a chariot hidden under a vail. So sacred was this vehicle that none but the priest might touch it, lest he die. He in the performance of ceremonies might know when the goddess entered into the vail. Then the chariot might be drawn about by consecrated cows. Hereupon the people gave themselves up to joys and festivities. For the time war was forgotten, and armor was hung up in the huts. No hostile weapon might be touched. It would seem that the ceremony was in the form of a procession. At length the chariot was driven back to its sacred place. The goddess descended and was bathed in a holy lake in the island, being assisted in her

ablutions by slaves. But these, when their work is done, may survive no longer—having seen the goddess Hertha. They are accordingly swallowed up in the lake.

In the region now occupied with the countries of Anhalt, Saxony, and part of

Relations of the Hermunduri with the Romans.

Franconia, were the Hermunduri. In the vicissitude of things, however, they

shifted their locality into Suabia. In the first century of the Christian era the Hermunduri were in amicable relations with the Romans, and were faithful to treaty stipulations. Commerce was carried on between the nation and the Roman traders. Many people of the race were wont to go into Italy and to cross back and forth without hindrance. In course of time, however, the friendly relations between the north and south were broken up, and the Hermunduri joined the Marcomanni in the war with Rome. A violent conflict ensued, and in the time of Marcus Aurelius the Romans were victorious, reducing the German confederates to submission.

In Bohemia and Moravia dwelt the two great nations called the Marcomanni

The Marcomanni and the Quadi; "the van of Germany."

and the Quadi. The former were the more famous and powerful. They it

was who succeeded in expelling the Boii, who had given their name to the country, from their primitive seats. The Marcomanni came originally from the head-waters of the Danube, in Würtemberg. Their name of Mark Men, that is, Border Men, was doubtless given to them from the fact of their original residence on the outskirts of Germany.

We are here in a country which Tacitus calls "the van of Germany." The Narisci and the Quadi had their territories on the Danube, in these extremes of Germania. It is thought by

the Roman historian that among the two races the institution of monarchy had been more highly developed than in most of the German tribes. The hereditary principle had been recognized, and the two royal families of Maroboduus and Tudrus furnished the kings of the country. These sovereigns became at length tributary to the Romans, but were allowed to continue in authority under the patronage of the empire.

On the other side of the Marcomanni and the Quadi lay the countries of the

Marsigni, the Gothini, the Osi, and the Burii. It was the opinion of Tacitus

Views of Tacitus respecting the Gothini and the Osi.

that two of these tribes, the Gothini and Osi, were not Germans. To one he attributes a Gallic, and to the other a Pannonian, language. As the countries inhabited by these two peoples lay within the limits of Hungary and Silesia, it is probable that the opinion of the Roman author was correct. For we know at the present time that some of the peoples of this region are Asiatics of a later date than the German immigration. It was said that these races paid tribute freely to the Romans, and were more subservient than any of the Suevian tribes.

The next races enumerated were territorially distributed between the Oder and the Vistula, occupying parts of Silesia, Brandenburg, and Poland.

The ancient names of the races inhabiting these re-

Glimpses of tribes between the Oder and the Vistula.

gions were the Arii, the Helvecones, the Manimi, the Elysii, and the Naharvali. We might suspect the non-Germanic character of these peoples also; but their religious rites, their adherence to the practice of the Germans in celebrating their superstitions in sacred groves, and other facts would lead to the belief that they, in common with the Suevi, were of

Teutonic descent. A peculiar worship, however, is referred to these races. It is said that the meteoric exhalations which are seen on the masts of ships were thought by these people to be divine, and that the phenomena in question constituted the basis of a superstition which has been preserved to the present time in the Catholic belief in what is called the fire of Saint Elmo. Doubtless the *ignus fatuus* seen in the countries to which we here refer furnished the origin of a religion which was thought by the Romans to have some features in common with the worship of Castor and Pollux.

To the Aarii, one of the nations just mentioned, has been attributed a character of extreme ferocity. They certainly had some manners and customs of a kind to warrant their reputation. In addition to herculean frames and the usual German strength and rapidity of movement, the Aarii painted their bodies black. This was not meant for ornament, but for terror. Their shields were black also, and their appearance in battle is said by the Roman historian to have

Character and
habits of the
Aarii.

been infernal, to which he adds the comment that in all human battle *the eyes* are the first part subdued.

It is clear to the discerning view that the geographical positions assigned by Tacitus and Pliny to the Germanic nations were not clearly apprehended by the writers. Geography at their epoch was hardly a science. It was believed by the most learned of the Romans that many of the peninsulas along the Baltic coast were islands. The insular character was constantly given to Sweden and Norway. It appears to have been one element of the marvelous to say, as Tacitus says of the Suiones, that they were situated "in the very ocean." If so, we find ourselves again among the Low Germans of the Baltic. It can hardly be doubted that the Suiones inhabited the Danish islands of Langland, Zealand, Laaland, Funen, and the great Scandinavian peninsula. We must note that out of these regions, adjacent to the territories of the Cimbri, the Normans came after many centuries to give the last ethnic modification to the English-speaking race.

Doubtful geog-
raphy and eth-
nography of the
Roman writers.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—THE GOTHs.



HERE we are on the borders of a larger inquiry, and that is the origin of the Goths. Of all the Germanic nations, these produced the greatest effect upon the history and civilization of after times. To the Goths was reserved the destiny of overthrowing the Roman empire and of introducing a new order in Europe. It was theirs to give their

own name to a style of architecture which has rivaled that of Greece and Rome in its extent, variety, and beauty. In their language was published the first book composed in a Germanic tongue, the Bible of Ulfilas. Doubtless a part of this nomenclature and this diffusion of Gothic influence into the modern world must be referred to the erroneous usage of the ancient and mediæval writers in applying the name *Gothic* to the whole Ger-

Foremost place
of the Goths
among the Ger-
manic nations.

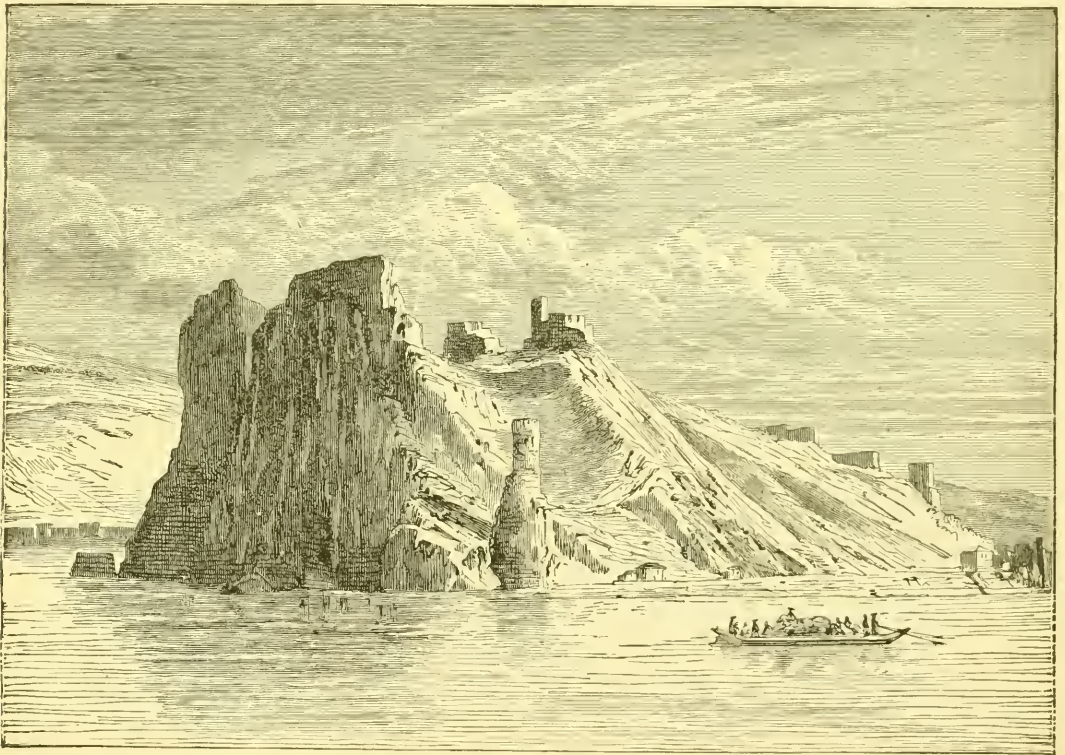
manic race; but the prominent part which the Goths played in the drama of European history, in the times of transformation from the third to the sixth century of our era, fully warrants the application of their ethnic name to the facts above referred to.

If we pass over the mythical and semi-historical epoch of Gothic history, we find the race concentrated on the Danube. We have already referred to their

a sort of consensus to the effect that the race is to be identified with the ancient Getæ; but there have been very many other names advanced and defended as the original tribal title of the Goths.

The identity of the Gothic nations with the Getæ has been maintained by Jordanes and Grimm. Gibbon was of the opinion that the Goths were out of Scandinavia. Ptolemy refers the people

Views of various authors respecting the origin of the race.



VIEW IN DACIA.—DEVEN.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

location in the two provinces of Further and Hither Dacia, and to their issuance from those seats on their final eruption for the conquest of Italy and Spain. Beyond this horizon there is great confusion. To this day it has not been certainly determined to which of the tribal names employed by Tacitus, Pliny, and Cæsar the Goths should be referred in their origin. At the present there is

Supposed identity of the Goths and the ancient Getæ.

whom he calls the Goutai to the country of Scandia. In the Anglo-Saxon *Lay of Beowulf* there is mention of the people called the Geâtas. Pliny speaks of the Gaudæ on the lower Danube—a seat not far from Dacia. Such other names as Guttones, Gothones, Gothini, Gotones, Gethæ, Guddæ, and Gothi are employed by the ancient ethnographers and historians, but always with a certain indefiniteness as to the situation and

historical character of the people so called.

These divergencies of views are brought out in this connection from the fact that the situation ascribed by Tacitus to the Suiones is probably that out of which the primitive Goths, whatever may have been their name, arose. The careful ethnologist, and particularly the skillful linguist, will not have failed to notice the close analogies of the Mæso-Gothic tongues, as exhibited in the fragmentary manuscript of Ulfilas's Bible, with the Low Germanic languages. It may, therefore, be assumed that before the differences between High and Low German were so clearly drawn, as they afterwards were, in the development of the two families, the ancestors of the Goths issued from the north country, probably in proximity with the Baltic, turning thence across Germany till they were brought up in their progress by the interposition of the Danube. Here the secondary stage of their development began. Here their nationality expanded. The nations bearing the Gothic name became populous, and at the close of the fifth century finally issued in overwhelming force for the conquest of the Western empire of the Romans.

Some modern critics have complained of the loose way in which ethnic names were used by the Greek and Latin writers. It has also been pointed out in a critical spirit that the old authors were disposed to use obsolete ethnic titles in describing the nations of the north. In this way such names as *Scythian* and *Sarmatian* are frequently given to the Teutonic peoples of whom we have been speaking, and particularly to the Goths. In considering these matters, however,

we should remember that two thousand years ago the ethnic lines in Europe lay much closer together, and that the differentiation of peoples then floating about in the tribal state was not nearly so complete as it afterwards became. We must bear in mind that there was a prehistoric epoch when even the Celts and the Teutonic peoples floated in the same channel; a time when the difference between them consisted in the distinction—and little more. With this allowance for historical perspective, we may disregard the errors and cross-naming of the ancient authors. In the great group of nations here before us we shall have presently, by emergence, the West Goths, the East Goths, the Vandals, and the Gepidæ; but there was a time anterior to such emergence when all of these four great nations drifted as a common tribe, speaking the common tongue to which we may very appropriately give the name of Gothic. Many other tribes, such as the Taifalæ, the Bastarnæ, the Peucini, and others, had also a common origin in the Gothic stock. It has even been conjectured that the strong race called the Alani, presently to appear conspicuous in the epoch of the Frankish ascendancy, had their descent from the Gothic stirps. It is certain indeed that the small nation called the Tetraxitæ were cognate with the East and West Goths, their kinsmen.

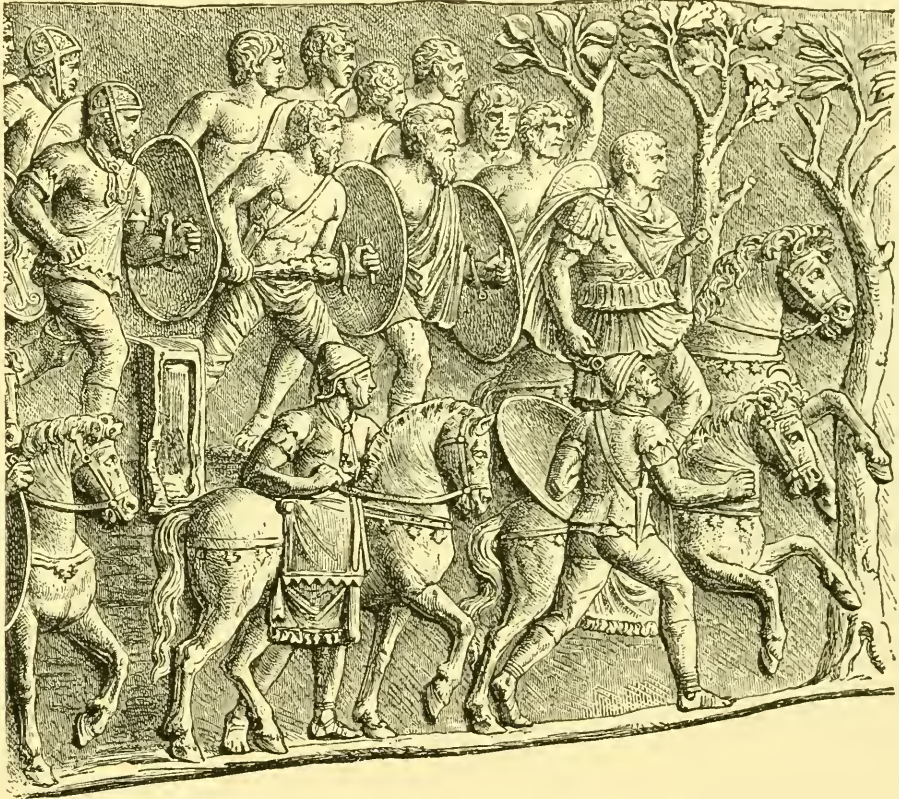
It appears that the two great divisions of the Gothic race, of whom we are now to speak, were known in their own tongue as the Greuthungi and the Tervingi. The names of East Goths and West Goths were subsequently applied to them because of their geographical situation; and these latter words passed, by a bastard-Latin change, into Ostro-

Probable movements of the Goths in the prehistoric age.

Separation of the East and West Goths; analogy with Saxons.

goths and Visigoths. We have seen in England the nomenclature of the Saxon kingdoms determined on the same principle. There were East Saxons, South Saxons, and West Saxons, according as the tribes were distributed into Essex, Sussex, and Wessex—corrupt forms of East Saxony, etc. By an odd coincidence one of the later kings of the East

while thereafter they sink out of sight. During the larger part of the fourth century the relations of the Gothic race with the imperial government were vacillating and precarious. Meanwhile, however, chiefly on account of their conversion to Christianity, the Visigoths, with the consent of the emperor, passed over the Danube and were permitted to settle



GOTHIC BODYGUARD OF TRAJAN.—From the Victory Column of that emperor.

Goths bore the name of Ostrogotha; and some have made a fanciful derivation of the name of the race from this sovereign. But to do so is to reason backward.

Looking at the question before us historically, we find that up to the third century of our era the Gothic nations bore upon the Danubian frontier of the empire, pressing hard upon that border, by invasions and incursions. For a

within the limits of the Roman dominion. Such was the beginning of that cisdanubian Dacia which became the gateway through which poured all the roaring waters of Teutonism until Italy was flooded and the imperial government swept away. Meanwhile, on the eastern side, the Ostrogoths had had many relations, some of amity and others of hostility, with the Greek empire, whose seat was at Constantinople. But the Eastern Cæsars were wiser in

Historical
glimpses of the
Goths in the
early centuries.

their generation than the Western; for on that side the Goths were not permitted to plant colonies and find vantage inside of the limits of the empire.

Of all the barbarian states around the borders of Rome the Dacian commonwealth of the Goths had for a time the most intimate relations with the imperial government. We have already referred this fact to the conversion of the Goths to Christianity. This happened at the middle of the fourth century, and was accomplished through the agency of Ulfilas and his rendition of the Bible into the Gothic language. Before this

Intimate relations of the Gothic peoples with the Romans.

At the middle of the third century, in the reign of Philip the Arabian, the Goths passed the Danube and laid waste the province of Moesia. Soon afterwards the Emperor Decius perished in battle with them. Their successes at this epoch encouraged their audacity, and they began to sally forth far and wide. They even took to sea, and the clamor of their arms was heard as far as Trebizond. Soon afterwards they effected a permanent lodgment in the Tauric Chersonesus, then known as Crim, now the Crimea. In general, the Eastern Cæsars defended themselves with success.

Outgoing of the race into foreign regions.



WAR COSTUMES AND MANNERS OF THE GOTHs.
Section from the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

time, from about the beginning of the second century, the Dacian nations had been a source of terror to Rome. In the times of Caracalla and Alexander Severus the empire adopted the plan of quieting the Goths with an annual subsidy. It has been claimed that the next emperor, Maximin, was himself a Goth by birth. We may easily perceive how the Prætorian Guards and the other actual powers of decaying Rome might conclude that it was better to save the resources of the state for themselves and to put a foreigner into the purple, than to pay exhaustive tributes to a barbarian nation.

the Danube. In the first place, the conquest made by Trajan north of that river was relinquished, and the Gothic frontier was extended to the north banks of the stream. The vent thus given to Gothic adventure was satisfied, and a period of ninety years elapsed before the peace was again seriously broken. In the fourth century the national hero of the Ostrogothic peoples arose in the person of Ermanaric.¹ He was the Charlemagne of the Gothic nations. Doubtless the story of his career and the organization of the Gothic king-

Ascendency of Ermanaric; his attempts at organization.

In 269 the Emperor Claudius inflicted so serious an overthrow on the nation in Dardania that an emphatic pause was put to their progress.

Meanwhile the Gothic chiefs had adopted the policy of seeking settlements south of

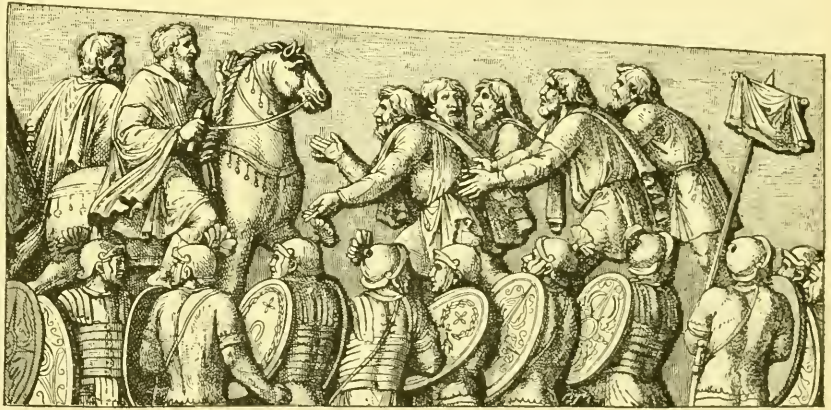
¹ Frequently written Hermanric.

dom is in part mythical, but the period was full of important historical movements. It can not be doubted that Ermanaric extended his sway and succeeded in uniting a great part of the Germanic peoples between the Danube and the Baltic sea, and that many Slavonic tribes yielded to his rule. The whole event was similar to the episode of Charlemagne in Western Europe. There was in the case of the Ostrogothic king, however, a total lack of institutions to sustain his authority. His rule was personal, and was doubtless sustained by his commanding abilities and greatness of character. In other words, it was a head-chieftainship rather than a sovereignty in the modern sense of that term. But his ascendancy showed the possibility of combining the Germanic peoples under a common rule, and foretokened the disaster which was sure to follow to the civilized peoples of the south whenever such a combination of the Teutonic powers should be permanently effected.

About the same time Athanaric rose with like distinction among the Visigoths. But it does not appear that he ever secured so complete an ascendancy among the West Gothic chiefs as his rival did in East Gothia. The position of the Ostrogothic hero brought him into immediate contact with Rome. In 365 he made a treaty with the Emperor Valens, and now for the first time the Christian religion played a part in the

intercourse between the Romans and the barbarian states on the Danube.

The story of Ulfilas, the great part which he performed in the early history of his race as the apostle of Christianity, has become well known to all students of history. He was the father at once of the religious transformation of the Gothic race and of Teutonic literature. Not the translation of the Scriptures by Alfred into the vernacular of his West-Saxon countrymen, not the rendering of the same by Luther into German, had



GOTHS SUING FOR PEACE.

Drawn by Bartoli-Bellorius, from Column of Marcus Aurelius.

a more marked effect upon the subsequent destinies of the Anglo-Saxon and German peoples than did the work of Ulfilas in translating the Bible into Gothic.

His life and career were the result of ethnic conditions and movements. Ulfilas was born in 311. His mother was a Christian captive out of Cappadocia, who had been carried off in 267 by a Gothic raid into that country. She was taken in marriage by a Gothic chieftain, and Ulfilas was thus born of the marriage of Asia and Europe, of the past and the future, of Old Aryan and New Aryan blood, of Christianity and paganism, of the civilized condition and barbarian

Rise of Athanaric and the apostle of the Goths.

History of Ulfilas and the "Codex Argenteus."

freedom. It is doubtful whether any character, even that of Dante or Wallenstein, more happily illustrates the individual results that are likely to flow from the union of diverse bloods. The superiority of the youth led to his being sent at an early age as a hostage to Constantinople. There he became converted to Christianity, for the foundations had already been laid by his mother. He became an Arian Christian. He rose to reputation in the city of the Eastern Cæsars, and was taken under patronage by Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. By him Ulfilas was ordained as a missionary bishop and sent back to his Gothic countrymen. To them he preached, and them he led by his eloquence to the abandonment of paganism and the substitution of Christianity. His next work was the translation of the Bible into Mæso-Gothic. Of this great work modern times has received a fragmentary inheritance. In the library of Upsala a manuscript containing parts of Ulfilas's work is preserved. It is known as the *Codex Argenteus*, or Silver Manuscript, and to this we are indebted for our knowledge of the Gothic tongue as it was spoken and written at the middle of the fourth century of our era.

It was a seven years' struggle among the Visigoths on the left bank of the Rhine whereby Christianity was disseminated among the people. The Gothic king of the West Goths, who was perhaps that same Athanaric of whom we have spoken, was violently opposed to the innovation. He was a pagan of the pagans, and resisted Ulfilas as a disseminator of poisonous seeds among the people. It was this condition of affairs that led to the petition presented by the Gothic bishop to the Emperor Constantius for the privilege of remov-

ing the Christian Goths to the other side of the river. The petition was favorably entertained, and an emigration ensued. About the middle of the fourth century A. D. the new Gothic state of Dacia within the Danube was established. The event is conspicuous in history, and the historical and ethnical results that flowed therefrom have perhaps not ceased to operate to the present time.

Meanwhile the new religion spread in the country beyond the Danube, and both East and West Goths became converted to Christianity as it was professed and expounded by the followers of Arius. It is not unlikely that the spread of the new doctrines among the nations was one of the principal causes of those dissensions by which the sovereignty of Ermanaric was broken up. The Visigoths were detached from their kinsmen by the same circumstances. At the same time the northern frontiers of Gothland began to be pressed by the incoming Asiatic Turanians. The Huns now struck the Gothic borders. With the death of Ermanaric the subject nations regained their independence; but this circumstance rendered them less able to beat back the Asiatics. The East and the West Goths here part company historically, and are never again united. The great body of the former remained in their seats beyond the Danube and were conquered by the Huns, but the remainder of the West Goths crossed the river and began those movements which were destined to end only with the establishment of a Visigothic kingdom below the Pyrenees. Even Athanaric was drawn into the emigration.

The Romans now became alarmed. War broke out, and in 378 the emperor,

Visigoths accept Christianity and remove within the Danube.

Spread of the new faith; East and West Goths part company.

ἸΝΔΑΙΕΙΣΝΙΒΑΠΕΤΑΨΥΑΗΑΝΔΗΑΝ
 ΔΙΟΝΣΝΙΜΑΤΕΣΑΝΔ. ΗΑΒΑΝΔΑΝΣ
 ΑΝΑΒΙΑΗΨΙΖΕΣΙΝΙΣΤΑΝΕ. ΓΑΗ
 ΑΡΕΜΑΨΑΑΝΙΒΑΔΑΠΗΓΑΝΔΝΙΗΚΤ
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 ΨΥΑΗΑΝΑΠΗΑΝΔΑΠΠΗΑΤΕΣΑΝΔ
 ΗΑΑΙΕ. ἸΨΙΣΑΝΔΗΑΡΕΓΑΝΔΣΑΑΨ
 ΔΙΠΠ. ΨΑΤΕΙΥΑΙΑΑΠΚΑΠΕΤΙΔΑ
 ΕΣΑΙΑΣΒΙΪΖΥΙΣΨΑΝΣΑΠΠΤΑΝΣΙ
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 ΥΑΙΚΙΑΧΜΗΙΚΣΥΕΚΑΙΨ. ἸΨΗΑΙΚ
 ΤΧΙΖΕΓΑΙΚΚΑΗΑΒΑΙΨΣΙΚΗΙΣ. ἸΨ
 ΣΥΑΚΕΗΙΚΒΑΧΤΑΝΔ. ΑΑΙΣΕΑΝΔΑΣ



Valens, was killed in a battle with the Goths at Adrianople. A few years later

Historical vicissitudes of the Goths in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Theodosius the Great made peace with them, and in

the same year Athanaric visited Constantinople, where he died.

After the death of Theodosius the peace

hard after by the Ostrogothic invasion of Italy. These great movements, the overthrow of the Western empire, first by the Herulians, then by the Goths, and then by the Lombards, and the subsequent establishment therein of a kingdom, first by the Ostrogoths and then by



HUNS IN ITALY.—Drawn by William Claudius.

was broken. The Goths quarreled with the ministers of Arcadius and chose Alaric as their king. The rest is known. In a short time the great campaign began which carried the West Goths through the whole extent of South-western Europe. This was followed

the Lombards, are themes which fill up the history of the latter part of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century of our era.

The movements of the Visigoths into Spain, and the planting of their dominion in that peninsula, were almost contem-

poraneous movements; and the conquests of the Vandals and the planting of their power in Southern Spain and in Africa are but parts of a common Germanic irruption by which the political, civil, and ethnical condition of the larger part of Southwestern Europe was completely changed.

In the foregoing sketch several references have been made to the language of

Mediæval German may be known from the **Teutonic** tongues to **Mæso-Gothic**.

the Goths as the oldest of the Teutonic tongues to take the literary form. This fact has given special interest to the fragments of Mæso-Gothic literature, and particularly to the translation of the Scriptures by Ulfilas. The oldest of our manuscripts containing fragments of this work and other Mæso-Gothic productions do not go back further than the fifth century, though the subject-matter was composed at an earlier date. At the time of which we speak, namely, while the West Goths were still resident in Mæsia, neither the language nor the people had departed by any great degree from the common type of all the Goths, and indeed of all the Germans. For this reason we may accept the fragmentary West-Gothic literature as a fair exhibition of the Teutonic languages in that stage of their evolution through which they passed from the beginning of our era to the fourth century.

The language thus presented is of great interest, as it constitutes the most valid

Common derivation of Teutonic and Græco-Italic races.

and certain evidence of the community of the Aryan nations. It proves beyond doubt that the great stream of Indo-European life which flowed northward out of Armenia, around the Black sea, and into Europe from the country now known as Great Russia, had an original

identity in its source and character with the South-European stream which flowed into Europe by way of Asia Minor, the Ægean sea, and the southern peninsulas. Mæso-Gothic lies much nearer in its forms, its grammar, and its vocabulary to the Græco-Italic languages than do the modern tongues of Germany, Sweden, England, and the New World. It is easy to determine by the comparison of the linguistic elements present in the works of Ulfilas with those of the later Anglo-Saxon the rate of progress by which the Low German tongues of Holland and England were departing from the original Teutonic stock. In many parts of Mæso-Gothic we see how much closer the language then was to Greek and Latin than modern German is to Italian or French. The branching out of language from a common radical is thus illustrated, and the whole scheme of linguistic growth suggested in outline and character.

The destinies of the Gothic language were peculiar. It perished by violence and vicissitude. Hardly any other great speech of primitive Europe has left

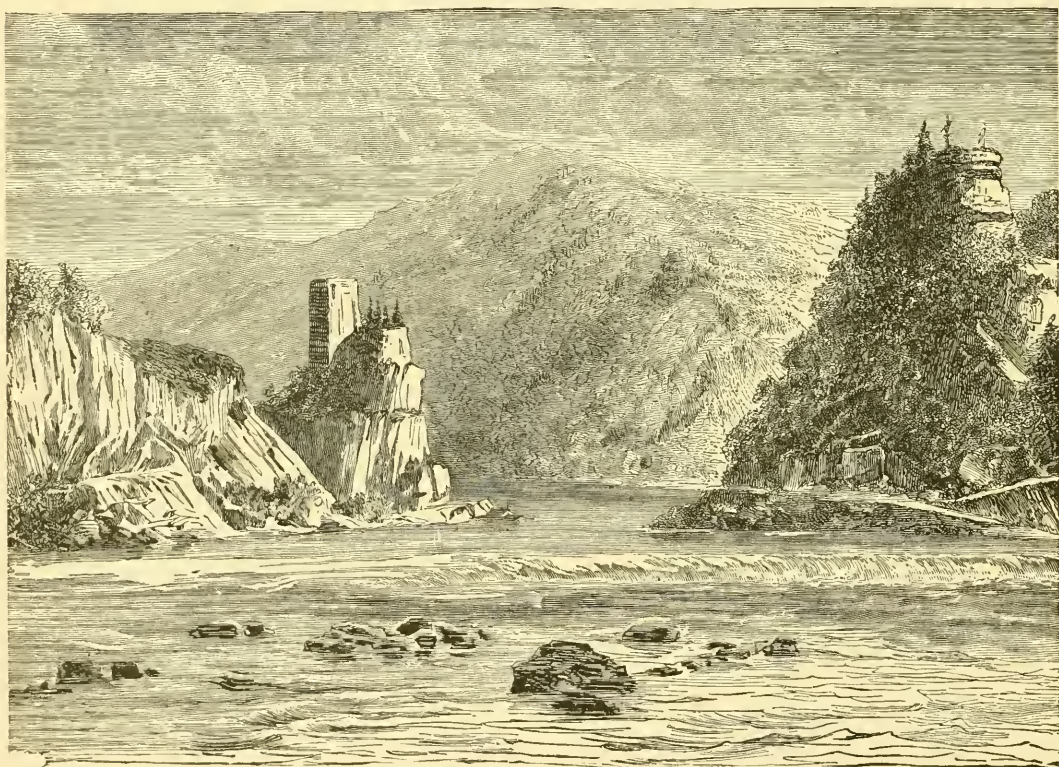
Destinies of Gothic like the vicissitudes of the race.

a smaller trace in the subsequent languages of the continent than has this powerful Gothic. In its original home, at least in the region where it found its first literary expression, it did not long survive the emigration of the Goths. The reader must be constantly reminded to how great a degree in all such movements the inhabitants of the Teutonic states were pressed from their seats by the incoming tide of Asiatic barbarism. Virtually the Goths were *forced* across the Danube. The residue of the race was left in the countries which it had occupied for several centuries; but the body of the language departed with the body of the nation.

The moving peoples were destined in their two streams to flow into Italy, France, and Spain. In the first and the last of these countries the race found lodgment. France was to them rather a land of transit than of occupation. In Italy and in Spain the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths were conquerors, but both peoples, particularly the latter, had ab-

Teutonic peoples spread over Latins and mingled therewith.

way Spain was occupied by the Visigoths. Here the destruction was less than in Italy. In both countries it was an occupation. The occupation imposed upon the Roman peoples a new ethnic element. The Teutonic family was spread over the Latin races. It is in the nature of things that when intelligence and learning are subjugated, they in turn subjugate. The vehicle of the



VIEW IN GOTHLAND.—THE STRUDEL.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

sorbed the principles of Christianity to the extent of modifying the barbarian disposition to destroy. In general, the peoples were much more civilized, much less disposed to barbarity, than were the Angles and the Saxons, those Ingavonian Germans who poured into Great Britain. The Roman Italians were reduced to subjection. A third of the lands was taken by the conquerors, but the inhabitants were not swept away as with a barbarian besom. In the same

latter conquest is language. Latin conquered Gothic in both Italy and Spain. The conquerors learned the language of the Roman and Spanish peoples. Its superiority as a vehicle of expression, and particularly as a vehicle of law and of religious conquest, asserted itself.

In a short time all the young Goths of both divisions of the race learned the superior language. It was under this process that the Mæso-Gothic tongue, as cultivated in South Dacia by Ulfilas and

the other Christian apostles, rapidly disappeared, and its place was taken by

The Latin language absorbs the speech of the north.

Latin. The latter language suffered, of course, much corruption in the process.

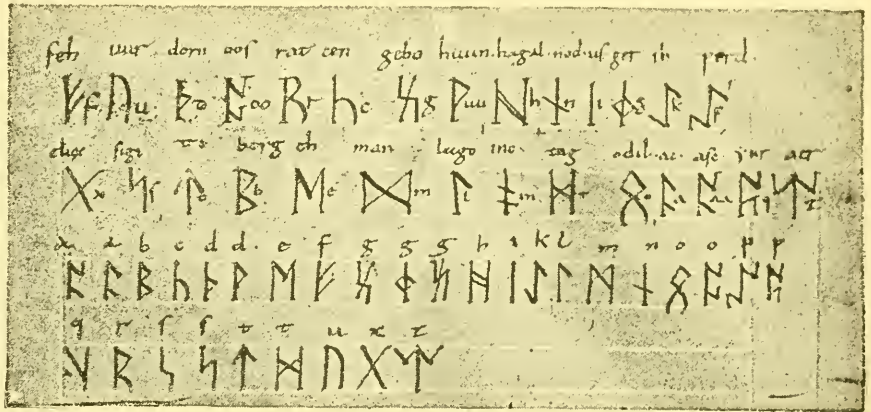
It was to a certain extent Teutonized. But it nevertheless prevailed over the strong tongue of the north, and became in some sense, under the influence of the conquerors, the germinal Italian and Spanish of later ages. It thus happened that in a comparatively brief space of time not only the literary beginnings of the Gothic race,

but the very language in which the same were embodied, was swept away. Nor has it to any considerable extent reappeared—except in the incidental nomenclature of the tongues of Southwestern

Europe—in any country or in any dialect. was not Arianism, but Catholic Christianity that conquered the colony in the Tauric Chersonesus.

On this account the missionary outpost thus planted was better supported by the mother Church than were the West Goths, who were regarded as heretics, and frequently treated accordingly. Rome always looked with disfavor on the progress of Visigothic Christianity in the West because of its deviation from the established standards of doc-

Rome favors the Crimean Christians and their institutions.



RUNIC ALPHABET.

From Codex No. 270, in the Library of Saint Gall.

Europe—in any country or in any dialect.

It is one of the minor, but not less interesting, pages of mediæval history that bears the account of the preservation in

the East of a small division of the Gothic race. We have mentioned above that

the Tauric Chersonesus, depending from the north shore of the Black sea, better known in modern times by the name of the Crimea, was penetrated in the early part of our era by a division of the Ostrogothic race. It was in the times when Christianity was making its first inroads among the Teutonic peoples. The Crimean Goths fell under the influences of evangelism, just as did their fellow-countrymen in Dacia; but it

trine. But the Crimean Christians suffered no such depreciation. The situation was such as to favor permanency. As a result the Gothic language, and to some extent the Gothic institutions, were maintained in a part of the Crimea long after the Latin tongue and the Roman law had triumphed over both in the West. It is one of the surprising incidents of ethnic history that as late as the sixteenth century the Dutch traveler De Busbecq, who visited the eastern parts of Europe at the middle of that century, found the remnants of the old Gothic colony still intact in the peninsula which they had now possessed for more than a thousand years. The language had also maintained its integrity to a

considerable extent, and the institutions of the people were evidently an outgrowth of purely Gothic antecedents as modified by the influence of the Eastern empire and Greek Catholicism.

In this connection it may prove of interest to refer to the writing of the Teutonic nations, particularly to that of the Goths, as illustrative of their condition and progress. We should not be far from a sober statement in saying that the expression of language, the pictorial representation of thought by means of written characters that may be gathered and perused, thus conveying from mind to mind the thoughts, concepts, and evolutions of the intellect and the imagination, is the highest of all human arts. The use of such a vehicle of expression marks clearly the beginning of the era of national consciousness, and foretokes the first songs and first histories produced by a race of people as the embodiment of their thought and hope concerning themselves.

The Teutonic races had reached this stage at the time of the first excursions of the Romans into the north. It must not be understood that Ulfilas and the men of his time invented or introduced writing among the Gothic nations. Their work was rather in the nature of a revolution than an invention. Long before this time the Goths and other Teutonic peoples possessed a written language. The alphabet was made up of those characters to which scholars have given the name of *Runes*. Of this style of writing there was a threefold development: the first in Germania, the second in Scandinavia, and the third in Anglo-Saxon England. *Runc* was the name given in general in the Teutonic tongues to a letter of the alphabet. It appears that

at the first this method of communicating thought was a secret. Perhaps the priests desired to keep it so. In Anglo-Saxon the word *rūn* means a secret. The verb *rýnan* signifies to whisper. It is likely that the old pagan lore was whispered from ear to ear, and that the characters in which it was recorded were called *rūna*. Certain it is that such characters are plentifully scattered among the archæological remains of all the nations of Northwestern Europe. As to the character of the letters, they had much of that square and uncial form which was peculiar to all the primitive alphabets. The whole history of the transformation of alphabetical writing may be summed up in the change from the rectilinear to the curvilinear character.

Such an alphabet, strictly Runic in origin and development, was in use among the Goths before the time of Ulfilas. It was this which he employed as the basis of that style of writing which he introduced. His work consisted essentially in the introduction, or substitution, of the Latin alphabet for the Runic characters. A few of the sounds of the language, however, could not be well represented by the Latin characters. Such was the letter *thorn* (þ), equivalent to the Greek *thēta* (θ). To supply this deficiency the Gothic character was retained. So also was the *wen* (ƿ), equivalent to the modern *w*. The Gothic character *edh* (ƿ) was also retained, not only in Moeso-Gothic, but in Anglo-Saxon, as the equivalent of *dh*. As for the rest, the Latin letters were substituted in the Gothic literature; and the same peculiarities mark the development of the Scandinavian tongues as of Anglo-Saxon.

We have spoken of the rapid union

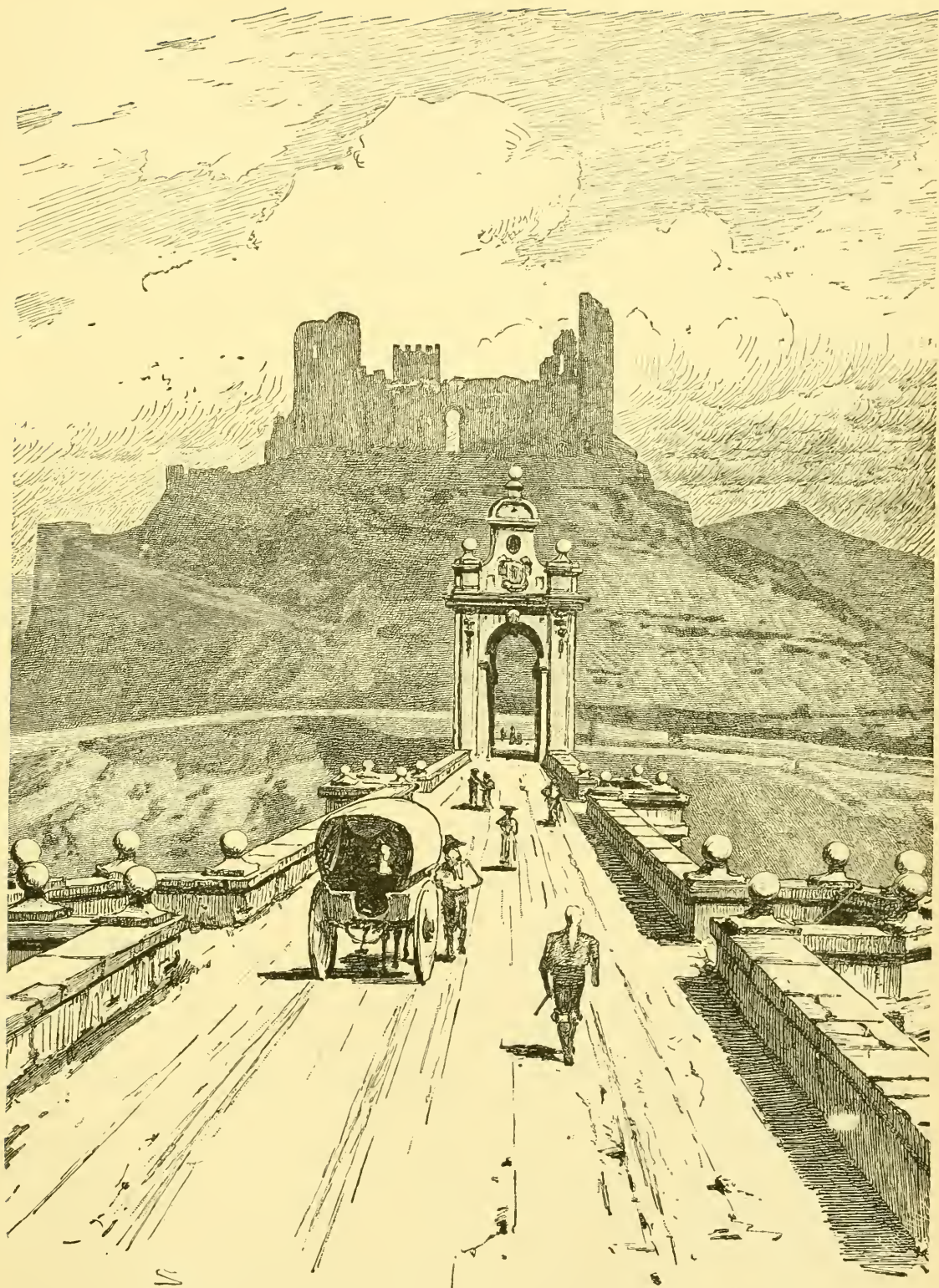
The expression of thought by characters the highest of arts.

tonic nations, particularly to that of the Goths, as illustrative of their condition

The Goths adopt Latin letters but retain some Runes.

Ulfilas did not invent but perfected; the Runes.

men of his time invented or introduced writing among the Gothic nations. Their



SEAT OF THE VISIGOTHIC LEGISLATION.—RUINS OF THE CASTLE OF SAN SERVANDO, TOLEDO.

of the Gothic nations, after their departure from the Danube, with the Italian and Spanish Romans. It is in this respect that the human river differs from the river of geography. The stream does not always seek out and find for itself a new valley and a new channel, but it frequently becomes confluent with other streams already existing. The old geographers, ignorant of the science of the earth, were wont to

Ethnic streams reverse the method of geography.

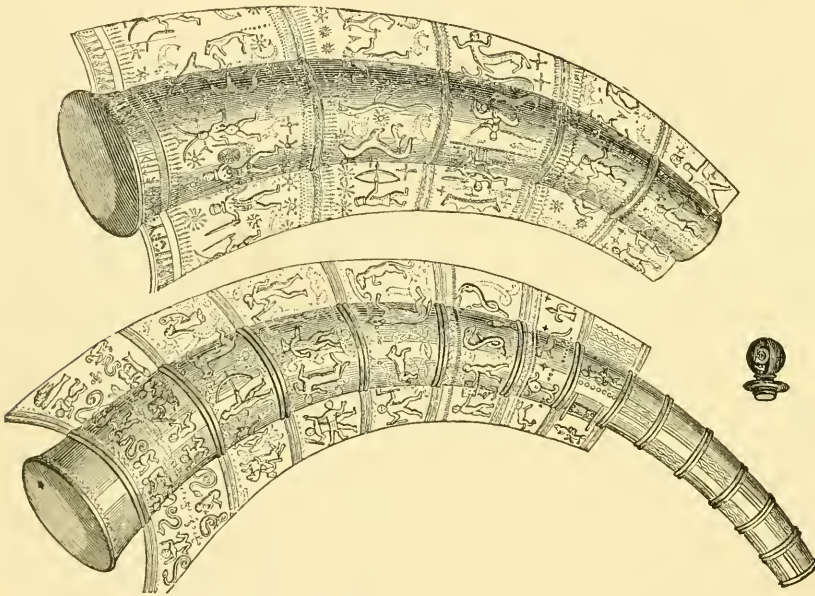
close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. It may be frankly admitted that it is on the basis of language as much as on the basis of blood that the ethnological classifications of modern times have been constructed.

In the foregoing sketch of the Goths we have departed entirely from the narrative of Tacitus. It was impossible that that truthful and critical author should foresee—living as he did from

Imperfect views of Tacitus respecting the Goths.

55 to 117 A. D.—the peculiar developments upon which the German nations were to enter. He could not predict the great Gothic evolution, and we should not, therefore, expect to find in his pages the premonitions of the Teutonic expansion on the Danube, and the irruption from that quarter into the empire.

The same may be said of the Frank-



GOLDEN DRINKING HORNS OF THE GOTHs, INSCRIBED WITH RUNES.
Found in Schleswig.

draw their rivers so as to run into some other with which they were acquainted or of which they may have chanced to hear. The first maps show this device as a means of concealing ignorance. The ethnographic map would present many such departures from the geographical method. We have seen how the Italians and Spaniards of the modern ages are classified as branches and developments of the Latin race—this notwithstanding the fact that they have swallowed up the powerful Gothic streams which flowed into Italy and Spain at the

ish nations, upon whose history we are now to enter. But before passing to the consideration of the Istavonian tribes on the Rhine, it will be proper to point out that feature of Gothic civilization which presented the race at its best estate. This was the Visigothic evolution in Spain. The particular element in the national life of the people in that country had respect to the development and institution of law. Among all the Teutonic peoples the Visigoths had the largest success in the institution of a regular form of gov-

Outlines of the Visigothic evolution in Spain.

ernment. The constitution and the statutes of the race have been cited in all subsequent ages as models of excellence. Advocates of Christianity have held up the example of the Visigoths in their institutional development as an example of what the conversion of the race to Christianity was able to effect in substituting for the personal legislation and unsystematic laws of the pagan Goths a new code, regular and general in its character.

No doubt the improvement of the Visigothic race by its conversion to Christianity had much to do with the institution of the great councils of Toledo, and with the superiority of the lawmaking processes which the Spanish Goths there developed; but the real success of the Visigoths in improving their constitutions and jurisprudence was on the historical

Relation of
Christianity to
the enlighten-
ment of the
Goths.

and ethnical rather than on the religious side. Their long contact with Rome—even before their migration began—had led them to absorb the Roman principles of civil polity. They became acquainted with that vast and regular constitution which the Romans had created through centuries of experience and trial. Christianity was the channel of intercourse through which this acquaintance was chiefly acquired. The Goths once having made themselves familiar with the constitution and laws of Rome, could but admire and imitate those formulæ in the creation of new statutes and rules of administration for themselves. It was from this circumstance that the Visigothic legislation at the councils of Toledo was of so high a character and contrasted so favorably with the partial, personal, and inadequate lawmaking of the other Teutonic races.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE FRANKS AND THE VANDALS.



THE name of Franks was not applied in Cæsar's time to any of the German nations. Though he traversed the regions subsequently occupied by

the peoples of this name, he used other titles for the tribes which he here en-

The name Frank unknown in the classical ethnography.

countered. The same may be said of Tacitus and Ptolemy. Though they discussed the Istavonian Germans, they do not use the name of Franks as appellative of any of the tribes of the Rhine. It is the opinion of Grimm that the word is of comparatively recent date. It is known, however, to have been in use as early as the reign of Aurelian,

at the middle of the third century. Doubtless the name *Franci* was adopted by these peoples from its meaning of frank, or free. Since the nations so called dwelt on the western and north-western frontier of Germany, and since this line was the one most assailed by the Romans, the people came naturally to call themselves *Franci*, for the reason that they had maintained their freedom.

At the first these nations dwelt on the right bank, that is, the German side, of the river Rhine. Afterwards, however, they prevailed on the left bank, between the Rhine and the Meuse, and it was here that the name *Ripuarians*, or People of the Bank, was applied to them. The country thus occupied within the

Contact of Romans with the Franks on the Rhine.

natural limits of Gaul extended from Alsace to the sea. In the year 240 the Catti, of whom we have already spoken, ing the Germans against their countrymen, driving them back across the river and making his capital at Colonia. But



HILODWIG BECOMES A CHRISTIAN.
Drawn by F. E. Wolfram.

at length the lands of the Ubii and Tungri, extending from Ardennes to the Rhine and the Meuse, were occupied by the Frankish nation, who took the name of Ripuarian.

About the same time the Salian Franks also crossed the river and occupied the country southwest of the Lower Meuse. Near the close of the third century they are found engaged in naval warfare along the coast of Gaul. In 358 the Emperor Julian allotted the district of Toxandria to them. From this time forth it was common to find the Roman armies of the north replenished with Frankish soldiers. Other prominent men of the nation rose to rank at the Roman court. The frontier line of the empire on

crossed the Rhine at Mentz. Among these people the General Postumus recruited his army and succeeded in leading the north began to recede. In the beginning of the fifth century a great battle was won by the Franks at Cam-

brai, and their standards were advanced to the river Loire. The Salians

The Salians become a bulwark against barbarism.

now fixed their capital at Dispargum, the modern Disiburg, just as the Ripuarians had fixed their seat of government at Cologne. Their friendliness to the Romans was such that they henceforth for a time constituted a barbarian bulwark against barbarism. The invasion of the Huns under Attila was repelled at Chalons mostly by the Franks in the Roman army.

It was the Salians rather than the Ripuarians who extended their conquests into Gaul and laid the foundations of France; that is, Frankland. Their sovereign, Hlodwig, better known by his Latin name of Clovis, was the king under whom the Salians became masters of Northern Gaul. Meanwhile the Ripuarians remained in their seats on the Upper Rhine. The latter became Christianized at an earlier day than did the Salians. The student of history will recall the fact that Clotilda, wife of Clovis, was a Christian, and that in his campaign and battle Hlodwig abandoned the wild goddesses whom he had worshiped in barbarism, and appealed to Clotilda's God to give him the victory.

The family of Clovis constituted what was called in German the Merwing House, that is, the Merovingian, a name which was applied to the first German dynasty ruling in France. Meanwhile an Oriental, or Eastern, division of the Frankish race drifted back into Ger-

Beginnings of Franconia; the three Gothic kingdoms.

mania, and gave their name to the country ever afterwards known as Franconia. There was thus an Eastern as well as a Western dominion established by the Frankish adventurers who had planted themselves along the Rhine.

The general career of the Franks thus



ANCIENT ART WORK OF THE FRANKS.—IVORY BOOK COVER OF THE NINTH CENTURY.

From the original in the Louvre.

making their way into Gaul and fixing their barbarian kingdom on the ruins of the Roman ascendancy, was very similar to that which the Visigoths planted in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy. Of the three Gothic kingdoms, that in Italy lasted from 493 until 553 A. D., embrac-

ing the three reigns of Theodoric the Great, Totila, and Theias. Euric, King of the Visigoths, ended the Roman dominion in Spain in 471, and the country

vis, in 481, to the overthrow of the dynasty by the Carolingian Pepin I, in the year 752, a period of two hundred and seventy-one years. These epochs

of ascendancy in the three countries represented the first period of German history in the West.

We have already seen how the two Gothic divisions in Italy and Spain were absorbed in the Latin race. The same thing may

The Franks absorbed by the Latinized Gauls.

be said to have happened in France. The Franks, though conquering, the Merovingians, though predominant in the political life of the people for nearly three centuries, suffered a fate very similar to that which their Gothic countrymen had experienced in the south. They modified the Latinized Gaulish race already in possession of the country, but were themselves amalgamated therewith; and out of the amalgamation arose that mediæval France, and at a later period the French people of the modern epoch. The whole movement may be regarded as an infusion of the new, vital barbaric blood into the veins of races which were growing old in the countries west of the Rhine and between the Baltic and the Mediterranean.

It is not our purpose to trace the course of historical events during the ascendancy of the House of Pepin in primitive France, or to describe the transformation which occurred in the political life of the

country with the accession of Charlemagne. The personal character of the Frankish race was almost identical with that of the other West Germanic nations, and their institutions likewise

Personal character and ethnic traits of the Franks.



FRANKISH WARRIORS, ON IVORY COVER OF BOOK, THOUGHT TO BE THE WORK OF A FRANKISH ARTIST.

From original in the Louvre.

remained a Visigothic power until 711, when King Roderic, called the last of the Goths, fell in the battle of Jerez—a period of two hundred and forty years. In France the Merovingian House was in the ascendant from the accession of Clo-

INNOMINE DOMINI
 Thū. qñ incipiunt titulus is galice
 I. DE CRIMINIBUS

Iquis ædmoellū legib; dominicis
 manniatur fustia & non ustu
 aua. sēu. sunnis non dē tne
 pē sōt. xv. cut iud;

Illusd quialio manit & ipsi non
 ustuat sēu sunnis non dē tne
 sōt. xv. & cui manuit componat;

II DEFUNCTIS PORCO RIUOS

Si qñ purcellum locatiam de crone
 furcuat & si fustia æd p b ætum
 mat chrone chæti yechæti sōt. iii
 cut iud

Si qñ purcellū furcuat quis
 manat & si uste possit & si fustia æd p
 batum mat himner thæca sōt. i. cut iud
 æcēp capē & æt; **S**i qñ bimū poscū
 furcuat mat in limis suani sōt. xv
 cut iud. æcēp. capē. & æt;

were of the common Teutonic pattern. The Franks are described as physically a powerful people, having the fierce looks and the audacity of countenance peculiar to all the German tribes. They were said to have a scowl about the brows which made them terrible to look upon when in anger. They had also the gleaming blue eyes and light red hair which the races of the south always ascribed to the East Gauls and the Germans. Their limbs were powerful, and their stature so great as to dwarf the Romans in comparison. They wore their hair so long, and it was of so fine a quality, as to be greatly in demand as an article of commerce in the cities of the south. The fashionable ladies of Rome, in the later days of the empire, bought it with avidity as an ornament of the head.

It has been said that the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the Frankish Germans were somewhat peculiar to the race. The *franca*, a javelin tipped with iron to be hurled at the enemy or used in close encounter as a spear, is thought by some to have given the name to the race. The battle-ax was called the *francisca*. The Franks had the same heroic qualities which were possessed by many of the free tribes of Germany. The *Siegfried Saga* nearly all related to the victorious progress of the Frankish nation. In these legend, tradition, myth, and ancient ethnic story are blended with the beginnings of authentic history. To the Franks also are ascribed the beginnings of the constitution and jurisprudence of the French race. From them was derived the *Lex Salica*, or Salic law, and also the *Lex Ripuaria*, somewhat later in its date. These fundamentals of the Frankish statutes of the Merovingian times refer in their origin to the fifth and sixth centuries.

There are also principles in the Salic law which were formulated before the approach of Christianity. In such parts of the Frankish constitution there is no evidence that a feudal nobility or a system of land tenure by fief had any existence in the earliest ages of the Frankish kingdom. The only grades of people referred to in these earlier parts of the constitution are the king, the free Frank, and the slave—the latter a prisoner of war. The Salic law in course of time gained a great influence in the statute-making and jurisprudence of mediæval France. Some of its principles were incorporated and reëncorporated with the constitutions of the kingdom, and some of its provisions have continued vital to the present day. Such, for a single example, is that law called by preëminence the Salic law, prevalent in France and in several other Western kingdoms, whereby women are excluded from the descendants' rights as it respects political power and land-ownership by primogeniture.

The Salic laws incorporated in modern legislation.

Many efforts have been made to find in the usages of the Franks the evidences of that aristocratic organization which was destined to take French society in its clutches and to seek its antecedents in the immemorial usages of the race. But such efforts are futile. The officers of the Franks were not such by hereditary descent but by election, and their choice to the principal places in the nation did not alter their rank as citizens. It has been claimed that even the Salic law in its first intent has furnished but a narrow basis for the claim advanced in royal houses in favor of the precedence of male-born children to the inheritance of the crown. It was believed or assumed in French society as

Weaponry of the race; "*Lex Salica*" and "*Lex Ripuaria*."

Myth and tradition of the Merovingian aristocracy.

late as the last century that the nobility of the kingdom were the lineal descendants of the family of Clovis. It was also held that the members of this family were distinguished in their physiognomy and bearing from the peasantry of the third estate. But critical inquiry has failed to show any ground for such assumption. The noble houses have been

ing out westward from the valley of the Rhine and extending its supremacy to the western sea. It was a long time before the right of the race, as set forth in the claims of the Merovingian and Carolingian princes to rule France, was acknowledged. The consolidation of the Frankish nations and the gradual

Gradual and labored ascendancy of the House of Clovis.



NORMAN SOLDIERS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY—TYPES.

so much multiplied and the various families so much diluted with foreign blood, that any and all distinctions of feature and bearing which may have existed at an earlier age have long since passed away, so that the claim of the noblesse, in the age of Louis XVI, that they were of a different descent from the body of the French nation had no other basis than arrogance and pride.

We thus see the Frankish race spread-

suppression of feudalism, which was only the developed form of the clan-life of the Germans, were not effected until the reign of Louis XI, a short time before the discovery of America.

It can never be known with certainty in what proportions the Franks and the other pre-occupying peoples of Gaul were combined in the formation of the French nation. Here, again, we have the

Problem of race elements and proportions in the French.

same problem presented which we have considered in the absorption of the Visigoths in the Spanish peninsula, and of the Ostrogoths with their rivals, the Longobards, in Italy. On the whole, it is safe to assume that the percentage of German blood, of German life, and German institutions contributed to the formation of the new race in France was greater than the percentage of Gothic influence in Spain and Italy. But the original Gallo-Roman population continued to be more numerous than the conquering Franks, and with their Latin language and institutions asserted themselves more and more until the Latin character became predominant in the new French nation. The same process was revived in the case of the Normans, who, issuing from the Baltic coasts, took possession of Neustria in the ninth century, and who, notwithstanding their complete ascendancy in that country, nevertheless, in the course of a single century, accepted the language, the customs, and the institutions of the subject Latin race.

The Franks gave their name to France; the Normans, theirs to Normandy. So also the Burgundians, of whom we are now to speak, contributed their ethnic title to the country of which they possessed themselves. Burgundy lay between Champagne and Alsace on the east, Auvergne on the south, and the Limousin and Touraine on the west. It passed through the stages of duchy and kingdom on its way to a consolidation with the state of France. The Burgundians, bearing the ancient name of Burgundi, were out of Germany. Their original territory lay between the Oder and the Vistula. From this seat they were driven by the nation of the Gepidæ. On their expulsion they

settled between the Mayne and the Neckar. At the beginning of the fifth century they joined their fortunes with other Suevian tribes, the Alans and the Vandals, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, and, under command of their king, Gundicar, penetrated the country of the Saône and the Rhone. In course of time Geneva and Lyons were the successive capitals of this district.

To battle with the Franks was the characteristic of the first century of the independent existence of the Burgundians. In 436 Gundicar was slain by the Huns. His son Gunderic was an ally of the Romans against Attila. Gundebald, one of the succeeding kings, was the author of the early Burgundian legislation, which was summed up under the title of *Lex Gundebalda*. Like the West Goths, the Burgundians at an early age embraced Arian Christianity.

In 554 that King Gondemar was slain by the Franks, who henceforth asserted their supremacy in Burgundy. The king just mentioned was the last of

Movements
whereby Bur-
gundy fell to
France.

the old Burgundian dynasty. When, after the death of Charlemagne, disintegration became the order of the day, Boson, a Burgundian chieftain, husband of Ermengarde, who was the daughter of the Emperor Louis II, refounded the independent kingdom of Lower Burgundy. But in 882 Charles the Fat restored the Frankish ascendancy over the country. Afterwards, by a revolution, Upper Burgundy and Lower Burgundy were united in the kingdom of Arles, and this, in 1033, was united to Germany by Conrad II. Afterwards the country became the countship of Franche Comte, and this was absorbed by Charles the Bold, who stood at once in his day for the independence of Burgundy and the maintenance of the old

Origin and his-
torical facts of
the Burgundians.

feudal liberties of France. He yielded to his rival, Louis XI, and lost both his claims and his life in the battle of Nancy, in 1477.

Another of the outgoing Germanic nations were the Vandals, who

in like manner gave their

name to a country which it has ever since retained. Far down in Spain lies the province of Andalusia, manifestly *Vandalusia*, if the word had not lost its initial. According to Tacitus, the Vandals were assigned to a portion of the country which associated them with the Low Germans; and it has been agreed by modern scholars that they were allied with the Goths. Their ancient seats appear to have been in Brandenburg and Pomerania. In the second century they came against the borders of Bohemia, where the mountains now called Riesen-Gebirge took their name. In 271 they were defeated in battle by Aurelian. The conditions of peace were that they should annually furnish

two thousand confederates for service in the Roman army.

In the early part of the fourth century the Vandals were overthrown by the Goths, and in their desperate condition

they sought and obtained from Rome the privilege of settling in the country of Pannonia. The Western empire was now in a condition of decline. In 406



OLD HIGH GERMAN TYPES—SIGURD AND BRUNHILD.

the Vandals crossed the Rhine and plunged into Gaul. Stilicho, the general of Honorius, is said to have been of Vandal extraction. Loyal as he was, he was accused of sympathizing with his

countrymen, and having procured their invasion of Gaul. This was the *grava-*
men of the charges against
 him. A battle of the Van-
 dals with the Franks result-
 ed in a loss of two thousand of their
 warriors and their king. In 409 Gun-
 deric lead the nation across the Pyrenees.
 There were two divisions of the invad-
 ers, one of which occupied Galicia and
 the other Andalusia. For twenty years
 the war was kept up between the Van-
 dals on the one side, and the Romans,
 Goths, and Suevians, by turns, on the
 other. It appears that the division of
 the Vandals which had first entered Gal-
 icia passed over into Andalusia and
 joined their countrymen in the occupa-
 tion of that province.

Twenty years later the Vandals
 were invited over into Africa. Gun-
 deric perished, and the
 power of the nation passed
 into the hands of his il-
 legitimate half-brother Genseric, whose
 name is most associated with the desti-
 nies of his race. He is represented as
 having been short of stature, limping in
 his gait, having little of the heroic about
 his person, but possessing greatness of
 character and filling his life with heroic
 deeds. He put himself at the head of
 eighty thousand men who composed his
 nation, and on the invitation of Boniface,
 Count of Africa, passed over into that
 country and took possession of a large
 part of the coast. All the cities of Ro-
 man Africa, with the exception of Car-
 thage, Hippo, and Cirta, were taken by
 the Vandals in 430. The siege of Hippo
 was unsuccessful. In 435 the Emperor
 Valentinian III made peace with the
 Vandal nation, conceding to them the
 African province which had belonged
 to Rome, with the exception of Carthage

They make their
 way to the
 southwest and
 conquer Spain.

Northern Africa
 also becomes a
 Vandal state.

and a small strip of adjacent territory.
 Thus in the south we see the planting
 of a German state by tribes which had
 been thrown into migration and conquest
 by the pressure of the barbarians on the
 east of Germania proper.

We may now contemplate the German
 race thus thrust out into the countries
 bordered on the west by
 the Rhine and the Dan-
 ube, the separation of
 the same into tribes and nations, and
 the gradual differentiation of the Teu-
 tonic family into three great families
 of High Germans, Low Germans, and
 Scandinavians. We have thus far spo-
 ken of the High Germanic evolution,
 and have considered it in the epoch
 extending from the third century B. C.
 to the eighth century of our era. In the
 later developments of the race, we have
 not paused to look at the conservative
 Germanic element which remained in
 ancient Germania, gradually growing
 toward the form and substance of the
 modern German people, but rather have
 considered the emigrant portion of the
 race as it broke over the Danube and
 the Rhine, dividing into different chan-
 nels, one of which overflowed Italy, an-
 other Spain, and another France.

Meanwhile the greater ethnic pro-
 cess of dividing the Low German family
 from the High Germans was going on.
 In all the country which coasted the
 Baltic and the North sea the Ingavonian
 tribes were passing into a new type of
 character. We may now consider them
 as separated from the parent stock, and
 planted in the maritime regions and low
 marsh country of the north, about the
 estuaries of the great rivers which roll
 down out of Germania and Northern
 France and Holland into the inhospitable
 waters of the Baltic and the North sea.

Summary of the
 topics thus far
 considered.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—OLD NORTH GERMAN TRIBES.



HERE it was that a Teutonic people, called in general in modern times by the name of Dutch, took their rise. This people has had for its ancestors several of the tribes whom we have already named. The Cimbrî, the Suiones of Tacitus, and many other Germanic nations furnished the material out of which the Dutch states of the north were peopled. We are here, however, more concerned to note the features of ethnic departure between the Low and the High German divisions of the race. These were, in the first place, physical. That is, the Dutch from a very early period took on a physical character easily distinguished by broad lines from the primitive nations beyond the Rhine.

The physical peculiarities of a people must be referred in a large measure to climatic environment. Habit has also much to do with determining the material characteristics of a given family of men. But habit in its turn is for the most part traceable to the exigencies of climate. We must in the ages now before us think of the pressing out of the Germanic races from the bottom of that territorial cylinder into which they had been driven by the piston of barbarism.

There were three vents to relieve the pressure in the bottom of the vessel.

Environment of the Jutes and place of the Saxons.

One was by way of the Danube; another by way of the Rhine; and a third by the way of the North sea coast and the Baltic. The Gothic nations found their exit by the first named vent; the Franks

and the Vandals, by the second; and the Dutch, by the third. At the time of which we speak the Baltic coast beyond the mouths of the Rhine was known by the general name of Frisia. It was from this part of the country that the Frisians issued, and not only they, but also the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. It is thought that Jutland and Angleland still mark in modern geography the seats of the primitive barbarians who took to the sea in their boats and ultimately overran England. The Saxons were further from the coast, but joined the movement which carried barbarian invasions into the Hollowlands and finally into Britain.

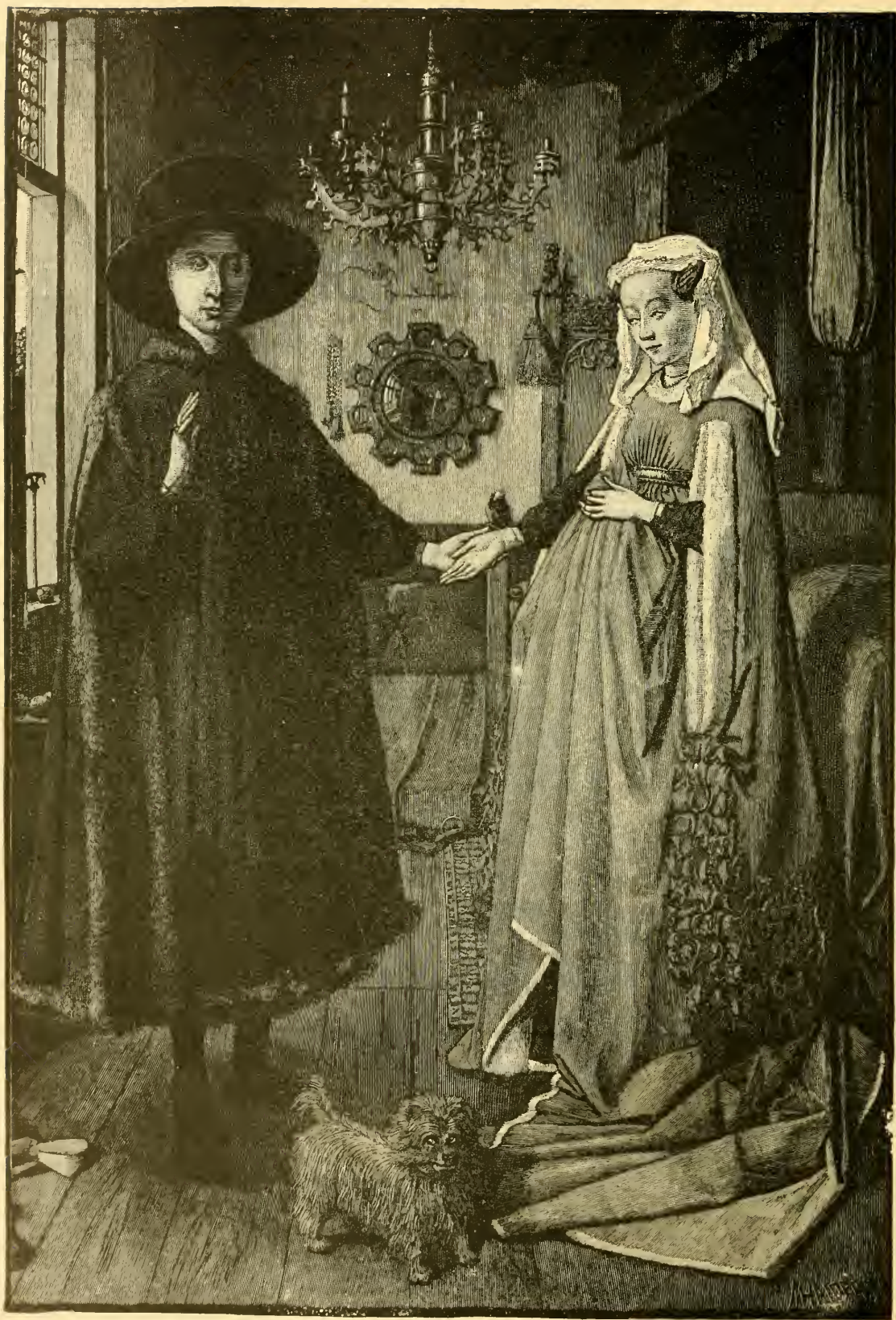
Holland itself was in the first place filled with these adventurers. There is no part of the world in which the land and the water are more mixed together than on this northern coast. The land

Contention of sea and land on the coast of Holland.

fights for its existence, and the sea for its supremacy. The mouths of all these northern rivers are estuaries, which are overflowed when the tide sets in from the sea or exposed as dry land when the tide is out. It is also a region of storms and excessive tempests. The Baltic is lashed landward by the howling blasts that lift high the sea and fling it upon the land. To contend with such a situation required all the courage and audacity of man.

But the old Ingavonian barbarians faced this country and took it. They planted themselves in settlements that were exposed to the wrath of every element which has for its work destruction. Not only so, but the barbarian

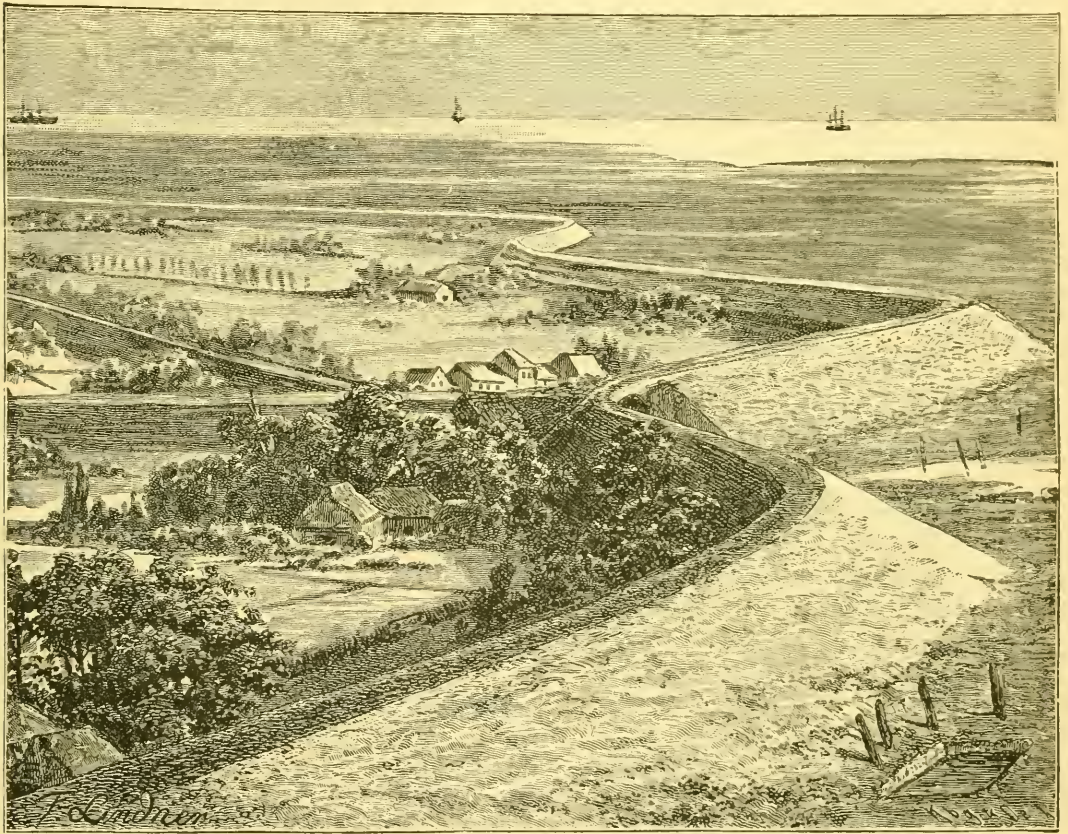
The Ingavonian barbarians become the hawks of the sea.



DUTCH TYPES.—From *Magazine of Art*.

habit, the passion of battle, the vacillation from one locality to another, and the love of spoil were still uppermost in the character of the Low Germanic peoples that drifted along this bleak, terrible coast. In adventure, they took to the water. They became the hawks of the sea. They were pirates, hunters of men, drifting far out in their open boats

to even greater bulk than that of the ancestral stock. Under the rude and foggy climate, changing ever and anon to blasts of cold and snow, the bodies of the people became thick and short. The athletic majesty of form which the primitive Germans had borne from the times of Cæsar and Tacitus was modified under the influence of the sea and the



DIKES OF THE HOLLOWLANDS.

on a stormy sea that would have engulfed an argosy.

Meanwhile those influences of climate of which we spoke above began to modify the physical character, and perhaps the passions, of these Dutch sea kings.

It can not be said that they dwindled from the stalwart bodily form which they had in the German woods. If they sank to a lower stature, they spread

lowlands, and passed into that thickset and coarse type of personality which has become proverbial in all history as the physical expression of the Dutch and the Anglo-Saxons.

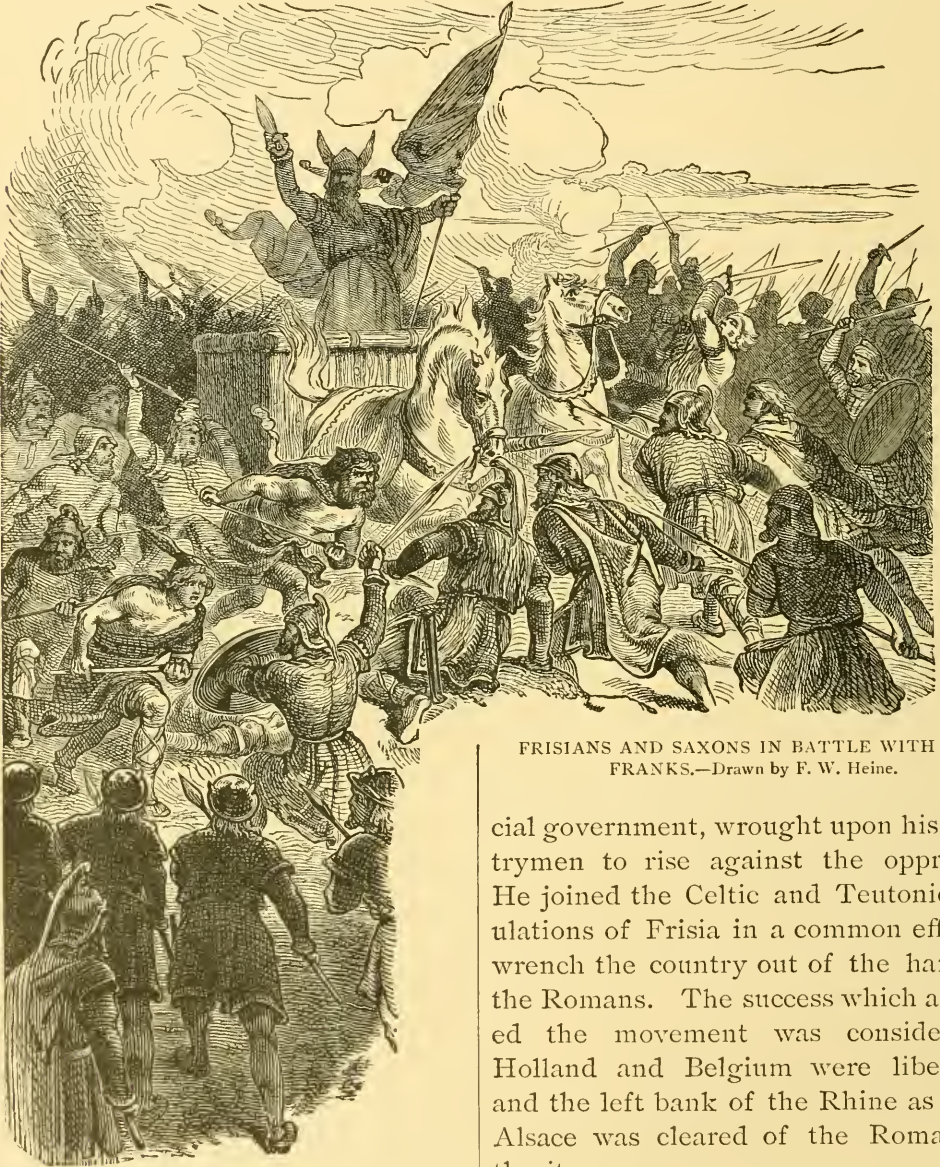
In the times of Cæsar the country between the Rhine and the Scheldt was occupied by the Belgæ, whom the Roman historian terms the bravest of all the Gauls. In the primitive ages it can not

Place and condition of the Belgæ and Batavi.

Modifications in the form and features of the Dutch.

be doubted that the country was Celtic in its population. The Belgians were so regarded, but it was already observed that they differed not much from the Germans who dwelt beyond the Rhine.

a patriot of the Netherlands, having learned in the Roman armies the actual condition of the empire, marking the wrongs which both Gauls and Germans had suffered at the hands of the provin-



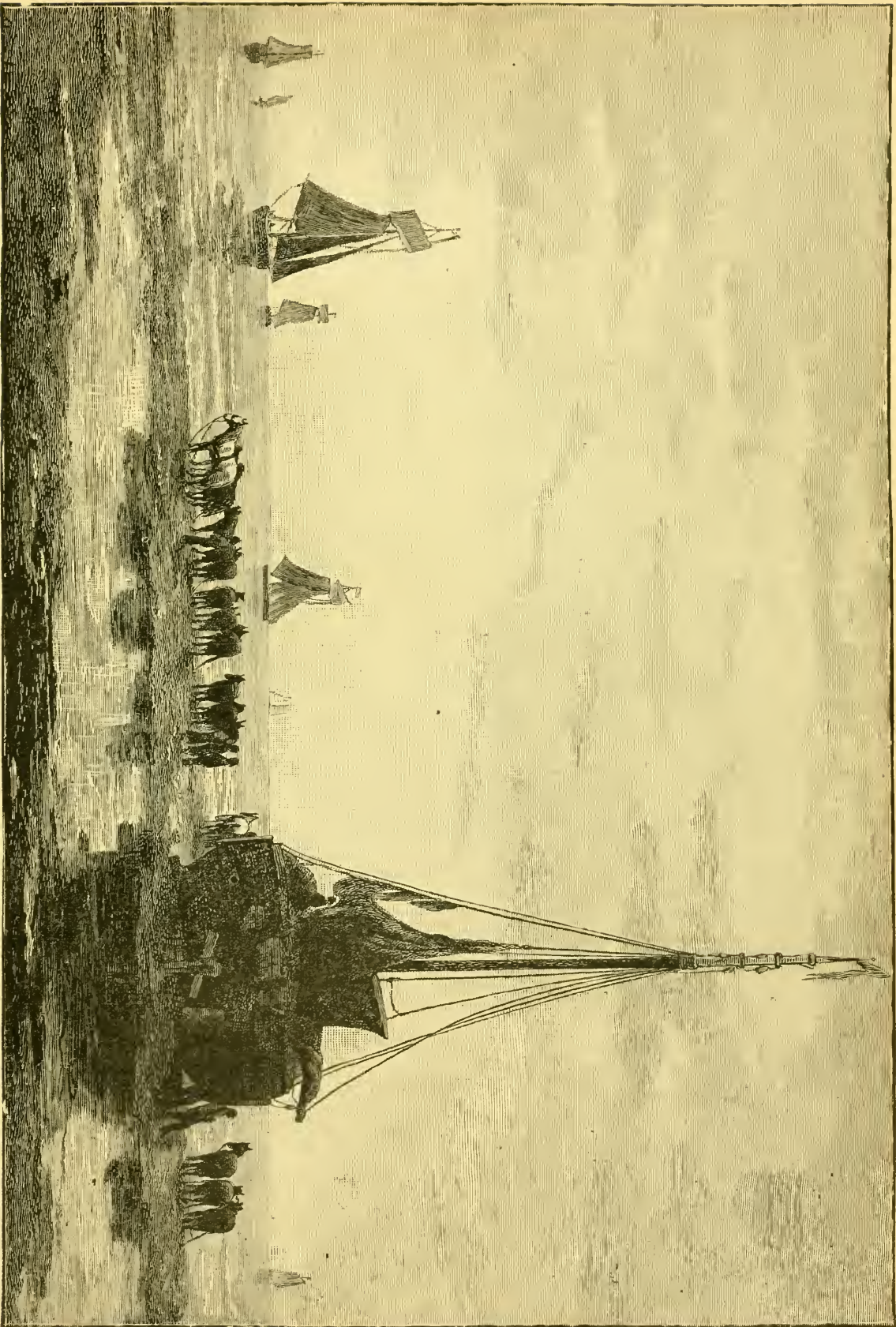
FRISIANS AND SAXONS IN BATTLE WITH THE FRANKS.—Drawn by F. W. Heine.

cial government, wrought upon his countrymen to rise against the oppressor. He joined the Celtic and Teutonic populations of Frisia in a common effort to wrench the country out of the hands of the Romans. The success which attended the movement was considerable. Holland and Belgium were liberated, and the left bank of the Rhine as far as Alsace was cleared of the Roman authority.

At length the General Cerealis was sent to the north and began to restore the imperial sway. Claudius Civilis was obliged to yield, and the Batavians again submitted to the conquerors. The old

Here also dwelt the Batavi, who were still more clearly Teutonic in their origin and character. After the conquest of Gaul by the Romans the Belgic peoples were reduced to a friendly relation. In the year 69 A. D., Claudius Civilis,

The Batavians yield to Rome; conquest by the Franks.



OFF THE COAST OF HOLLAND.—ON THE EBB.—from *Magazine of Art*.

frontier between Gaul and Germany was restored. The next agitation of the country was caused late in the third century by the invasion of the Franks. Two centuries later Clovis overran the Netherlands, and all of South Holland yielded to his sway. After the death of Clovis the Saxons, in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, planted themselves in Overijssel and Drenthe. They took up arms against the Franks, and, backed by the Frisians, maintained the struggle during the whole of the Merovingian ascendancy in France. Nor did these northern warriors yield to the Frankish generals until they were at last reduced by the genius and prowess of Charlemagne.

The next great event in the destinies of the northern race was the conversion of the people to Christianity. This happened in the reign of Dagobert I. In battle with the Frisians and Saxons at the town of Wiltenberg, the Franks were victorious. This was at the close of the first quarter of the seventh century. Wiltenberg became Utrecht, the capital of the Netherlands. This was the physical institution of Christianity, but the moral reform was wrought a half century later by Willebrod, Bishop of Northumbria. He operated in the Netherlands under the authority of Pepin of Héristal. Limburg, North Brabant, Utrecht, and other provinces were one by one pervaded by the new religion, and the people were brought over to the Christian standard. After the death of Willebrod, Wolfram of Sens took up the work, and at the middle of the eighth century he was succeeded by Saint Boniface, who was called the apostle of the Germans. It was at Dokkum, in Friesland, that he was brought to martyrdom while preaching

The Low Germans are converted to Christianity.

among the heathen. No people ever more stoutly resisted the impact of Christianity, none ever more stoutly maintained the ancient paganism than did these barbarians of the country lying along the North sea and the Baltic. The student of history will quickly recall how under the direction of Wittekind, in the age of Charlemagne, the Low Germans, particularly the Saxons, still stoutly resisted the progress of the Christian monks, and how it required all the power of Charlemagne's governmental and military machinery to bring them at last into nominal subjection to the gospel. His plan of enforcing baptism on the natives is one of the most spectacular episodes of the Middle Ages.

Charlemagne also imposed on the Hollanders the French system of land-ownership. The country was parceled out among dukes and counts. A portion of the land was also set aside for the bishops of the Church. Brabant became a dukedom. Flanders, Holland, and Guelderland were made into countships, and the country about Utrecht constituted the bishopric of that name. This arrangement furnished the basis of that feudalism which, under the degenerate descendants of Charlemagne, became virtually an independent system. The Bishop of Utrecht had under his dominion the northern portion of the Netherlands, South Holland, and a part of Zealand; and the Saxon bishops of Münster and Osnabrück ruled the eastern districts. The southern part of the country was under the dominion of the Frankish bishops of Cologne, Liege, and Doornik. In course of time the dukedoms were divided up into countships and into *gaus*. Each *gau* had as its center a walled town, where the

Development of feudalism among the Hollanders.

count lived, and with his judges administered justice. These towns were also the commercial seats of the various tribes. Each district was subdivided into marks, or villages, and over each mark, or village, was the headman who acted as judge in local causes. In the northern gaus the Frisians were pre-

received for his inheritance North Brabant, Guelderland, Limburg, and modern Belgium. Flanders and a part of Zealand went to Charles the Bald, while the countries on the right bank of the Rhine were assigned to Louis the German. A border-land was thus again established between Gaul and Germany.



NATIVES OF URK IN THE ZUYDER ZEE.—FRISIAN TYPES.

dominant, in the middle districts the Saxons, and in the southern the Franks.

What is known as the treaty, or partition, of Verdun, was a landmark in the history of the Dark Ages. The sons of Charlemagne adopted the plan of division instead of the plan of consolidation. Lothaire, son of Louis the Pious,

**Ethnic results
of the treaty of
Verdun.**

When Louis II died, without heirs, his uncle Charles the Bald gained possession of all the Northern Netherlands, together with Friesland. But there was great fluctuation, many assignments and reassignments of territories in the remainder of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century.

If we turn to the consideration of the country we shall find it a woodland

swamp, in a region in constant debate, between the sea and the land. There

The Northmen
take to sea; Rolf
the Ganger and
his raids.

were two means of communication in these ages, one by way of the broad,

sluggish rivers, and the other along the Roman roads which had been made through the country. We have now arrived at the time when the Northmen from the shores of the Baltic made their way to the west, penetrated Holland, and began their ravages along the river banks, many times inducing the Saxons and the Frisians to join them in their forays and expeditions. In the reign of Louis the Pious these freebooters were given the district extending from Walcheren to the river Weser. They gained possession even of Utrecht, and planted themselves firmly in the country. It was Rolf the Ganger who seized Walcheren, and in a few years occupied Nimeguen. He extended his conquest as far as Cologne. His campaigns were high-handed in the last degree. He took Aix, capital of Charlemagne, and in the very chapel of that emperor stabled his own and his companions' horses. A full-blown barbarian revel was celebrated in the land until what time Charles the Fat, by the payment of large subsidies, induced Rolf to withdraw into his own estates.

Among the people inhabiting the northern coast, those Lowland Germans who have given their name to the different countries and who may be defined as the uncles of the English-speaking race, the Frisians should have prominent mention. Their native seats seem to have been between the Weser on the east and the Scheldt on the west. Their territories never extended very far from the coast of the German ocean. A part of Schleswig, however, is still

inhabited by people of Frisian descent. It is thought by Dr. Latham that the ancient Frisian settlements extended eastward as far as the islands of Funen and Zealand, and well up into Denmark. To the latter region the name of Frisia Minor, or Lesser Frisia, was given.

The early history of this people is obscure, legendary. On the whole, the Frisians were lacking in two peculiarly Germanic qualities. They displayed neither political ambition nor the migratory habit of life, and both of these circumstances have made against them in national development. So far as Rome was concerned, the nation became tributary to the republic in the times of Drusus Germanicus. The subsidy which the Romans exacted was in oxhides, but in course of time it was decreed that the hides should all be of a certain superior quality which the Frisians could not well produce. They accordingly revolted, and in 28 A. D. made a trial of arms with the empire. It is said in the *Annals* of Tacitus that they compelled the Consul Corbulo to grant them a senate, a body of magistrates, and a constitution. But for their own future good behavior they gave hostages to the Romans.

It is said that the ambassadors of the Frisian nation on going to Rome on a certain occasion walked into Pompey's theater, and, without invitation, took their seats among the senators. Their audacity won the admiration of the Roman people, but the emperor refused to grant them the district which they were attempting to colonize. One of the reasons for giving prominent mention in this connection to the people, called Frisians is because their language most nearly of all represents the continental type of Anglo-Saxon, and because the

Relations of the
Frisian chiefs
with the Ro-
mans.

Native seats of
the Frisians; the
race lacking in
two qualities.

warriors of the nation were drawn along in great numbers in the movement which brought the Angles and the Saxons from their seats into our ancestral islands.

As the Frisians gave their name to Friesland, so the Jutes gave theirs to

Jutland marks the division between Low Germans and Norse.

Jutland, the upper portion of the Danish peninsula. It is believed by ethnographers that this country was the Thule of ancient geography. With more certainty it may be identified with the Cimbric Chersonesus. As the Rhine constitutes the border line between the High and Low German families, so Jutland marks the divisions between the Low Germans and the Scandinavians. Some critics have identified the ancient inhabitants of this peninsula with the so-called *Geuthi* of Ptolemy, and have agreed that they came by a reflex migration out of Scandinavia on the northern coast of the Baltic.

The reader will not have forgotten how the final settlements and na-

tional development of the Celtic races in the west of Europe were peninsular and insular—how Bretagne and Cornwall and Wales, the Scottish Highlands and Ireland, became the ethnic resort of

Why the Jutes led the van in barbarian adventure.

the Celts, hard pressed as they were by the stronger peoples from Gaul and the East. We may see the same ethnic conditions here transferred to the Teutonic race, and illustrated in the peninsular situation of the Jutes. It was for this reason that these people first of all took to the sea and led the van of the barbarian voyages which carried the Teutonic peoples to the coasts of England. It is agreed that after the departure of the Romans the Jutes were the first to plant themselves on the shores of Britain. Another circumstance, that of climate, led to the transference of large bodies of the peninsular barbarians of the region now before us to the low-lying, oak-covered woods and river lands of Britain. Taine has called it "a rude and foggy land—like their own."

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—THE ANGLO-SAXONS.



THE nearly two hundred million people who now speak the English tongue can never lose their interest in that branch of the Low Germanic race called the Anglo-Saxons. It is accepted by ethnologists as a fact that the three tribes of Germany, the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons, who came into our ancestral

Place of the Angles and the Saxons.

islands, had all a common Teutonic origin. The Angles as well as the Jutes, whom we have just described, dwelt in the pen-

insula of Jutland. In the adjoining province of Holstein there is a region called Anglen. It might not be regarded as fanciful to recognize this as Old England and Britain as New England. Certain it is that the primitive continental home of our ancestors was in the countries now known by the general name of Denmark and in the adjacent coasts, that of the Baltic on the east and that of the North sea on the west.

If we look, however, for the habitat of the Saxons, we shall find it to have been somewhat more widely spread than that of the Jutes and Angles. They

were dispersed in general from the delta of the Rhine to the river Weser. When a portion of the race broke loose from this coast and followed their confederates, the Angles and the Jutes, into Britain, the remnant of the race left behind in its continental abode became known as the Old Saxons, to distinguish them from the Anglo-Saxons who took possession of Britain. It appears that the term Saxon came into use as an ethnic name for the confederacy of tribes by which Britain was subdued. It is believed that the word is from *seax*, meaning the short sword with which the barbarians were armed.

About the time of the withdrawal of the Roman authorities from Britain, at the middle of the fifth century, while Vortigern, the British king, was contending with Aurelius Ambrosius, two chieftains of the Jutes, bearing the somewhat mythical names of Hengist and Horsa, took to sea from the peninsula of Jutland, and in 446 or 447 A. D. arrived in the Isle of Thanet with three vessels and a band of followers. Such was the beginning of that barbarian invasion which was destined not to cease until the Danes had peopled the north of England—aye, until the Normans of the eleventh century, who followed William the Conqueror, had come over from Neustria and subverted the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

Thus the Saxons were divided into two branches: the Old Saxons left behind in Westphalia, and the Anglo-Saxons of England. It has been alleged that Vortigern *invited* Hengist and Horsa to come over into Britain and assist him in his conflict with the Romans and afterwards the Picts. If so, it was the most disastrous invitation

Expeditions of
Hengist and
Horsa into
Britain.

Fatal invitation
of Vortigern;
story of Rowena.

which the leader of one nation ever tendered to another. It is said that the war of the now unsupported Britons against the Picts and the Scots was made successful by the alliance of Vortigern with the Jutes and Saxons, and that their services were recognized by the British king by the cession to them of the Isle of Thanet. All the world has heard the story of the alleged marriage of Rowena, daughter of Hengist, to Vortigern, the British king. She had the reputation of being the most beautiful princess of her time. Rowena, at one of the feasts of the allies, carried a goblet of wine to Vortigern, saying in Saxon, “Wæs heal, hlaforð Conung,” that is, “Health to thee, my lord king.” But Vortigern did not understand the saying until it was explained to him. Then “Drinc heal” was the answer, that is, “Drink a health.” From Rowena’s words of *wæs heal* the word *was-sail*, said of the drinking cup which was passed around at feasts, was long preserved in England.

Meanwhile the appetites of the Jutes were whetted with what they fed on. They demanded larger territories, and when these were refused joined with the Picts and Scots in conquering the island. *Nimed eure seaxas*, that is, “Take your swords,” became the signal for declaring war. It was not long until the Jutes had taken possession of Cantium, that is, the modern Kent, and had extended their authority over the adjacent region.

Nimed eure seaxas; banner of the horse’s head.

It is claimed by critical scholars that much of what we have thus far related is mythical. The very names of Hengist and Horsa have been doubted. It appears that both words signify a horse. To the present day the standard of the county of Kent is a horse’s head. Nor are our authors agreed that the Jutes



IRRUPTION OF THE SAXONS.—After Speman.

were invited into England at all. It is thought more likely that they went to sea on a piratical expedition and fell on our ancestral coast after their manner. Having once taken possession of Thanet, they might easily cross into Kent, and in like manner make themselves masters of that land by violence.

Eric the Æsc, that is, Eric the Ash, extended the conquests made by his father. But with him invasion ceased,

and the people from the middle of the sixth to the beginning of the seventh century remained in a condition of quietude. Kent, however, gave up its whole British population, and the Jutes and their kindred filled up the country. The first Saxon conqueror in the island was called Ella, or Alla, who came with his three sons and with bands of warriors. The Britons had by this time become thoroughly alarmed. They made a confederacy against the invading barbarians, but a stream of new warriors flowed constantly into the island, and their foothold was strengthened in every struggle. The South Saxons settled in the country which took their name and became Sussex. Ella became the first *bretwalda*, or emperor, of his countrymen in England.

The next great army came over from the north under command of Cerdic and settled in Hampshire. They were op-

posed by Geraint. But the latter was slain in battle, and the opposition offered by his countrymen was broken down. Cerdic and Cynric became successively kings of the new territory, which was extended more and more by the aggressions of the conquerors. From the position of their countrymen, the East Saxons, the later bands took the name of West Saxons. The country was called

Wessex. The river Avon was made the boundary of the new kingdom, beyond which the British princes were still in authority. The next kingdom to be established was East Saxony, or Essex. This would have included the city of London, which had already had an existence of five centuries; but it is believed that it was not incorporated with any of the Saxon kingdoms, but was rather a tributary of Essex.

The process of Saxonizing England was now in full tide. One barbarian state after another was established. Besides the Jute kingdom of Kent, there were set up East Saxony, South Saxony, and West Saxony, then East Anglia, Mercia, and then Bernicia and Deira, making eight in all, or seven after the last two were combined into Northumbria. It was to this division of small kingdoms that the name *heptarchy* was given. Not that they all existed contemporaneously; but they appeared successively, and had, now one and now another, the ascendancy until the beginning of the ninth century, when the great Egbert, king of the West Saxons, gained the sovereignty over the whole country.

Meanwhile the Britons, that is, the Celtic peoples of the island, fell back into the western parts, making their strongholds in the Highlands of Scotland and in Wales and Cornwall. We have had occasion in a former book to point out the completeness of the conquests made by the Germanic nations in England, and the absolute retirement of the British peoples before the invaders. All of Eastern and Southeastern England was taken by the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes as completely as if the island had not been previously occupied at all. The method of conquest was en-

Southeastern
Britain overrun
by the invaders.

Establishment
of the Saxon
heptarchy and
retreat of the
Britons.

Saxon conquest
of Hampshire;
Essex and Wes-
sex founded.

tirely different from that whereby the Romans were wont to establish their authority over subject tribes.

Toward the middle of the sixth century the Angles began to pour into the country in great numbers. It is said

The Angles found East Anglia, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

that Old England was almost depopulated. It

seems that the nations adjoining the Angles on the Continent did not rush in to take the place of the latter when they went forth to England. They themselves, namely, the tribes adjacent to Angleland, in the Low Countries, were putting forth into foreign regions. When the tribes came into England they were divided into two classes, the North Folk and the South Folk. The kingdom of East Anglia included, therefore, both Norfolk and Suffolk. The original immigrants who peopled this part of the country were separated from the rest of Britain. There were broad, deep marshes toward the west. The country was much like a peninsula, and at the isthmus the East Angles cast up an earthwork, defended on the British side by a great moat. This work was generally known in the Middle Ages as the Giant's Dike, and a part of it is still called the Devil's Dike.

Uffa was the first of the East Anglian chieftains to rise to the rank of king. His

Situation of affairs north of the Humber.

descendants were known as the Uffingas. But the kingdom was small and unim-

portant, and very little has been preserved of its early history. Extending from the river Humber to the Firth of Forth lay the two principalities of Deira and Bernicia. These were separated from each other by a forest which filled up the tract of country between the Tyne and the Tees. The river Tyne became at length the true boundary. The districts beyond the Humber were from

their situation greatly exposed to the attacks of the Jute and Saxon pirates, but on this part of the coast the native peoples had more unity than any other parts of England, and were thus able in a measure to keep the invaders at bay.

In this manner was formed the heptarchy. The term is erroneous, but has become familiar, and can hardly be expurgated from history. As we have said,

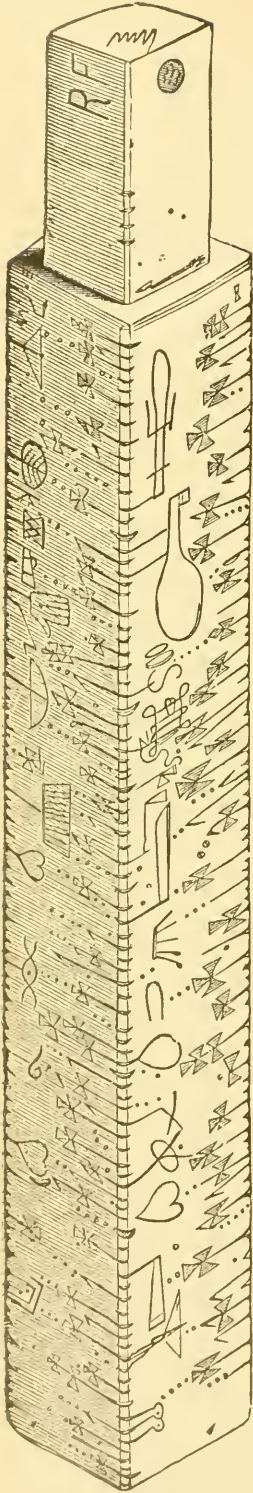
The Britons maintain a precarious footing in England.

no period in the annals of Britain saw seven Germanic kingdoms independent of each other. Many cities, such as Worcester in Mercia, and London in Essex, remained independent, but the best parts of Britain passed under Anglo-Saxon dominion, whilst the Cymric Celts were pressed back into the western districts of the island. Here, aided by the character of the country, by its woods, its mountains, and morasses, they still maintained themselves against the invaders. In Strathclyde and Cumbria also the Britons were in the ascendant. Here was their dun, or fortress, known by the modern name of Dunbarton, and the authority of the natives extended as far as the borders of Lancashire, while the state was defended on the other side from Northumbria by the range of highlands called the British Apennines.

Devonshire was largely a Cymric state, and Cornwall, known as West Wales in the language of the Saxons, remained independent.

The Welsh Celts lose their nationality.

To the middle of the seventh century the Welsh Celts still hoped to recover the island and to set up again a national monarchy; but after the death of their king, Cadwaladyr, who first resigned his crown and then went on a pilgrimage to Rome, the hope of a restored nationality was abandoned by the Cymrians, and the more ambitious part of the race took to sea and joined



SAXON CALENDAR.

their countrymen in Armorica. It was by this process of expulsion and decline that the Celtic race lost all expectation of a national sovereignty in the West.

The last of the ethnic struggles which occurred in our ancestral islands, determinative for the future of the joint occupation of both races within the limits of the country, was that between the Celts of Wales and the Anglo-Saxons, more particularly the Mercians, who invaded that country. It was in this region that the Cymric Celts fought their most desperate battles, not, indeed, so much for victory as for existence in their native country. There were occasions on which it appeared that the Saxons were victorious. Wales was overrun, and the authority of the Teutonic invaders temporarily

the Saxon customs and laws, and with a peculiar antipathy against the Saxons themselves. Meanwhile the Cymri maintained their old lines of descent, especially in the royal families, always having a nominal king of their own blood and nationality.

The people were never to any considerable extent dispossessed of the soil. They would not mingle with the Mercian invaders; and though they rendered tribute, they would not acknowledge the authority by which it was exacted. A condition of vassalage, however, was established even in Wales. Annual subsidies were exacted by the conquerors. But the Anglo-Saxon language was never enforced in the western mountainous districts of the island. Before the days of Alfred a condition was established as between Wales and Cornwall on the one side and Anglo-Saxon Britain on the other, which was nearly identical with that long afterwards existing when the heptarchy had given place to a united kingdom, and that in turn had been transformed into the Norman monarchy. We have already seen at how late a date Wales accepted the sovereignty of the foreign race and fell into the rank of a county, under the scepter of the Plantagenets. Thus from the side of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain we have outlined the course of history down to that epoch to which we have already referred in our account of the Welsh people as a branch of the Celtic race.

Chronologically, this abolition of the British kingdoms, that is, the Celtic states of England and the substitution thereof of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, reached from the middle of the fifth to near the close of the seventh century. By the latter date the contest was

Condition of
Wales after
yielding to the
Saxon power.

Geographical
limitation of
the Celtic race.

established, but the Cymri set themselves with great determination against

decided. The struggle had been fierce in the last degree and long continued. It was the beating of an Anglo-Saxon pestle into the British reservoir of the Celtic race. It can not be doubted—if we may be permitted to indulge in hypothesis—that the Celts would in their turn have taken to sea and gone to other lands if such a thing had been possible. But this unfortunate race had already been pressed from one national seat to another until it had taken a final lodgment in the peninsulas and islands of Northwestern Europe. Further it could not go. Nothing remained except extermination or else a final defense in the Highlands, in insular Ireland, and in peninsular Wales, Cornwall, and Bretagne.

On their coming into Britain the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes were in a state of paganism.

Paganism of the Teutonic conquerors of England.

Their beliefs and practices had been derived from the common Teutonic stock in the countries beyond the Rhine and in the lowlands along the Baltic and the North sea. What those beliefs were, their nature and derivation, we have already seen. In a general way the worship of the Saxons, in common with that of the other Germanic nations, had respect to two classes of objects: The first was those visible and predominant elements of the external world and in the planetary regions by the aid of which the barbarians were manifestly benefited. Of these, the principal earthly objects were water and fire; and the most conspicuous planetary deities were the sun and the moon. The second source of veneration and worship was the heroic ancestry of the race. Descent was not of itself a fact to beget adoration, but heroism was a source of inspiration which might not be overlooked. It is

doubtful whether any other original elements entered into the pantheon of the Anglo-Saxons except the beneficial powers of nature and hero worship.

There was, moreover, a touch of the practical in the system of paganism which the northern barbarians brought with them into England. The days of the week were parceled out among the

Teutonic nomenclature of the days of the week.

deities whom the people adored. Sunday was *Sunnadæg*, that is, day of the sun; for the first day of the week was devoted to the worship of the luminary of day. Monday was *Monandæg*, or Moonday, having rank next to the day of the sun. It may well be mentioned as an incidental fact that the sun of the Anglo-Saxon, as in all other Teutonic dialects, was feminine, and the moon masculine, thus reversing the concept of the Græco-Italic peoples of the south. The sun was thought of as the mother and the moon as the father of nature.

It was the custom of the German nations in general to hold their courts on the third day of the week, which was accordingly known as *Dingstag*, meaning court-day. The Anglo-Saxons, however, called this day *Tuiesdæg*, that is,

Mixture of elements in the names of the days.

Tuisco's dæg, or the day of Mercury, the chief mythological deity of the race. In the next place we come to the recognition of the demigod Wodin, whose name, *Wodinsdæg*, was given to the fourth day of the week, modified in course of time into Wednesday. In like manner the fifth day of the week had a mythological derivation from the god Thor, that is, the Thunderer. *Thorsdæg* was Thunderer's day. We have already called attention to the fact that Jove the Thunderer was in the Norse mythology reduced to a secondary rank, *Tuisco* holding the first. Freya, the wife of

rocks and running streams and green trees were worshiped by the Angles of Deira, and that to these libations and sacrifices were made, the evidence that such forms of adoration had been absorbed by the conquerors from the conquered people is so weak as hardly to justify the hypothesis. It is probably nearer the truth to say that such forms of religious ceremony, and particularly the circumstances under which they were observed, should be referred to the common belief of all the German nations that the Elves, the people of Lich-talfheim, had their abodes on the river banks and in the silence of the woods, and that the worshiper should seek a nearness with the objects of worship by going, as it were, to the door of Elf-land to offer their sacrifices.

We have in the preceding pages ascribed as a motive for the removal of tribes and nations from one place and country to another the pressure upon them by other incoming tribes and nations from the East. It has been said that the Hunnish pestle, beating on the Germanic mass and thrust into it as it lay compressed between the Danube and the Baltic, compelled its bursting forth on the western sides; compelled the outgoing of the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, and the Saxons into Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. All this is true, but the truth is not complete. Such an exposition of the subject in question is partial. All history is a statement of half-truths. If the Germanic nations had to a sufficient extent adopted the settled manner of life, if they had been fixed by any passionate attachment to the wild forests and marsh lands which they inhabited, they would have turned upon the Asiatics and driven them back to their own place.

The earth tie, however, is weak with tribes and peoples who are still in the migratory stage. In a corresponding degree the passion of adventure and conquest is strong. We thus see that mixed and complex motives would operate in drawing forth the Goths, the Franks, and the Saxons from their ancestral seats. Withal, the disposition to cultivate the soil, and to deduce therefrom the means of subsistence rather than to gain the same by the chase and war, was weak among those nations. To



EXTRACT FROM HAROLD, TENTH CENTURY.

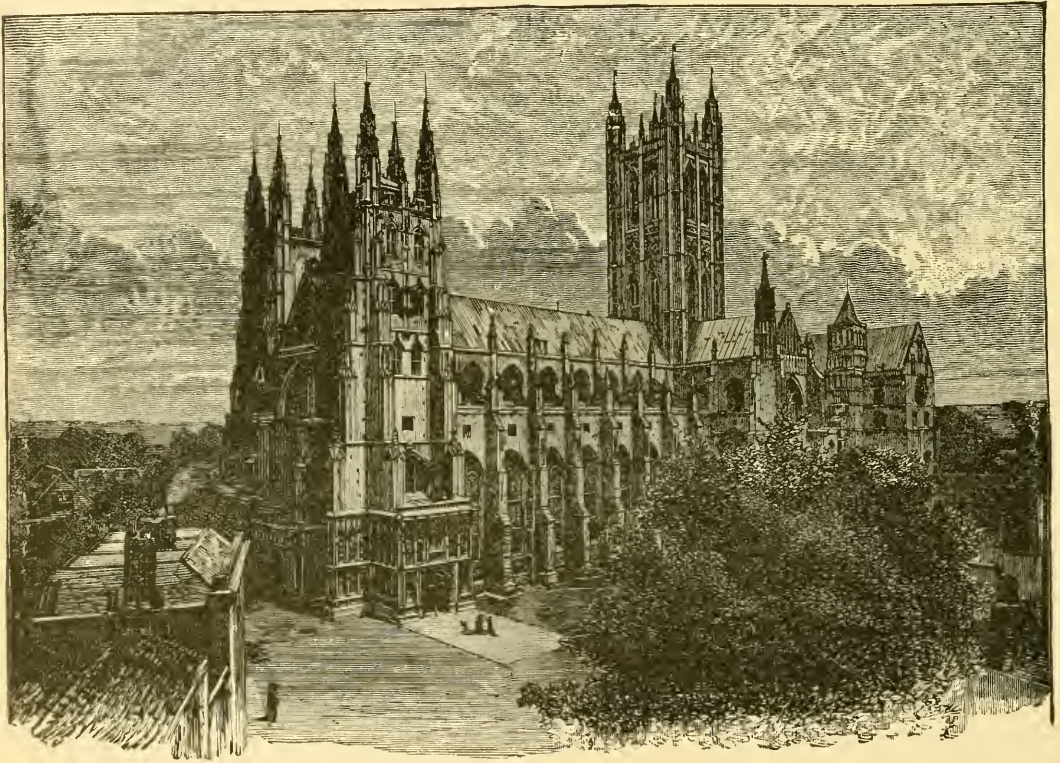
go forth meant the exploit of battle and the easy subsistence of conquest. It meant spoliation. It meant the discovery of new seats more advantageous than those already occupied. It meant to strike and conquer peoples who were weaker than themselves, who had already amassed such wealth as they might not be able to defend. The Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons were drawn to the British coasts rather than forced; though they were both. The crowding behind them urged them to

take to the sea. The robber passion also urged them to it, and the piratical imagination of the race was excited with vague rumors which had come to them of islands out in the west, not far from the mainland, wherein abundant resources might be gained by war, rich lands possessed under the circle of the sword.

The three principal nations of Ger-

the first Jutes in England, that Saint Gregory, not yet a pope of Rome, passed through the market-place in the Eternal City and saw the captive youths sitting there ready for sale, bright blue as to their eyes, ruddy as to their cheeks, and crowned with sunlight as to their long yellow hair.

Gregory, though a saint, was not above punning. "To what nation do



CANTERBURY, FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

mans can scarcely be regarded as fixed in their Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in Britain before the great religious change was prepared, under the influence of which paganism was abandoned in the island and Christianity instituted in its stead. We have already had occasion to refer to this change in the account of the Celtic nations by which Britain was so long possessed. It was in the year 588, nearly a century and a half after the arrival of

First touch of
Christianity;
tradition of
Saint Gregory.

these boys belong?" was the question which he addressed to the slave-dealer. "They are Angles, father," said he who dealt in human merchandise. "*Non Angli, sed angeli*" ("Not Angles, but angels"), replied the good father, in a humorous sympathy for the condemned, and then added: "I would they might be cherubim in heaven." Then he continued: "Out of what province do they come?" "From Deira, in England, father," said the dealer. "*De*

ira Dei liberandi sunt” (“From the wrath of God they must be delivered”), said the holy man, playing on *de ira*, which was pronounced like *Deira*. “And what is the king of that country?” “*Alla*” (*Ella*), said the slave trader. “Then we will make it *all-lujah*,” said the saintly punster.—Such is the legendary beginning of that enterprise by which the Anglo-Saxon races in Britain were brought to an acceptance of the gospel by the influence of Roman missionaries.

At the time of which we speak Ethelbert, King of Kent, had risen to the rank of Bretwalda, or sovereign, of all the Saxon kingdoms. He had as his wife the princess Bertha, sister of Charibert, King of France. She had become a convert to Christianity before leaving the Frankish kingdom. During the Roman occupancy of Britain that people had erected a church in the neighborhood of Canterbury, but the building had been abandoned after the withdrawal of the Roman power. Bertha, with the permission of her husband, had the edifice repaired and converted into a cathedral. So when Saint Augustine and his forty monks, sent out under the auspices of Gregory to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, arrived in the island, they found a vantage-ground with the King of Kent.

The Christian embassy arrived in Thanet, and Ethelbert was sent for by them. It appears that the king was somewhat afraid of the meeting, but he received them with kindness, and paid some attention to their exhortations and the chanting of the Litany. The monks rapidly gained ground in the Kentish kingdom, and it was not long until Ethelbert and all the people abandoned the worship of Thor and Wodin and adopted the Christian religion as their

faith. It is said that on a single day ten thousand of the people of Kent were baptized. When the news reached Rome, Gregory was greatly elated, and wrote a letter to his brother Eulogius, of Alexandria, telling him the wonderful success of his missionaries “in the most remote parts of the world.”

The Anglo-Saxon chronicle goes on relating how Ethelbert became anxious to give to Augustine and his companions every opportunity and advantage in the performance of the ceremonies of the new religion. He first surrendered to them a portion of his own palace, to be occupied for worship until a cathedral might be erected on the premises near by. Ample possessions were given to all the priests. A great church edifice was founded, which was destined to become the Cathedral of Canterbury. The structure thus laid, with the additions thereto, survived until the eleventh century, when it was burned to ashes. Then the celebrated Lanfranc undertook the rebuilding of the cathedral, and the larger part of the structure refers to this period, though some parts are of later date. Ever afterwards this edifice continued to be the seat of the primacy of the English Church. The priests, soon after the foundation of Canterbury, made their way into Essex. Of this kingdom, Sebert, nephew of Ethelbert, was king. This circumstance gave the monks a great advantage. Thus came the new religion to London.

At the time of which we speak London was limited to the ancient city which had been surrounded with a wall in the age of Constantine. Outside of this there were moorlands and marshes. On one side a small river, falling into the Thames, formed an island, which bore

Conversion of
the Saxons of
Kent to the new
faith.

Ethelbert favors
Saint Augustine;
foundation of
Canterbury.

Aspects of London
in the sixth
century.

the Anglo-Saxon name of Thorney. Here in the Roman times there had been built a temple of Apollo. It was a fancy of Sebert to convert this place into a Christian church, which he accordingly did, and which is now the Westminster Abbey of universal fame. Within the city of London, on the ruins of the Temple of Diana, also of Roman origin, Sebert and his people laid the

bria. During the reign of Edwin, war broke out with Wessex, and the Northumbrian king made a vow that if successful he would abjure paganism and become a Christian. The event so fell out that he must keep his vow. Thus the court of Northumbria took on the Christian doctrine. From kingdom to kingdom the new faith spread, until it became the established religion of the



LANDING OF SAINT AUGUSTINE IN KENT, 597 A. D.—Drawn by Herbert Bone.

foundations of another church, which became known as Saint Paul's Cathedral. Thus in the southeastern parts of the island Christianity made rapid headway.

But the pagans north of the Humber retained their heathenism until the reign of Edwin. The last named monarch had taken in marriage Ethelburgha, daughter

Pagans of the
north yield to
Christianity.

of Ethelbert, and her brother Eadbert succeeded his uncle in the kingdom of

Kent. Thus was paved the way for the admission of missionaries into Northum-

Anglo-Saxon states. It was a long time before the evidences of the old religious condition of the country disappeared; but gradually the new ideas took possession of the pagan minds, supplanting idolatry and supporting in all respects the doctrines and symbolism of the Roman Church.

We have already examined the political condition of the Teutonic tribes before the age of their emigration. The Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes were of the same type with the rest. Vain

would be the search among them for what in modern language would be called a king. Their chieftains bore the names

Political estate of the Anglo-Saxons; chieftains and kings.

of Ealdormen, that is, Aldermen, or Eldermen. Doubtless the distinction was first based on age, coupled with valor and heroism. Such chieftains as Cerdic and Cynric Hengist and Horsa, were rulers of this order. It is in the nature of things, however, that such offices rise in character, claiming higher and still higher honors, until they reach kingship proper. In the age of the Anglo-Saxon immigration the chiefs still claimed to rule in virtue of their descent from Wodin. They had the priestly as well as the military and political functions of the race in their hands. Of a certainty their power and influence was very great, greater in times of hostility than in peace.

We here repeat that peculiarity which led to the election of a general, or chieftain, at the outbreak of war. He was chosen solely on the ground of his reputation for valor and warlike skill. When the conflict was over his office ended *ipso facto*. The Romans were wont to speak of such rulers and generals as reges, or kings. Sometimes when the outlying tribes were in amity with the Roman authority, the senate was wont to raise the chieftains of the barbarian nations to the consular rank, thus admitting them to participancy in Roman citizenship and Roman dignity. Clovis, King of the Franks, received a diploma of his consular rank and the purple robe from Anastasius, Emperor of the East. In fact, he played the part of Augustus among the Franks, riding abroad in imperial fashion and scattering gold to the multitude.

Out in Britain, however, the character

of the aldermen was determined by the instincts and old customs of the race; and not much dignity was derived from the Roman empire. The result was a greater freedom of growth among the petty kings of Britain. The chieftains of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes took the title of cyning, or king, claiming such dignity not only in virtue of conquest, but as successors of the old British sovereigns who had ruled aforetime in the island. In process of time the head alderman, who acquired the right to govern a whole nation, retained the title of king, while the old distinction of aldermen was kept for the thanes, or chieftains, under the head sovereign of the race.

The British aldermen have greater freedom of development.

It was in this manner that the seven or eight kingdoms of the heptarchy were one by one evolved. Kent, Essex, Sussex, Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, all came into view by the ascendancy of an alderman, who by his strength and virtues gained the kingship of his nation. The kingdom of Clovis, who in process of time established himself as emperor of the Franks, and who was able to transmit much of his sovereignty to his successors by hereditary descent, was established in the identical manner of the Anglo-Saxon states. But the evolution was by no means complete with the forthcoming of the king.

The heptarchy in analogy with the kingdom of Clovis.

The little Anglo-Saxon dominions had relations with each other. They were bound by political ties and by the kinship of the respective monarchs. Nothing was more common than the union by marriage of two royal families, thereby transmitting to a common descent the sovereignty of both. In this way, at a very early epoch after the driving back

The evolution of the Bretwalda, or overking.

of the Britons and the establishment of the Saxon kingdoms, a claim began to be advanced for the supremacy of some overking whose authority was paramount over two, or even many, of the barbarian states. The name given to such a personage was that of Bretwalda having a sense analogous to that of emperor among greater peoples. Ella himself, King of Sussex, was the first to claim and wear this dignity. The South Saxons and the Jutes were the first to establish themselves in the island, and the assumption of the rank of Bretwalda by Ella meant no more than his right to be chief of the two nations then in the island and of the British tribes.

There can be little doubt that the setting up of such an authority was in imitation of the Roman system, which placed the emperor at the head of the civil structure. It is said that the coins of the Bretwalda were copied from the medal of Carausius, bearing an effigy of the twin wolves of ancient Rome. The next of the Anglo-Saxon kings to claim imperial prerogatives were Ceawlin, of Wessex, and Ethelbert, of Kent. Then Redwald, of East Anglia, was Bretwalda, and then Edwin, of Northumbria. It must be remembered, however, that this dignity in the times of which we speak was in a large degree titular. A real government is supported by administrative and institutional forms, and not merely by title. To a certain extent, no doubt, the Bretwalda of the sixth and seventh centuries in England had an actual authority over the adjacent nations; but the name and rank of such a sovereign were mythical rather than real, and the existence of such an office in Anglo-Saxondom was uncertain and fluctuating.

From this point of view we are able

to perceive how great an influence Roman types and realities had in the formation of that New Europe which was to arise on the ruins of the old. It was in the first century B. C. that Rome began to put out her scepter over barbarian Europe. Her conquests under Julius Cæsar and his successors were rapid and permanent. In a comparatively short period of time all the countries west of the line of the Danube and the Rhine yielded to the Roman sway. They became provinces of the empire. They were ruled by provincial governors. The Latin language, and to a considerable extent the traditions and methods of the Roman race, were introduced into Gaul and Spain and Britain. This state of affairs continued for a long time. We might set a limit of four and a half centuries to the period during which the Roman authority was maintained in that part of Europe which had been designated as barbarian. This epoch was ample for the transformation of the subject races to the forms and methods of the Roman government.

Another means of producing similarity throughout was the diffusion of Christianity. What, therefore, more natural than that when the pagan nations broke over the Danube and the Rhine, and took to the sea from the coast of the lowlands, the new barbarian states planted in the various parts of Western and Northwestern Europe should adopt a large part of the Roman machinery and imitate the style of government which the empire had employed for nearly five hundred years? This was actually done. The remembrance, the tradition of the empire, was ever present in the minds of the pagan rulers of Gaul and Spain and Britain, and

Antecedents of New Europe deducible from imperial Rome.

The office of Bretwalda imitated from the Roman system.

Christianity furnishes a common tie for the barbarian states.

these countries became in their governmental machinery more and more assimilated to the type which was known to have been so strong a framework in the hands of the Roman builders.

We have here a series of ethnic and historical analogies, not fanciful, such

Historical likenesses of Saxons and Merovingians; Alfred and Charlemagne. as writers are sometimes wont to draw, but real—analogs in fact. The

heptarchy in England corresponds to the Merovingian dynasty in France. The

one was closed by the rise of the Carlovingian dynasty, and the other by the ascendancy of the House of Egbert in Wessex. Charlemagne, King of the Franks, was the continental Alfred the Great, and Alfred among the Saxon kingdoms of England was the insular Charlemagne. The process of combination into a single considerable state was the same in the one country as in the other, and should we enter into details, we should find the same or a similar state of progress among the Franks as among the subjects of the kings of Wessex. Nor is it easy to award the palm as between Alfred and Charlemagne; to say that the one was greater in his sphere than the other. The facilities, or rather the

preliminaries, of political greatness were more abundantly distributed on the Continent than in Britain, but it is by no means clear that Charles the Great made a better use of the materials at his disposal or succeeded, on the whole, in a greater degree in the establishment of a permanent system of government

than did his contemporary, Alfred the Great.

By the arrival of this epoch, coinciding in general with the eighth and ninth centuries, the character of the Anglo-Saxons had taken a definite form, somewhat different in structure and features from that which had been developed by their old-time kinsmen in the north of Europe. The Anglo-Saxon type of manhood had been forged out of a

Character of the new ethnic type developed in England.



CANUTE THE GREAT.—ANGLO-DANE TYPE.

material which for strength and endurance had no superior, if indeed it had any equal, within the limits of continental Europe; and if not in continental Europe, then not in the world. In this foggy island, more barbarous than the race that possessed it, unreclaimed from the dominion of nature, a type of men

came into the foreground whose pre-eminence, after more than a thousand years, can hardly be disputed among the peoples of the modern world.

It remained, however, for the ethnic course of the Anglo-Saxon current to be twice changed and once seriously modified in its constitution by foreign impact.

Antecedents
and sea-passion
of the Danes.

In the first place, we have to consider the incoming of the Danes. We have seen how large a part of the Jute-Anglo-Saxon race had been drawn from the shores of the Baltic, the coast of the North sea, and the peninsula of Jutland. Meanwhile, in the course of several centuries, the peoples of this region, particularly of the peninsula, had taken the name of Danes, and had grown into a national character. Like their predecessors of the fifth century, the Danes of the ninth and tenth centuries had the habit of seafaring. They were men of the perilous ocean. It is said that they had now "made a league against the ocean," having adopted the plan of damming it out from their lowlands. But to skim the sea, to visit the outlying islands, to take by rapacity what things soever the skill and industry of others had produced, such were the native passions of the race. On voyages of this kind they went forth afar on the boisterous deep. They braved all perils, and at length fell on the coast of England, near the mouth of the Humber, and began to contend for a footing on the island which their kinsmen had subdued and civilized in part.

It is easy for the historian to discern the ethnic forces which were at work in this great problem. The

Historical circumstances that urged the Danes abroad.

tyro in human annals will call to mind the strenuous efforts made by Charlemagne to defend his empire on the side of Spain and on

the side of Germany. The Pyrenees constituted one of his frontier lines, and the Rhine or the Weser the other. Along the latter border he contended strenuously with the Ingavonian Germans. The great Wittekind was their king. Fierce was the battle which the more civilized Franks, turning back against the land out of which they had themselves proceeded, waged with the less civilized German nations beyond the Lower Rhine and along the northern marshlands and seashore. Charlemagne in this conflict was successful, and the more he was successful the more densely were the barbarian Germans compressed along the coast. It was out of this situation, enraged by defeat and crowded by the arrival of others who had been overthrown like themselves, that the Danes of the eighth and ninth centuries took to sea. They would have done so if the brine had been crowded with whales and walruses, sea-tigers and unnamable leviathans from the prehistoric deeps. We may see in the situation the source of a part of that ferocity with which the ocean vultures swept out of peninsular Jutland, falling in one division upon the Frankish province of Neustria, and in another on the eastern coast of England.

Historically, a great change ensued. A Danish dynasty of four kings succeeded to the throne of Eng-
land. The genius of Alfred the Great was hardly sufficient to compete with the swarms of Danish invaders that rolled in like successive waves upon his dominions. How he was driven from his throne is known to all the world. How he recovered it is known. But how at length the Danes were established in authority over the island is less fully understood. Old Sweyn and Canute and Hardicanute and

The Saxon power in England yields to the Danish onset.

Harold wellnigh succeeded in uniting Denmark and England under a common government. But ethnically considered, the change effected in the people was but slight. So nearly were the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes, on the one side, and the Danes on the other, descended from a common ancestry, so nearly were they but cognate varieties of the same people, that their differences of blood and ethnic disposition may well be neglected in the general count.

Linguistically, the modification in the future English tongue was considerable. For in the meantime the dialects of the Norsemen had departed much from the Anglo-Saxon grammar and vocabulary. On the whole, no two races who have fallen together in conflict, the one yielding to the other and the other to it until a new type of men has arisen out of their amalgamation, have been more nearly identical in their ethnic qualities than were the Anglo-Saxons of England and the Danes who came after them, to share their conquest.

Nevertheless, the old ties of kinship did not operate powerfully upon them. Though they had been countrymen they had become two divisions of a barbarian race, and each made war upon the other, as occasion arose, with a violence and ferocity hardly equaled within the limits of our era.

Danelagh, the barbarian kingdom of the Danes proper in England, corresponded very nearly with East Anglia and Northumbria. For more than a

Subversion of
Danelagh by the
Anglo-Saxons.

century the relations between this country and South England were always strained. In the time of the Danish ascendancy, one assessment after another was laid by Canute, Harold Harefoot, and Hardicanute on the Saxons of the south. With what reluctance and sullen wrath a Saxon pays tribute has been known for more than a thousand years. Ever and anon war broke out and was waged with extreme violence, until at last even the pertinacious and daring Danes were put down by the prowess of the Anglo-Saxons.

Affinities and divergencies of the two races.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE NORMANS.



OW it was in Anglo-Saxon England that the antecedents of a still more formidable invasion were prepared. Emma, the Flower of Normandy, became successively the wife of Ethelred and Canute. By the former she had two sons, Edward and Alfred, who were brought up at the court of her brother, Richard of Normandy. They were thus at once the representatives of the English and the Norman crowns. In course

of time they became the occasion, if not the cause, of claims which were advanced by the Norman dynasty to complete rule in England. We must now, however, turn aside to consider the origin and character of the Norman people. Their original seats were, according to Tacitus, in the Cimbric Chersonesus and in the Danish Isles of Funen, Langland, Zealand, and Laaland. The Cimbri and the Suiones, from whom sprang the Normans, appear to have been kinsmen, not only by blood and race derivation, but by

Origin and evolution of the Norman race.

sentiment and action. The part of the coast in which they were accumulated has been already described, and the circumstances of their compression and to seek some island or coast where they might plant themselves with advantage. In this way the race was carried in the first place across the Baltic and inter-



MANNERS OF THE NORMANS.—CORONATION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

bursting forth into foreign parts have been mentioned as an aspect of tribal history peculiar to the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

Their method was to take to sea and fused with other Norse nations which had preceded them; and in this way more particularly a great emigration carried a part of the race into the province of Neustria, in Gaul or France.

This portion of the coast lies over against England on the south side of the channel. It is bounded on the west by Bretagne, on the east by Picardy and the Isle of France, and on the south by the province of Mayne. It includes in its central part the mouth of the river Seine. On the whole, it is one of the most delightful maritime regions within

Conquest of
Neustria by the
Normans under
Rolf.

No page in history better illustrates the rapid differentiation of peoples from each other than do the differences which were at length apparent between the Danes of the eighth and ninth centuries and the Normans of the tenth. The former were still regarded, on their coming into England, as the kinsfolk of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes.

Striking ethnic
differentiation
of the Normans
and the Danes.



MANNERS OF THE ANGLO-DANES.—MEETING OF EDMUND IRONSIDE AND CANUTE, IN THE ISLE OF OLNEY, 1016.

the borders of France, and most attractive to adventurers. This was the country to which Rolf the Ganger and his people were drawn at the beginning of the tenth century. The term Normans is a softened form of Northmen. The Danes themselves, whose conquest of England we have just noted, were known as Northmen, but not as Normans. Not until after the settlement of Rolf's sea kings in Neustria did the name Norman appear as a designation of the race.

The intercourse between the two races was natural and easy, and has continued to be so from the days when Ironside and Canute met in Olney to the day when Alexandra was brought as the bride of the prince to England. But the latter, though from identically the same region and from the same ethnic descent, had meanwhile planted themselves in the Gaulish country called Neustria, but which presently took the name of the conquerors, and became ever afterwards known as Normandy.

In other parts of this work we have spoken of the rapid assimilation of the conquerors to the conquered in this country, particularly of the adoption of the Gallo-Latin language, which was spoken in Neustria on the arrival of the Nor-

ported might be difficult to trace. Certain it is that within a century a new language had been formed, to which the name of Norman French was given, and which the people were destined, after another century, to carry into



WILLIAM THE NORMAN—TYPE.—After the painting by Van Orley.

mans. It was not only the language of the subject people, but many of the institutions and laws, the manners and customs, that the sea kings out of the north chose instead of their own. This rather anomalous acceptance of resident institutions in place of the im-

The Normans become assimilated with the Gallo-Romans.

England under the banner of the Conqueror.

The circumstances which led to the Norman conquest of England were political in their nature. The coming of William the Conqueror with his army was not a mere adventure. It is doubt-

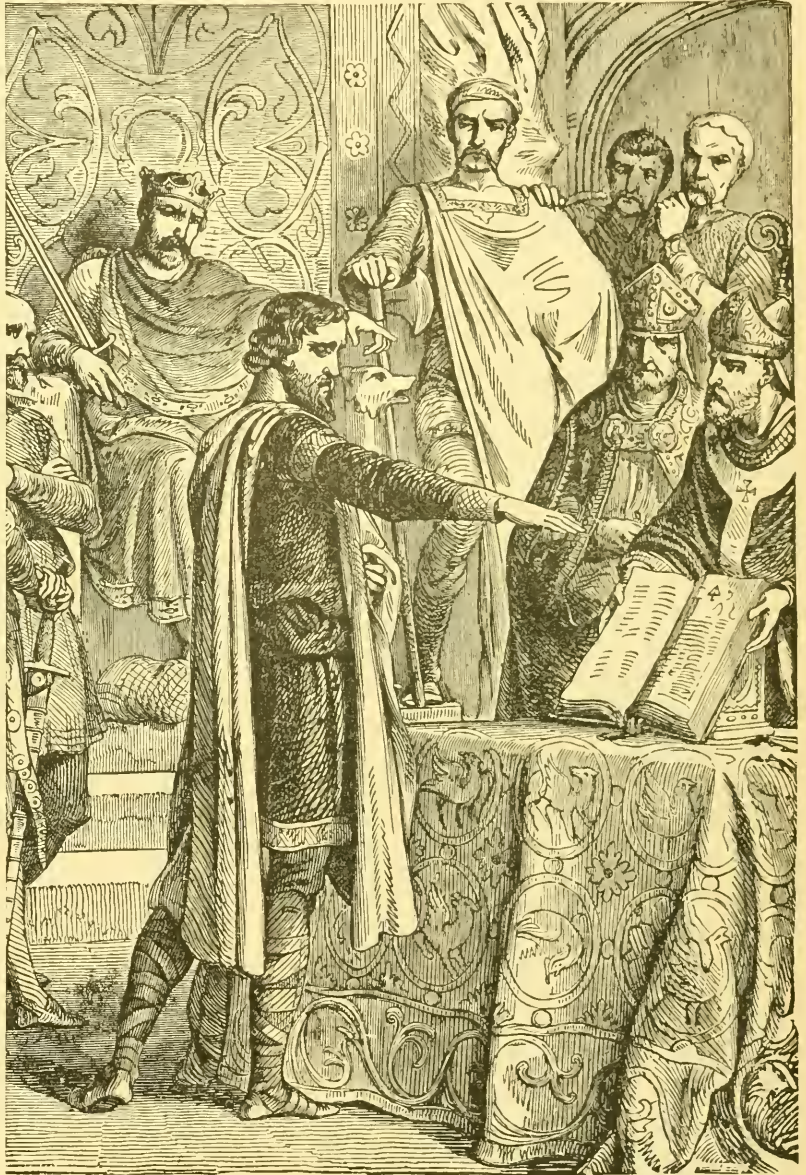
Motives and principles of the Norman conquest.

ful whether the Norman noblemen who came with him as leaders of the expedition had any preference for the foggy island, so barbarous in its geography and people, over the sunny country which they left behind. Perhaps some of them hoped to gain large landed estates and to supplant the Saxon Thanes in their rights and privileges. But for the most part the movement was chivalrous. Edward the Confessor was childless, and Duke Harold had sworn over the bones of the saints to waive his claim to the English crown in favor of his cousin William. The thing was true. Harold had foresworn himself, and according to the sentiments and principles of the times Duke William might justly make war on him and compel the performance of his oath.

But like many oaths, that of Harold was good only in the making. William

the Bastard had therefore a good reason, or at least a good excuse, for invading the island, and so, gathering up his army of sixty thousand men, he bore

down on the Saxon kingdom, entered it by violence, fought the battle of Hastings, was victorious, and in 1066 made himself king of England. This was,



HAROLD SWEARING TO UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF THE DUKE OF NORMANDY TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND—TYPES AND MANNERS.

ethnically considered, the *third* stream of Teutonic blood which had flowed into our ancestral island and had deluged all the eastern and southern parts thereof; first the Saxon stream of the fifth cen-

Reasons of William; contributing streams of the English race.

ture, then the Danish stream of the ninth, then the Norman stream of the eleventh, all flowing from the Baltic coast, the ancient land of the Cimbri and the Suiones; all alike in constitution, but very different in their respective stages of development.

History is full of surprises. When we look at the character and ambitions of the Norman race, especially when we consider its superiority in every element of promise, it seems marvelous that it should not have played a more conspicuous part in the historical drama of modern times. No other people of the tenth

will be remembered by the student of history that while one branch of the Norman race planted itself in Western Gaul, and then by successful conquest in



NORMAN TYPES—NOBLE LADIES AND CITIZENS.



NORMAN TYPES—PRINCE, PRINCESS, AND CROSS BOW-MAN.

England, another branch made its way into Sicily, and there became as predominant as were the followers of Rolf the Ganger in the west.

If we look at the Normans in Normandy Proper, we shall be surprised at the rapidity and brilliancy of their development. They formed a new lan-

Rapidity and excellence of the Norman evolution.

guage and a new literature. They took on courtly manners. They became chivalrous in an age two centuries before chivalry as an institution was developed.

century was equally enlightened. No other in Western Europe took up at so early an age the legend and tradition of the past as a basis of song and story. It

They were proud of their rank among the literary and artistic peoples who were beginning to rise over the rim of barbarism. Nor had these refining attributes of character been produced at the expense of warlike valor. The courage and skill of the Normans in battle were conspicuous in an age whose chief virtue was successful war. And yet these gallant, intellectual, and high-spirited Normans sank everywhere into the earth. Their conquest of England resulted in an absorption of the national character of the victorious race more disastrous to the development of its ethnic character than had been the previous absorption of the barbarous Northmen on their first arrival in Western Gaul. The same thing happened in Sicily and Southern Italy.

No people now represent the Norman race. Though many are touched with the superior blood derived from that source, none have it in sufficient flow to give a race character to themselves. If we are forced to seek the world over for modern representatives of the northern people so proud and strong in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we should have more hope of success in the ancestral peninsula from which alike Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Danes, and Normans were in turn derived than in any other part of the world.

In the age of the Crusades the Normans were the flower of the European armies. They had not only the enthusiasm of the Holy Wars, but also the skill to command. No other house bore a more conspicuous part than the Plantagenets. Richard the Lion Heart made his name a synonym for victorious battle among all the nations of the West, of terror among the Saracens, of heroism as far as rumor in the Middle Ages might

carry the fame of men. But in another century after the Crusades ceased Normandy was a part of France, and the Anglo-Saxon line had recovered the throne of England. In the latter country the ancient speech had reasserted itself, and the twitterings of the morning birds in the groves about old Woodstock were more than equaled by the imperishable songs of Chaucer.



CHAUCER AS A CANTERBURY PILGRIM.

From the Ellesmere manuscript.

We should not, however, conclude that the perishing of the names of things always signifies the perishing of the things. Though the Norman name disappeared from the political and civil speech of mankind, and though it was retained in literature only as a reminiscence, the blood and thought of the Norman race had combined with the coarser Teutonic currents of life in a great part of Western Europe, modifying by its refined emotions and poetical and sentimental

Norman blood survives and quickens in other races.

the superior blood derived from that source, none have it in sufficient flow to

Culmination and falling away of the Normans.

siasm of the Holy Wars, but also the skill to command. No other house bore a

The Teutonic races gilded with the glow of Normanism.

quality the heavier spirit of several of the stronger peoples. Such a combination in England was the last of many changes which gave the finished type to the English character and the English tongue. The infusion of Norman blood with the Teutonic life current of the English race produced a kind of effervescence in the heart and spirit of that strong, sluggish people. The union of

language and the literary form which the Normans gave to our ancestors in England. It seems marvellous that the Normans, who were not themselves a

Great contribution of Norman French to English speech.

Latin race, whose instincts and character indeed were very diverse from that strong Roman stock which held dominion in Europe for so many centuries, should have been the medium through

which so strong a Latin impulse was conveyed into English speech. If all the other sources of Latin derivation were put together and summed up into one, the result would not by any means equal the single contribution of Latin elements which has been made to English by the Norman French. For two centuries it was the court language of England. For two centuries it held the laws and constitutions of the kingdom. For two centuries it was the speech in which the instruction of the schoolroom was imparted. For two centuries it held down the Anglo-Saxon folk speech, pressed it into the earth, made it low and dirty by contamination with the fields and cattle; and yet all the time it was itself giving way to that linguistic destiny which has always, sooner or later, controlled the languages of mankind.



NORMAN MILITARY COSTUMES AND TYPES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

the two produced a warmth and enthusiasm in which the English character had hitherto been wanting, and without which the phlegmatic constitution of the Anglo-Saxon people must have appeared more cold and apathetic to the senses and sympathies of modern nations than they are.

From another point of view we may discover a particular interest in the inquiry before us. This relates to the

In the reign of Henry III the ancient English folk tongue began to bubble up from the depths. Again the sound of the old vernacular was heard. Again

Revival and reconquest by the Anglo-Saxons.

the breaking of the bubbles of that old speech on the surface of the sea gave token that the Norman French had reached the last limit of its excursion and must die. Nevertheless, like the Danite Samson, it conquered more in

its death than in its life. Though the pillars of the Norman temple were shaken from their foundations, the infection which had been shed forth in six generations of intercourse had entered into the new national life, and the new tongue of the English people vibrated almost as much with the orotund and musical tremblings of the Norman accents as with the heavy rumble and roar and broad-throated chuckle of the triumphant Anglo-Saxon.

Many strange things come to light under the close scrutiny of ethnical and historical processes. We may find one in the *building* of this promising and ambitious Norman race. We have seen how one division of the Normans was planted in England and the other in Sicily. The situation of each with respect to the subject peoples was not dissimilar. Nor can it be thought that the two bands of conquerors, one of which went into Sicily, the other into Britain, were very dif-

Sicily improved upon the Græco-Italic architecture, giving it the efflorescence of Arabia. So when the Normans gained by conquest the dominion of the island, they had little to do but to promote the elegant styles of building which already prevailed in the south of Europe. It is for this reason that we find the churches of Palermo and Messina, though reared by the Normans, to be strictly Saracenic as to their architectural peculiarities. It has been said



CLIFFORD'S TOWER.
Built by William the Conqueror.

ferent in their manners, customs, and instincts. But the Peculiar combination of Norman elements with modern architecture. two antecedent peoples were as unlike as the day and the night. In Sicily the two politest races of the age, that is, the Greeks and the Romans, had expended their energies in developing an architecture on which it might be said it was impossible to improve. But if we admit the possibility of adding perfume to the rose and of gilding refined gold, then the Saracens during their ascendancy in

that in these countries the ruling people had nothing to add to what had already reached perfection.

But in England, rude Anglo-Saxon England of the eleventh century, the Normans, with their Romanesque style of building, had everything to reform

The Normans build according to conditions in different countries.

and little on which to build. In our ancestral islands no Greek, no Roman, no Saracen had been to impart the canons of architecture. It might be said that the Roman style of building

had to a certain extent come in during the domination of that race, from the first to the fifth century; but the stream of barbarism came afterwards. Teutonism stamped the residue under foot. It thus happened that with the incoming of the Normans there was even a demand for an improved style of structure, and

Thus it was that the Norman building in Sicily in the epoch of the Crusades continued as it had been before, a blending of Romanesque and Saracenic orders. Thus it was that in Apulia the Normans built even as the Romans had built before them. Thus it was that in England the local styles were simply modified and



NORMAN ARCHES—From *Magazine of Art*.

this the conquering people out of Normandy supplied. It thus happened that the architecture of the Norman race, working out great results in Sicily and Southern Italy, in Normandy itself, and in England, displayed vast divergencies and contrasts of development, a parallel for which it might be difficult to discover in any other stage of the human evolution.

expanded from the time of the Conqueror to the struggle of the Houses of York and Lancaster. Thus it was that in the same period in Normandy itself the architecture became French. Indeed, we might say that in all parts into which the Normans distributed themselves, where they gained a political ascendancy by the sword and maintained it by their

genius, their architectural monuments more and more conformed to the native styles in the respective countries.

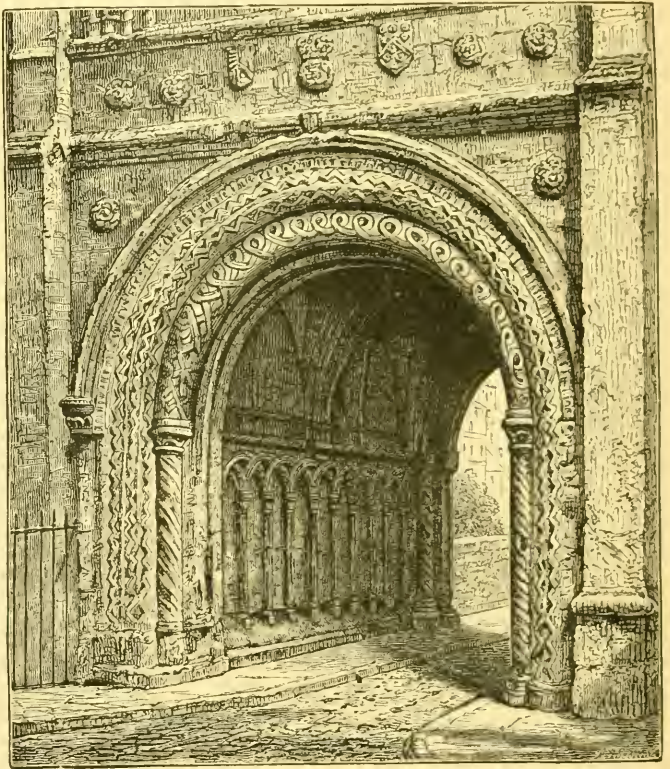
From this fact we may infer a certain assimilative disposition in the Norman race; and the problem of its absorption by the various peoples among whom the currents of Norman vitality were distributed becomes more simple and easy of solution. That type of character which sprang up out of the Gallo-Romanic people of Neustria, crossed with the conquering men of the north in the ninth and tenth centuries, had in it a certain effeminacy which led to a brilliant and easy superiority of short duration in several states of Western Europe and the Mediterranean; but such a quality was too conformable to existing types to maintain its own independence, either in letters, in manners, or in arts.

Hence it may be said that the strength of the race and its distinction in the earlier Middle Ages became its weakness. Its easiness of adaptation to different localities and different forms of national life was the very fact that soon extinguished the quality of nationality in the Normans themselves. Their refining influence was left behind. Even in England, the most barbarous of the countries over which the Norman authority was extended, all the extant fashions and tendencies were lifted to a higher plane, and every condition of civilization was promoted by the influence of a race which seemed able to uplift everything but itself.

In the language and literature of Eng-

land the very same tendencies were exhibited as we have seen in the architectural growth in the south of Europe. Many scholars have been disposed to lament the fact that the Anglo-Saxon language, having overpowered the British dialects, having taken from the Roman tongue, long spoken in the better parts of the island, but a small percentage of

Norman French adds elegance and beauty to our mother tongue.



NORMAN GATEWAY.

words and forms, having absorbed from the Danish speech no elements essentially different from its own native peculiarities, should not have been left alone to develop into a literary form without the introduction of that large contribution of Norman French which carried over into Anglo-Saxon a swarm of Latinized Gallicisms, embodying an equal number of French ideas as they existed in the earlier periods of romance and

song. But is it not rather true that the Anglo-Saxon language, expanding merely by its own internal forces and



ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES—BISHOP AND LORDS.

genius, would have kept the English-speaking race perpetually poor in all that linguistic refinement, that chivalry, that poetic sentiment, which, along with the more vehement parts of speech, have constituted one element of our wealth in literary production? Who, after all, would see expurgated from the English tongue those beautiful and harmonious elements which for a long time constituted the only blossoms, leafage, and fruit of the tongue which began to tremble on the harp of Chaucer, and has only recently ceased to resound on the harp of Tennyson?

A single glance at the destinies of the Norman people in Sicily may suffice. In the time of the Mohammedan ascendancy the great island of the Mediterranean offered special inducements to

the Saracen sea robbers, and they availed themselves to the full of their opportunities. The whole Sicilian territory was won by Islam, and the Crescent was set up in all the cities. Tribute was the order of the day. In 1060, only six years before the beginning of the Norman conquest in England, an army of Normans, under command of Count Roger d'Hauteville, brother of Robert Guiscard, arrived in Sicily and began the work of expelling the Saracens. It was also the policy of these men of the West to overthrow the authority of the Byzantine empire, not only in Sicily but in Southern Italy. There had always remained, during the Mohammedan as-



ARTISANS AND ARTIFICERS—TYPES.

cendency, a large body of Christians both on the mainland and in the island. These, of course, welcomed the Normans

Career of the
Norman race in
Sicily.

—for the latter were Christians—as deliverers.

The city of Messina was captured by the Christians in 1060, and was

Seven years later Taormina was captured. Syracuse held out until 1085, while Noto was not captured until 1090. It was now the turn of the Saracens to

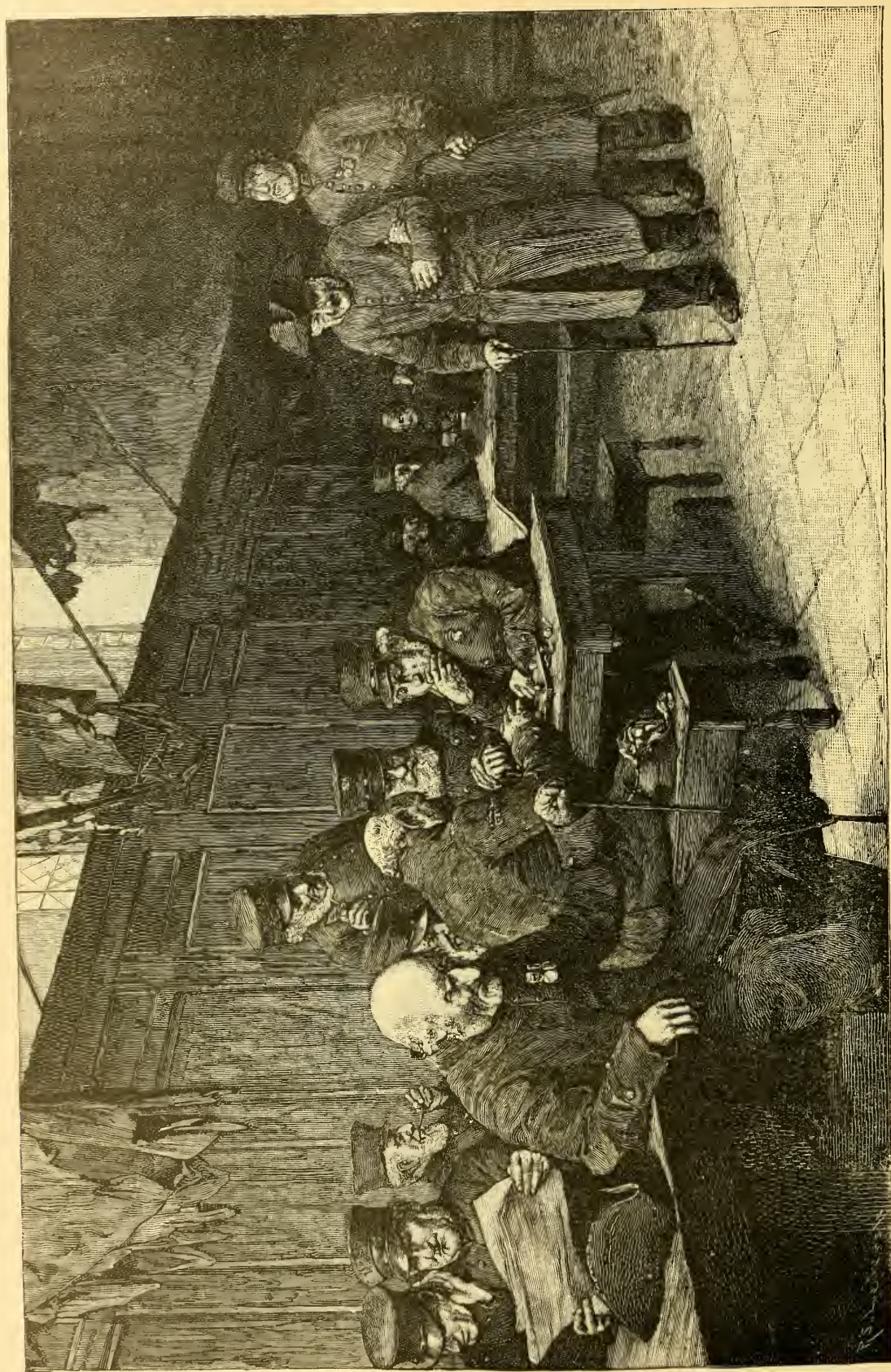


NORMAN TROUBADOUR AND BARBE.

made the Norman capital. Some, however, took the opposite course, and it was a strange spectacle to see the Christians of Traina combining with the Infidels in the war with Count Roger. Palermo was taken by the Normans in 1071.

Policy of the dominant race respecting its subjects.

feel the distresses of subjugation. Yet the Mohammedan religion and its practices were tolerated. Conversions from Christianity to Islam were not permitted under the Norman rule, and on the other hand, the Norman priests did not greatly encourage conversion from Mohammed-



PENSIONERS OF CHELSEA—ENGLISH TYPES.—After the painting by Weatherhead, Royal Institute, 1886.

anism to Christianity, for that would have lessened the tribute which the Christians exacted of the subject people.

We have thus, beginning with the origin of the German nation beyond the Rhine, observed its character while in a state of barbarism and the goings forth of emigrant peoples from the borders of Germania. Of these, we have traced the Ostrogoths and Visigoths to their destinations in Italy and Spain. We have also followed the Vandals to their select territory in Andalusia and Africa. We have, in the next place, marked the progress of the Franks, crossing the Rhine and taking possession of Gaul. About the same time went forth the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes, with a percentage of the Frisian tribe-life, into Britain, where they were successful in overwhelming the British population, half-Latinized by the long dominion of Rome, and in pressing them back to the western mountainous regions in Cornwall and Wales.

Following this came, in an intermediate period, the Danes, from the same ancestral region, impelled by similar motives, and driven, partly by force of pressure and partly by the robber instinct, to the mouth of the Humber, whence they spread into North England, and presently extended their authority over the whole, until the time of the successful revolt of the Anglo-Saxons. Two centuries later we have seen the Normans on their adventure, seamen by profession, until by a settled residence in Neustria they were converted into the first polite people of modern times. From this secondary residence they divided, one branch of the race going into England, on an expedition of conquest which had its origin in a broken family pledge

on the part of the representative of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty; and the other division making its way into Sicily and Southern Italy.

These, then, are the departures of the Teutonic nations in the centuries which followed the decline and extinction of the Roman empire in the West. Indeed, the emigrations of which we have spoken have been regarded as the *cause* of the downfall of Rome. But it would be the truer view to regard the Teutonic nations as merely the pestles with which an immortal destiny beat to nothing in the mortar the residue of the Roman race, corrupted as it was with centuries of vice, weakened by division and by the loss of its old-time skill in the work of human government.

To continue the generalization of these results, we see the common fact of the absorption of the conquering power in most of the countries into which it penetrated. The Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy survived no more than sixty years. The Visigoths in Spain, by the superiority of their constitution and learning, maintained themselves in the south for a longer period, but went down in the beginning of the eighth century before the besom of the Islamites. The Vandal states in Southern Spain and in Africa had already passed away. Normandy, as we have seen, which appeared to possess more elements of perpetuity than any of the others, was evanescent as a political power. The brilliant but brief Norman ascendancy ebbed away in France as well as in England and in Sicily, and the race disappeared as a separate nationality, though not as an ethnic force.

Only in France and in the Anglo-Saxon states of the British Isles did the invasion of the Teutonic races succeed in the

Summary of ethnic movements of the Germanic peoples.

Teutonic nations a pestle in the hands of history.

General absorption of the Teutonic conquerors.

historic sense. The Merovingian kings sustained themselves until another German house, greater than they by victorious battle and superior statesmanship, put down the House of Clovis and established that of Charlemagne. But the kingdom itself survived and grew until at the opening scene of modern history it presented itself as the greatest of the powers of Western Europe. England, in like manner, flourished. True, it retained the insular character until the reign of William III, but since that period it has become European. The island holds the roots of the greatest race of the modern world, whose out-

The Franks and Anglo-Saxons develop into historical races.

branchings have spread eastward to the foothills of Burmah and westward to the Golden Gate and the tundras of the Yukon.

Thus the general character of the political powers which were planted by the emigrant Germans of the Dark Ages was that of a temporary success, followed by an early failure and absorption, to which general rule there are the two remarkable exceptions of France and England. We must now consider the remaining states which were peopled by the original Teutonic stock in times wholly prehistoric, and whose present nationality is the result of native growth rather than of emigration and conquest.

CHAPTER XC.—THE DANES.



WE shall now take note of the development of Denmark, or rather of the Danish race, in its native seats. These were, without doubt, a Teutonic people, having the same physical and mental characteristics and the same language, in a dialectical branch, with the South Germans and with the old Saxons. To this day the ancient characteristics of the race are well preserved. In recent times, in common with the other Teutonic families, the Danes have taken up emigration as a means of improving their condition, and the United States of America is annually receiving a large addition of population from this source.

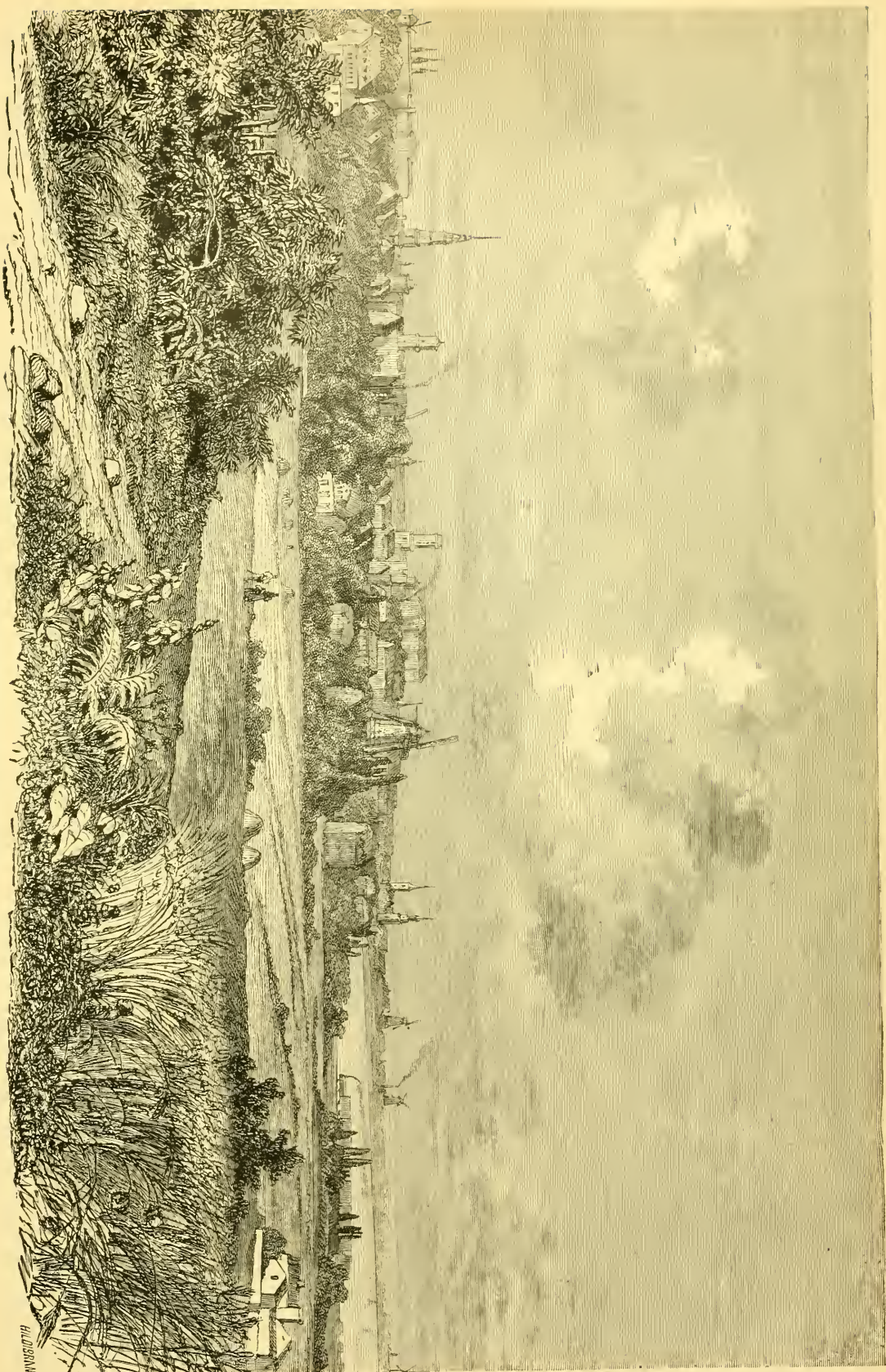
Another general comment must be made on the geographical and ethnical position of the Danish people. They are on the border line between the old Ingavonian, or Low German, branch of

the race and the Scandinavians proper. They have thus partaken of the characteristics of both branches of the Germanic family—we might say of all three branches—and in addition to this it can not be doubted that to a certain extent the Wendish stock has penetrated this region and diffused itself among all the peoples along the Baltic.

Geographical and ethnical position of the Danish race.

As to this latter family, the Wends, it is classified ethnically as a branch of the Slavic division; but its advent into Western Germany was about the seventh century. In the age of Charlemagne, that monarch met them in his German wars, and drove them back toward the Vistula. By the close of the thirteenth century the Wends were nearly exterminated as a race in the West, but they had left behind a large diffusion of their blood. Their ancient seats were in the eastern portion of Ger-

Classification of the Wends as a branch of the Teuto-Slavs.



VIEW OF COPENHAGEN.—Drawn by Guillard.

HILLISANDER

many, between the Saale and the Elbe, as far north as the Eider. There is a remnant of the Wends still in Hanover, where their language was spoken as late as the middle of the last century. To the present day, in Brandenburg, Silesia, and Saxony, settlements of the Wends are found. Their language is Slavonic, and the personal characteristics of the people are suggestive of the Polish and Slavic divisions of our race rather than of the Germans.¹

century might almost be transcribed without change in delineating the personal characteristics of the Danes. They have the yellow hair and gleaming blue eyes peculiar to their ethnic ancestry. Their stature, however, is much lower than that of the ancient Germans. This suggests a few words on the general question of the stature of men as determined by physical conditions.

In general, the mountaineers and forest men are great in height. If we con-

sider the Germanic family in its entirety, the Correlations of stature with geographical elevation. grading off of the stature of

the people from the woodland and mountainous countries toward the sea would be plainly discoverable. This was the chief physical difference between the Istavonian and Hermionian Germans on the one side and the Ingavonians, or Low Germans, on the other. None of the Baltic peoples were tall in stature. Even the Normans were only of middle height. The Hollanders and the Dutch in general did not lose their thickness and weight by proximity to the sea, but did lose a large fraction of their height.

This effect of the proximity

of the sea in reducing the stature of barbarians and half-civilized Stalwartness of the Anglo-Saxons; feature of their descendants. nations was never more

strikingly illustrated than in the Anglo-Saxons. They were stalwart in the last degree, but were withal a people of rather low stature. They were broad, thick, gigantic in all their proportions except in height. One may still see as he journeys through Sussex and Kent and Middlesex and Essex the



OLD DANISH TYPES—BEOWULF AND METHORN.

Except in so far as these slight foreign elements have entered into the Danish people, the latter are purely Teutonic in their derivation. To the present time they have the ancient German character. The description given by Tacitus of the Germanic nations on the right bank of the Rhine during the first

The Danes essentially Teutonic; physical features.

¹ See Book Thirteenth, pp. 185-191.

peculiarly low and heavy character of the English people. It is in this respect that the descendants of these folks, spreading far and wide in the New World, and climbing to higher and higher altitudes as they approach the West, are so much taller than their ancestors. It must be the sea fogs and low level of our ancestral lands on the one

and a taller growth of the man tree than in the low, foggy island-coasts where the man is on a level with the ocean?

At any rate, such are the phenomena. The German race along the Baltic and the North sea became low in stature as it approached the coast. In the interior the height was great and greater. The

Stature and
physiognomy of
the Dutch and
the Danes.



DANISH REAPERS—THE "FRENCH OF THE BALTIC"—TYPES.—Drawn by Frollich.

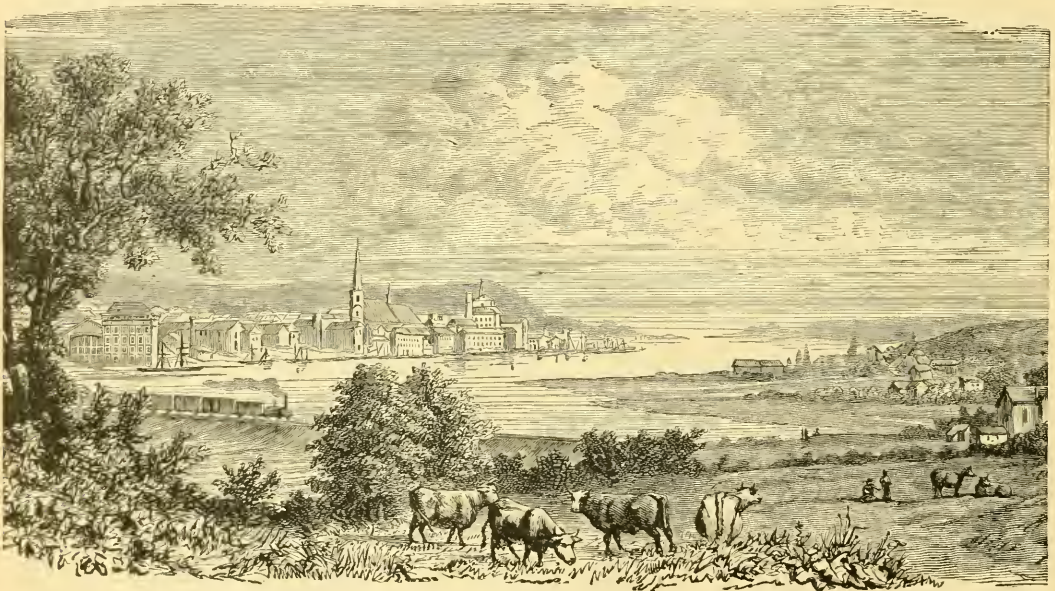
side and the clear air and high level on the other that have determined the striking difference between ancestry and descendants. Might it not be that the law is physical, that the higher barometer in such countries as the Rocky mountain region of the United States or the Alpine slopes in Europe would produce a more excited flow of blood

ancient authors place the average of the Germans, by estimate, from six feet to seven feet, according to nationality. We have, however, already had occasion to point out the fact that the Irish Celts seem to indicate an opposite law, for many of them are not only stalwart as to thickness and depth of body, but also as to stature.

The features of the Danes are in close conformity to those of the other North German races. Their ethnic peculiarities seem to be rather in analogy with those of the Ingavonian nations than with the Scandinavians. There is a certain air and manner of independence among the Danish peasants, which ethnologists have attributed to the vast number of small landownerships whereby all are made masters and none converted into peasant serfs. In no country has the fundamental democracy of

occasion to point out the sense of the word mark, or march. It meant a border. The mark of a given people was the territorial boundary line of that folk. Such use of the term has been one of the principal sources of the derivation of tribal names in the north of Europe. Danmörk, or Denmark, is one of the most conspicuous cases of this kind of naming. The traveler Pytheas, living in the fourth century before Christ, was the first to bring the peninsula of Jutland

The mark of the Danir; first knowledge of the country.



VIEW OF KIEL, IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.—Drawn by Guillard.

the German race expressed itself with more emphasis than in Denmark. The people take a great interest in politics and in education, and their gayety is a matter of surprise when we compare it with the heaviness of the Germans or the saturnine temper of the Norwegians. In fact, the people of the Danish peninsula may properly be called the French of the Baltic coast.

Denmark is the *mark*, or *march*, of the *Danir*, or Danes, but the meaning of the latter word as an ethnic term has not been decided. We have already had

to the attention of the peoples of the south. He called the country Thule. It is thought that at the time referred to the Celts in their westward course were the principal people of the peninsula. Rask has advanced the opinion that the Sarmatic, or Teutonic, invasion took place at a later period. It is believed that the vanguard of the new invaders, probably a branch of the Goths, passed through Russia into Germany, thence into Denmark, and finally into Sweden. Should this hypothesis be accepted, we may consider the Goths of a later period



KING ALFRED IN THE DANISH CAMP.

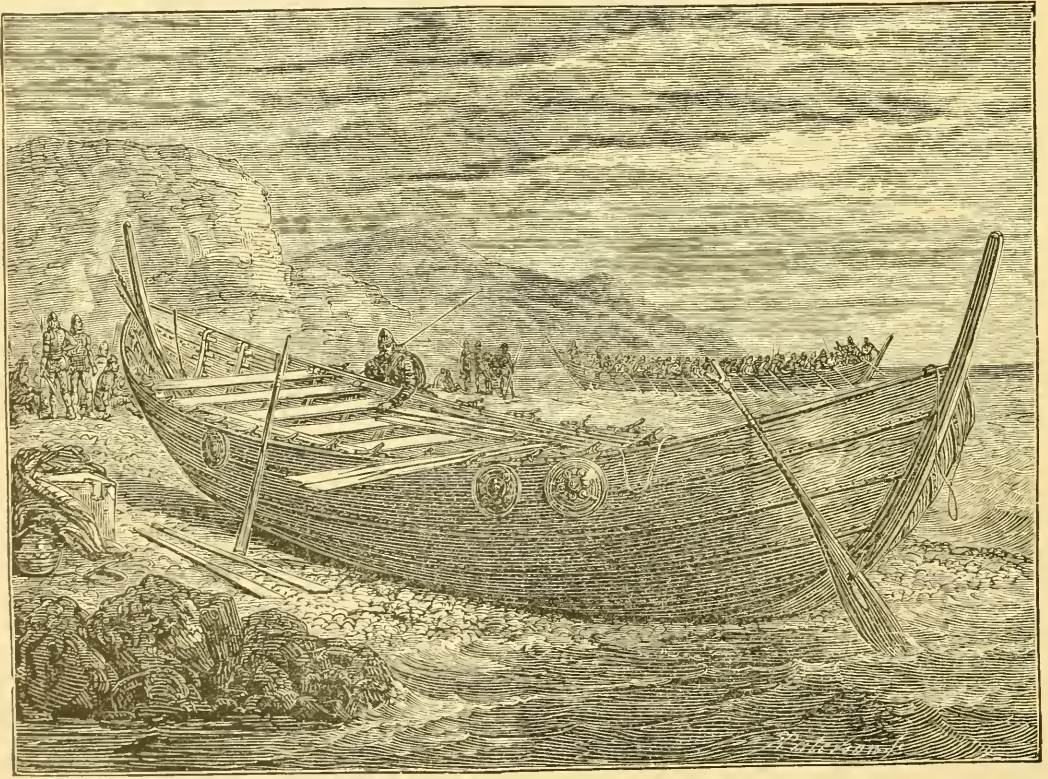
as a result of a reflex migration of a branch of the Ingavonian Germans into the country of the Danube—a theory which has been suggested in a former part of this work.

It may be accepted as true that the Lapps and the Finns were jostled somewhat by the incoming of the Germanic races; but it is possible that the former are themselves immigrants of a later date. If we reckon the Danes as origi-

Language and organization of the Jutes.

war was the order of the times. The smallness and broken-up condition of affairs was recognized by the early Danes themselves; for they called their chieftains *Smaa-kongar*, or Little Kings. It was only when a number of the tribes banded together that the race could be considered formidable from a military point of view.

From times immemorial there seem to have been some geographical discriminations observed in the country known



ANCIENT VIKING SHIP.

nally a Gothic tribe, we may assign to them a language that has been called the *Dönsk tunga*, or Danish tongue, which was indeed the primitive language of this region until the thirteenth or fourteenth century, when it gave way to the Norse. Politically, the primitive people of Jutland were organized in the same manner as the nations of Germany. Each tribe had a petty chieftain, and

by the general name of Denmark. In our own day we have seen the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein wrested away from Denmark and reunited to Germany. The movement was purely ethnical, though the foolish race of writers have ascribed it to secondary causes, and after the manner of the one universal fallacy have attributed it to the agency

Ethnical and geographical lines in the peninsula.

of men. Prince Bismarck has been proclaimed as the author of that great scheme by which an old ethnic distinction forced the people of the lower part of the peninsula into union with Germany, reserving the northern portion for the Dane folk.

As far back as the time of the Norman emigrations Upper Denmark was known as Red Gotland. The name thus applied

Mythical age of the country and people. was coëxtensive with all the mainland north of the

Elbe; that is, Schleswig, Holstein, and Jutland. This shows that for at least ten centuries the lines of division in the peninsula have been ethnic rather than political or geographical. The country has, from the Dark Ages, been rich in traditional lore. Saxo Grammaticus, an old Danish historian who flourished at the close of the twelfth century, gathered together in one immense heap the legends and myths of the Danish race. According to his exposition of the subject, there was far back in antiquity a king, *Dan* the Famous, who united under his rule the *smaa-kongar*, and established a dynasty, from which fact and epoch the people took the name of *Danes*. The mythical ages continued to the eighth century, when the supremacy of the Scandinavian peoples was acknowledged, after a battle between Ring of Sweden and Hildebrand of Denmark.

In the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, monks not a few were sent out from

Christianity introduced; conquests of Gorm. France to introduce the Christian religion in Denmark. It was a long time,

however, before the missionaries gained any substantial advantages. Denmark had not yet been united in its various parts. It was in the reign of Gorm the Old, extending from 860 to 936, that Denmark became one by the union of all

the provinces. This included Schleswig, Holstein, Skaania, and certain districts in Norway. On the east and south of the Baltic he bore his standards as far as Kiev in Russia, to Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany, and Sens in France. There was a period when it appeared that Denmark might become the great ruling power of the north. The authentic history of the country begins with the tenth century. Up to this time the Danes had had the character of sea kings. They had fallen upon England and taken it by war and sea craft. They had also wrested Neustria from the Carolingians, and shaken their banners and let their arrows fly under the very walls of Paris.

We may easily perceive in this outgoing of the Danish and Norman peoples from the Baltic peninsula in which they had their original residence the great Influence of environment in determining Danish character. lesson of the discipline of environment. Of a certainty, the exploits of the Northmen in the open ocean are sufficiently surprising. In the age of their adventure and conquest it was no uncommon thing for them to take to sea in their open boats, a sort of ocean canoe, and to brave the dangers and horrors of the stormiest deep for a distance of three hundred or four hundred miles abroad. Thus did they in bearing down upon England, in the ninth century, and thus did they, at a date somewhat later, on the coast of Normandy. To accomplish such results men do not become able in a day or in a generation. It requires discipline and experience. The islands of the Baltic were so situated with respect to each other, and with respect to Jutland, as to furnish the suggestion and the means of navigating the boisterous sea in open boats. It was in this water, black with rage in winter storms, and sinking only

to a yellowish ill-temper even in the calm of summer, that the Danes and Northmen became the most skillful and brave of all the primitive navigators. To them a storm at sea was only an exhilarating experience, and the mountain waves of brine, twisting and roaring in the yellow blast, mere sports of amiable water.

It can not be doubted that at a time when the larger part of Europe was given up to darkness and despair Denmark produced several men whose genius would have given them rank in any age or country. The success of the Dane folk in establishing themselves in Western Gaul and in England was attributable, as far as such things can be attributable, to the personal prowess and genius of the leaders of the great Norman expeditions. Such talents as Rolf the Ganger displayed while the weak-kneed successors of Charlemagne cowered before him in Paris; such power to govern and to conquer as Old Sweyn and Canute exhibited in their English campaigns; such skill in statecraft as they manifested in the successful union of Denmark and England in a common government, a thing withal neither unnatural nor impracticable under the circumstances; such high talents as Harold and Hardicanute exhibited as warrior kings in an age just beginning to stagger out of the border shadows of barbarism, must have stamped the Danish leaders of the tenth and eleventh centuries as among the most conspicuous Europeans of all the Middle Ages. It must be borne in mind that the death of Hardicanute without a male heir, as much as any reverse of fortune in arms or statesmanship, enabled Edward the Confessor to reassert the Anglo-Saxon claim to the throne of England.

Nor should we fail in this connection to note, in passing, the extraordinary enterprise shown by the Norsemen, in the epoch under consideration, in their going forth from Iceland on voyages of discovery first to Greenland and afterwards to the northeastern shores of America. Leif Ericsson was a Norseman of the Norse in his origin. Iceland has always belonged ethnically to this stock. The people who filled up Iceland with their descendants came immediately from Norway, while the ultimate derivation of the race was from the south side of the Baltic. Old Sweyn had taken the crown of England, and was wearing it. Richard the Good, Duke of Normandy, had the crown of that province when Leif, son of Eric the Red, came in the year 1001 to the coasts of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

The general destiny of the Danish kingdom—after the country had assumed that political form which might entitle it to the regal name—was similar to that of the other states of Europe, particularly Germany. One feature in a striking degree conformed to the corresponding fact in the vicissitudes of German development. We speak of the towns and small cities which obtained by resistance and revolt charters of freedom from the sovereign, and became in subsequent times what in Germany would be called free cities. This signified, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that the town which had obtained its charter from the sovereign was independent of the baron or count within whose territories the town was situated. It was a circumstance which raised the city so favored to the rank of an independent power correlative with the baronial estate.

Heroes and
great men among
the old Danes.

Extraordinary
adventure of the
Danish race.

Beginnings of
municipal free-
dom in the north
of Europe.

After such a municipal charter had been granted, the city receiving it was entitled to be represented in what was called the states, or subsequently the states-general. Nor might it lose these privileges except by reconquest by the baron or lord. This did not often occur, but it did many times happen that the town or city in attempting to secure its emancipation lost all in the conflict. In such cases the enraged suzerain was

Contests between feudalism and the Free Cities.

common destiny with the other states of Europe. This related to the consolidation of the petty sovereignties into which the national authority was divided, and their union in a common government. If the student will glance abroad over the field of European history, he will find that the fifteenth century marks the epoch of consolidation. It was at this time that the expiring energies of feudalism in France, headed by Charles of

Process of consolidation of the European states.



REPAST OF DANISH PEASANTS—TYPES AND MANNERS.—Drawn by Frolich.

went to demolish the walls, raze the principal buildings, transfer the market to some city which had kept its loyalty, and thus reduce the place which might have before been prosperous to the condition of a desolate hamlet no longer worthy of notice. Sometimes the baron was restrained from such work by the selfish consideration that the conquered town was his own property, and that to destroy it through spite was a peevish gratification beneath his dignity and against his interests.

In another respect Denmark had a

Burgundy, fought its last great fight with the kingdom under Louis XI. Louis won the battle. The feudal states gave way before the massive kingdom that was now established. The same thing happened beyond the Pyrenees. Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella of Castile by their union succeeded in bringing into one all the important kingdoms of the peninsula. At nearly the same time a similar process was going on in England. The House of Tudor represented all the claims of York and Lancaster in the government. Un-

der Henry VII and Henry VIII the monarchy grew and flourished to an extent hitherto unknown. The very same thing took place in Germany, under Maximilian. In all the civilized parts of Europe the age was one of consolidation.

But we shall be surprised to note that Denmark was the *first* of the European states to pass through this evolution. The event occurred at the close of the fourteenth century, full fifty years before the like movement was seen in any of the other kingdoms. Valdemar III, King of Denmark, died in 1378. He left two daughters, of whom the second, Margaret, was married to Hakon VI, King of Norway. On the death of her husband she retained the government of her native land. Her son had in the meantime been declared King of Denmark. But he also died, and the Danish Parliament permitted Margaret to retain the sovereignty under constitutional restrictions. The Swedes, however, were not agreed as to the succession after Hakon's death. Some were in favor of offering the crown to Margaret, while others supported the Duke of Mecklenburg.

Denmark the first to attain political unity.

Hereupon there was an outbreak of war. The queen triumphed over her rival. He was taken prisoner, and the estates of all three kingdoms were called together at Kalmar, in Sweden. There

Union of Kalmar; place of Margaret in history.

was passed, in the year 1397, the parliamentary act known ever afterwards as the Union of Kalmar. The three kingdoms were declared to be under one sovereign, and the constitutional provision was made that each of the three powers should retain its own fundamental law and jurisprudence.

By this means a consolidation was effected of the northern governments about three quarters of a century before a similar movement was undertaken in France and Spain and England. Much of this has been attributed to Margaret herself. She became known as the Semiramis of the North, and there is no doubt that her capacity for government was great; but the student of history will understand that such movements in political society occur in obedience to general laws, which sovereigns are impotent to annul and almost equally impotent to promote.



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